Maya Dwellings in Hieroglyphs and Archaeology

An Integrative Approach to Ancient Architecture and Spatial Cognition

Shannon E. Plank

BAR International Series 1324

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PREFACE

This study is a lightly revised version of my dissertation, which was defended in March 2003 under the title *Monumental Maya Dwellings in the Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Records: A Cognitive-Anthropological Approach to Classic Maya Architecture*. It treats a set of architectural texts from four large sites – Yaxchilán, Oxkintok, Copán, and Chichén Itzá – that incorporate the ancient term *otoot*, or "dwelling." The four chapters that deal with these sites were drafted between late 2000 and late 2002; and in the interest of speedy dissemination of the results of these studies, I offer them essentially "as-is." That is, these chapters do not incorporate a number of discoveries and publications that have emerged since that time.

For example, Vera Tiesler and her colleagues have studied the skeletal remains from the tombs in Structures 44 and 23 at Yaxchilán, two structures that I discuss extensively, and Roberto García Moll (2004) has now published briefly on the tomb contents of Structure 23. The chapter on Oxkintok does not address the recent discovery by Ricardo Velásquez of another Early Classic lintel, nor the excavation of the Early Classic Structures CA-2 and CA-13-sub in Grupo Ah Canul at that site. The interpretation of Oxkintok's Early Classic epigraphy will be enriched significantly by these discoveries. Excavation and publication projects continue at the site of Copán, where, for example, Seiichi Nakamura's excavations in the massive architectural complex north of the Great Plaza may well transform the way we think of royal residence at the site. Jennifer Ahlfeldt's completed dissertation on Structure 10L-22 and the recent edited volume on Early Classic Copan (Bell *et al.* 2004) also contain much that will bear on interpretations advanced in this study. At Chichén, Rafael Cobos' recent (2003) dissertation offers a treatment of gallery-patio structures at that site that provides an important counterpoint to my discussion of that structure type. Finally, the inscriptions of Ek' Balam, presented at the March 2003 Maya Meetings in Austin, Texas, contain a wealth of interesting architectural references that are very directly relevant to this study. This is not an exhaustive list of recent work and publications, but it highlights and acknowledges some of the most current and pertinent contributions.

The field of Maya epigraphy moves very rapidly, and the new frontier lies in constructing a comprehensive account of hieroglyphic spelling and grammar. My summary of the state of Maya epigraphy in Chapter 1 does not include fascinating new understandings of vowel complexity and other aspects of phonology; nor does it convey the leap in the complexity of debates about Classic Ch'olan verb derivation, inflection, and temporal reckoning. For this, the reader is referred to Søren Wichmann's landmark edited volume on the linguistics of Maya hieroglyphic writing (2004): Alfonso Lacadena's treatment therein of the grammar of the Primary Standard Sequence is particularly important for the understanding of dedicatory inscriptions (Lacadena 2004). The gaps in orthographic rigor that this study may exhibit are partially attributable to the desire to make it more accessible to non-epigraphers and partially to the frenetic pace of Maya epigraphy; I beg the tolerance of the epigraphers, who will judge for themselves how recent advances affect my interpretations.

I wish to offer profound thanks to Norman Hammond, Clemency Coggins, and David Stuart, the readers of my dissertation, for their unfailing generosity with their time and ideas. Thanks are also due to Stephen Houston, Patricia McAnany, and Miguel Rivera Dorado, who offered valuable commentary on various chapters. My gratitude and admiration go to the epigraphers and iconographers whose works have made this study possible; in particular, Linda Schele, Peter Mathews, Nikolai Grube, Simon Martin, Alfonso Lacadena, Jose Miguel García Campillo, Ruth Krochock, and Carolyn Tate. Everyone's work is impossible without the labors of Ian Graham. I am grateful to William and Barbara Fash for making it possible for me to work in Copán; to Peter Schmidt and his colleagues for their graciousness at Chichén Itzá; and to Alfonso Morales, Julia Miller, Guillermo Bernal Romero, and Miguel Angel Vásquez del Mercado R. for their help at Palenque. Although I have not met either of them, I wish to expression my appreciation to Cristina Vidal Lorenzo for her thorough work at Grupo Ah Canul in Oxkintok, which is the basis of my chapter on that site; and to William Hanks, whose work on Maya linguistic and spatial practices should be basic reading for every Mesoamericanist. Thank you also to Allan Maca, Carolyn White, Marc Wolf, Akin Ogundiran, Astrid Runggaldier, Gerardo Aldana, and Anil Pillay. All errors and omissions are mine alone.

I have been supported in this endeavor by a Boston University Presidential University Fellowship, as well a grant from the Boston University Humanities Foundation and a Raymond and Beverly Sackler Scholarship through Norman Hammond.

This work is dedicated to my parents, William and Darrah Plank.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I.1 Description of the project

I.1.1 Goals and method

This study considers a set of buildings in the Lowland Maya area of Mexico and Central America that is defined by its association with the indigenous architectural classification *otoot,*[1] "dwelling." The structures in this group are, in their physical form, representative of a larger set of Maya buildings that archaeologists have called "palaces," "range structures," or "elite residences." Buildings of this sort have proven resistant to archaeologists' decades-long attempt to develop effective classifications and to address their functions and roles in Classic Maya society. This investigation, in contrast, takes as a point of departure the terms attached to the structures by the ancient Maya elites themselves. Because hieroglyphic texts that contain architectural terms occur on lintels, doorjambs, monumental stairways, columns, benches, wall panels, and balustrades; and because the terms typically refer to the structure in which the monument is mounted, it becomes possible to link specific buildings and building groups with ancient Maya ways of classifying, constructing, and imagining inhabited space. A bridge can therefore be built between the hieroglyphic and the archaeological records in a very specific set of contexts.

The broad goal of this project is twofold. First, I mean to develop an understanding of the way the ancient elite Maya classified, constructed, occupied, and cognized a type of space that they themselves have categorized for us and that, as "dwelling" space, has been identified as a core physical, moral, social, and symbolic arena in societies across the globe (e.g., Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Earle 1986:164-7; Hanks 1990:8; Oliver 1987:9-10; Waterson 1990:xv-xix). Second, I wish to show in what ways emic categories from Maya texts are relevant for archaeologists by comparing them to etic classifications applied to ancient architecture, and in the process cast new light on the etic categories themselves.

The expression *otoot,* "dwelling," that is the focus of this work is one of the most common architectural terms in the corpus of Maya inscriptions: because of its prominence and its tendency to overlap with other, more sparsely represented architectural terms, it is the most amenable to and useful for the kind of integrative analysis undertaken here. The expression is usually embedded in texts that record some aspect of the construction and ritual animation or protection of a building – so-called "dedicatory" texts. Inscriptions dealing with dwellings are physically associated with structures at major urban centers of the Classic period, including Xcalumkin, Oxkintok, Chichén Itzá and its satellite Yulá, Ek Balam, Copán, Yaxchilán, Palenque, Bonampak, and Piedras Negras (Fig. 1.1). Because of the density and sheer volume of the available material, I have treated only four sites – Yaxchilán, Oxkintok, Chichén Itzá (with Yulá), and Copán – in depth, while the others are incorporated as comparative material in the body of the text and in the conclusion.

The four sites that form the core of the study represent three zones of the Maya area – the Usumacinta, the northern lowlands, and the southern frontier – and the chronological span of their texts ranges from the Early Classic (Oxkintok) through the Late Classic (Yaxchilán, Copán) and the Terminal Classic (Chichén Itzá and Yulá). There are also a number of texts that incorporate references to dwellings on free-standing monuments and portable objects: these objects are not a focus of the investigation, but they are important for understanding the conceptual aspects of Maya dwellings, and are discussed in the concluding chapter.

The cornerstone of this study is that the term *otoot* is an indigenous category, constituting an "emic" unit in Marvin Harris's terms; that is, it is a "phenomenal distinction or 'thing'... built up out of contrasts and discriminations which are significant, meaningful, real, accurate, or in some other fashion regarded as appropriate by the actors themselves" (Harris 1968:571, 1990:48; Byrne *et al.* 1995:389). In asserting this, I claim no analytical primacy for this category, as provided by the Maya, over those proposed by archaeologists: the etic categories that we develop as archaeologists are the essence of our discipline. Rather, the juxtaposition of the Maya term *otoot* with the products of the enduring archaeological effort to classify, excavate, and analyze ancient Maya residences enables a critical perspective on each, revealing peculiarities of Maya notions of dwelling and ultimately suggesting reasons for the difficulty in developing archaeological classifications of elite Maya buildings.

Although some clear Maya structure types emerge in the course of the study, it does not produce any straightforward typology that will allow archaeologists to classify buildings effortlessly. Rather, it seeks an understanding of the range of ways in which the Classic Maya used the term *otoot.* It investigates the diverse architectural configurations the Maya found it reasonable to associate the word with, and it explores the specific kinds of social, political, and ritual events that involved these structures or were involved by them, as well as the people – humans, gods, and god-impersonators (Houston and Stuart 1996:298) – that acted in, on, and around them. Ultimately, it looks beyond the diversity of structures and objects toward the conceptual unity that underlies it. Issues of classification and emic and etic perspectives are addressed in detail in Chapter 2.

The method of the study can be summarized as follows. First, for each "dwelling" text, I analyze the *otoot* expression in its textual context, determining insofar as is possible the people, places, and events recorded in the inscription, what they have to do with the building, and the overall purpose of the text – i.e., the "why" of creating the inscription in the first place. This last goal is essential to the responsible treatment of Maya texts. As with any text, whether New England probate inventory, inscribed cornerstone, or cuneiform tablet, Maya writing is material culture that was produced in a characteristic set of formats for certain purposes by people with motives and agendas operating within certain cultural understandings. Beyond this, however, I emphasize in this

[1] Pronounced (ō·tōt), with a longer second vowel.

Fig. 1.1 Map of Maya area showing sites mentioned in dissertation.

work that Maya writing, especially in this dedicatory genre, constitutes material culture in a special sense, in that it can be at the same time record, substance, and agent of ritual action in the context of inhabited spaces. Though I by no means claim fully to achieve it, an understanding of the native ontology of Maya texts is critical to the interpretation of the information contained in them. It is important to stress that although my interest is ultimately in Maya space as experienced, performed, or "lived," the first level of engagement is with *texts* that have their own complex, interesting, and relevant set of issues.

Second, I consider the architectural texts in the context of the buildings that house them and the location and role of these buildings with respect to other buildings and the site in general. Where it is available, I incorporate iconographic information and archaeological investigations of inscribed buildings and their surroundings, including excavated artifact assemblages and ground plans. The existence and quality of this information varies widely, as discussed in the chapters on the individual sites. It is at this level of analysis that it becomes possible to develop hypotheses about the role and function of these dwellings in the socio-political life of each city.

Finally, I employ, throughout, ethnohistorical and ethnographic information from modern Maya groups, and, in some cases, from societies for which there are good accounts

of the construction, ritual nature, and cultural understanding of dwellings. The literature on dwellings, domestic space, and the indigenous architecture of societies across the world, though it has long been accumulating, has grown enormously in the last decade as anthropologists have become aware of the immense social and symbolic significance of inhabited space, and have accepted the study of material culture as an appropriate anthropological activity.

It is good to be clear from the outset that most studies of dwelling space focus on vernacular architecture; this investigation, on the other hand, focuses on a small group of buildings that are the products of an elite culture, one which had almost certainly developed sophisticated architectural canons, perhaps even manuals, that governed the construction of their dwellings. These structures are emphatically not "vernacular" architecture: they are not the unselfconscious expression of a people's ideas (Knapp 1999:7), nor do they constitute "architecture without architects" in Rudofsky's (1964) sense. Further, contrary to what one might expect in a study of "dwellings," they cannot, at least initially, be discussed as "domestic space." However, while this work on inscribed Maya elite dwellings will show that they are kinds of places which could perhaps only be built by and for the most powerful persons, it will also show that they share deep notions of lived space with the dwellings of the modern Maya. These sorts of understandings are critical for understanding the true scale of Maya society and the level and nature of its political organization.

I.1.2 The integration of epigraphy and archaeology in Maya studies

The explicit integration of epigraphic evidence with archaeological evidence in Maya studies has been effected by other scholars, at several levels. For example, archaeologists with little epigraphic knowledge can use published epigraphic evidence in general topical studies, as Webster has done recently for Maya warfare (2000), or can combine epigraphic and archaeological evidence from a single site, as Demarest (1993) did in describing violence at Dos Pilas. Excavation projects at sites with extensive text corpuses have integrated epigraphy into excavation and interpretation for many years; the prime example is the site of Copán, where archaeological strategies such as tunnel excavations and settlement pattern research matured together with the decipherment. There, the integration of epigraphy and archaeology has meant that the complicated mass of architecture on and underneath the Acropolis and in the great outlying compounds can be effectively untangled, and separated out into the dynastic building programs of particular kings and nobles whose names and dates are known, and whose tombs are often identifiable (e.g., Webster 1989; Fash 1991; B. Fash *et al.* 1992; Stuart 1991; Larios, Stuart, and Fash 1994; Sharer *et al.* 1999; Bell *et al.* 2003). The archaeological projects in the Petexbatun (Demarest 1993; Demarest *et al.* 1997; Houston 1993), at Caracol (e.g., Chase and Chase 1987, 1994; Grube 1994), and at Piedras Negras (e.g., Houston *et al.* 1998, 2000), have also incorporated epigraphy from their beginnings. It is probably fair to say that the principal arena of integration of archaeology and epigraphy has been the use of dynastic reconstructions and royal monuments to identify royal building programs and the occupants of tombs, as at Tikal (e.g., Coggins 1975; Jones 1991; Schele and Mathews 1998:93-94), Yaxchilán (e.g., Mathews 1988; Tate 1992), Palenque (e.g., Robertson 1974; Schele and Mathews 1998:95-132), or Quirigua (Ashmore 1984; Looper 1995). Thus, much of what can be considered true *integration* of epigraphy and archaeology has taken place at this macro-level of "great history" and great events.

Efforts that use specific texts to help to understand specific physical remains beyond their relationship with a certain ruler are somewhat rarer. Here, I differentiate between studies that explicitly tie texts with physical remains or places from studies that work from internal epigraphic evidence to form theories that have import for Maya archaeology. Thus, Berlin's (1958) identification of Emblem Glyphs was probably the first study to tie glyphs to ground by demonstrating that the distribution of each of these special glyphs was clearly geographically restricted; and more recently, Stuart and Houston (1994) identified toponyms in the script that can often be shown to refer to particular locales within a site. In contrast, Peter Mathews (1991) used his analysis of Emblem Glyphs – viz., that they are titles that reflect equivalent status of all the lords that use them – to propose a model for the political scene in the Late Classic lowlands; that is, the model relies essentially on internal glyphic evidence, although it uses the physical location of sites to generate a map of polities. Similarly, Martin and Grube's work (Grube and Martin 1994; Martin and Grube 2000) on Classic Maya history and long- and short-term patterns of intersite alliances and warmongering is almost completely driven by epigraphy, although it produces theories about the nature of political interaction that have significant implications for archaeology. Evaluation of these ideas from an archaeological standpoint will become possible as we become better able to pull together and synthesize regional patterns in material culture and material culture exchange.

The tendency of inscriptions to refer to things and places, and of things and places to be inscribed, however, has permitted a few studies that deal with material culture at a more intimate level. The series of studies that resulted in the identification of the Primary Standard Sequence as a name-tag for objects (Mathews 1979, Houston and Taube 1987; Stuart 1989; Grube 1990; Grube and MacLeod 1990; MacLeod 1990), and particularly the paper by Stuart, Houston, and Taube (1989) that recognized that emic categories for objects were present in these texts, form the beginning of the trajectory of investigation of which this study is a part. Studies of the function and role of architecture that incorporate epigraphic material from buildings are usually more iconographically than archaeologically oriented, but include B. Fash *et al.*'s (1992) study of the "council house" of Copán, and Schele and Mathews' study of several important Maya buildings in *A Code of Kings* (1998). Further, epigraphic investigations of architectural and mortuary ritual (e.g., Schele 1990a; Stuart 1998a; Fitzsimmons 2002), particularly fire-related rituals, can have explanatory value for archaeological evidence of certain kinds of burning and tomb-re-entering.

However, the efforts that are the closest in methodology and spirit to what I attempt here are Houston's (1996) study of the emic classifications of the Cross Group structures at

Palenque as *pib'-naah* "sweatbaths," in which he uses epigraphic evidence together with building plans and general architectural setting, as well as ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence, to investigate their meaning and function; and Ruth Krochock's (1998) study of texts at Chichén Itzá, which she is careful to situate in both their local architectural/archaeological and regional contexts. I study the same body of texts, and though I come to very different conclusions than she does, her work is a foundation for the chapter on Chichén. Overall, this study is one of the first to group a specific category of material culture using an emic classification at a multiple-site scale; and though it relies on the labors of many other people, it has few precedents in its methodology.

I.1.3 Summary of objectives

Any study of dwelling and dwellings invokes an extensive set of issues because of the huge body of literature that now exists on dwellings, houses, domestic space, etc. It is useful to think of the current project in terms of a series of objectives that become increasingly complex.

The first objective is simply the formal identification of Maya dwellings using Maya texts. The questions answered at this level are: Which structures are called dwellings? To whom are they said to belong? That is, does the dwelling belong to a human being or a god? If the owner is human, can it be determined if they were alive or dead at the time of the creation of the text? What other kinds of locational or spatial information or terminology might the text provide?

A second objective is an understanding of the principles of the native classification of these structures and how these compare to the ways that they have been approached archaeologically. In some ways, the question "what makes a dwelling a dwelling?" is the most fundamental inquiry of the project, because it is the combination of epigraphic data with architectural, archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical information that makes it approachable. The set of shared characteristics that emerges is only identifiable through this integrative method.

A third objective is an understanding of the role of the inscribed *otoot* structures in the social and political environments of their respective sites. The specifics of the roles of dwellings will of course differ for each place, not least because some of them are the dwellings of gods, while others are the dwellings of humans; ultimately, though, the distinctions will be shown to be blurry. The role of dwellings in social organization has taken on importance in recent years with the new attention (e.g., Waterson 1990:138-166; Carsten and Hugh Jones 1995; Joyce and Gillespie 2000) to the concept of "house societies" that is half-buried in Levi-Strauss' *The Way of the Masks* (Levi-Strauss 1982:174) and elaborated upon in his lectures published in 1987. This concept has been brought into Maya studies by several scholars (e.g., Houston 1998:521n; Ringle and Bey 2001; Gillespie 2000a, 2000b); Gillespie (2000b) in particular has invoked epigraphic evidence as relevant to the question of whether Classic Maya settlements were organized as "house societies." In the concluding chapter, I assess the potential of epigraphic evidence for addressing this concern: but for the moment, I will note that in my view it is very limited. Together with archaeological evidence, however, epigraphic data on architecture has great potential for illuminating site-specific political configurations, local socio-political and, in some cases, gender dynamics in Maya courts, and complexes of social meaning of great longevity.

A fourth objective is to contribute to understanding how the conceptual category of dwelling is organized for the Maya; this goal is a natural outgrowth of the classificatory objective. The most cursory examination of the global literature on dwellings suggests that there are some fundamental ways that people conceptualize the idea of dwelling as it relates to the place of human beings in the cosmos, ways that produce a set of material consequences in construction practices and rituals. We can expect that in the Maya area, as elsewhere, dwellings will be a key cognitive construct; the specific cultural context of the dwellings investigated here provides an opportunity to contribute to the anthropological discussion of the possibility of cognitive diversity.

A final objective is practical: that is, what are the implications of the results of all of the above objectives for the practice of Maya archaeology? How do the specifics of emic notions of dwellings illuminate the successes and failures of archaeological efforts to address the kinds of structures I examine? And what are the practical implications for excavation and artifact analysis strategies, both in general and in particular buildings and building complexes? In the case of each site, the questions generated during the process of analysis suggest targeted excavation designs and artifact analysis plans.

I.2 The state of research in Maya epigraphy

I.2.1 Why this study is possible

A recent assessment of the state of scholarship in Maya epigraphy estimated that Maya texts are ninety to ninety-five percent deciphered (Stuart 2002). This does not mean that ninety percent of texts are semantically transparent, i.e. that we have a solid grasp of the *sense* of what the Maya were saying and why they were saying it. Rather, it means that ninety percent of glyphs are now *phonetically* transparent and that we have a basic understanding of the lexical meaning of the signs. The story of the advances in decipherment and the persons responsible for it has been detailed in enough publications from sufficiently diverse perspectives that it would be absurd for me to repeat it here. The syntheses of George Stuart (1992), Michael Coe (1992), Victoria Bricker (1995), and, most recently, Stephen Houston (2000) together cover the history of engagement of Western scholarship with Maya texts from 1517 to the present in exhaustive detail. The research that has gone into this investigation, however, straddles an important transition in the trajectory of Maya decipherment, and I wish to draw out a set of developments upon which it depends.

Consensus has existed among epigraphers for probably two decades about the kinds of events recorded in Maya texts. Birth, life crisis ritual, marriage, accession, death, intersite visitation, warfare and captive-taking, and the rituals attendant upon all of these events were, from the first Mesa Redonda at Palenque in 1973 throughout the 1980's and into

early 1990's, the bread and butter of much epigraphic research. These topics remain important, and together with the elucidation of dynastic histories they form the basis of the kind of reconstruction of Maya political history achieved in Martin and Grube's recent *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens* (2000). Within this period, an important set of advances was made in the study of the formulaic sequence of hieroglyphs on Maya ceramic vessels that Michael Coe (1973) termed the Primary Standard Sequence, thought by him to be a mortuary chant: that is, it was recognized by a series of epigraphers (e.g., Mathews 1979; Houston and Taube 1987; Stuart 1989; Grube 1990; Grube and MacLeod 1990; MacLeod 1990) that this sequence formed a kind of "name-tag" that provided the Maya term for the object and the name of its possessor. During this period, the *object* orientation of surviving Classic Maya texts began to become apparent.

Most of the architectural texts that I deal with in this study are or contain some form of the Primary Standard Sequence, and the scholarship that addresses it has therefore been critical to my ability to pursue this work. Schele (1990) began to explore architectural "PSS" texts as records of dedication rituals for structures, especially the named houses at Palenque; more recently, Stuart (1998) has provided the most up-to-date account of the set of rituals associated with architecture, pointing out that "the essential function of dedication texts is to mark the political, social, or ritual activation of an object or monument" (1998:374). The definition and configuration of a "dedicatory" text is addressed in more detail in Section I.4.2.

Stuart's most important insight for this study, however, is that "dedicatory texts constitute the true emphasis of Classic Maya inscriptions" (1998:374). That is, in spite of all of the historical information that may be provided in a Maya text, the narrative focus is almost always "the placement, creation, and activation of ritual things and spaces" (1998:375). The surviving texts from the Classic Maya period are all painted or carved on artifacts, whether stela, altar, vessel, deer bone, or door lintel, and many of these texts involve the thing inscribed, such that text and location are inseparable. Maya object and building texts have a more complex relationship with the things they are written upon than the texts on the surviving bark paper codices, or the texts found in modern libraries. It is this feature that allows me to use Maya texts to address the creation and conceptualization of space.

Another series of recent developments in decipherment is critical to the understanding of Maya texts that operates in this undertaking, and that is the rooting of the practice of decipherment in an understanding of modern and historical Mayan linguistics. This process began in earnest with a 1979 conference at SUNY Albany, which gathered epigraphers and linguists together to consider the implications of historical linguistics for epigraphy and resulted in the volume *Phoneticism in Mayan Hieroglyphic Writing* (Justeson and Campbell 1984). Two major and interrelated issues, the question of the language affiliation of the Classic script and the sensitivity with which the script recorded spoken language, emerged with unprecedented seriousness following the pioneering work of Bricker (1986) and MacLeod (1984, 1987) on hieroglyphic verb morphology. These issues and their implications have snapped into focus in the past five years for many people interested in epigraphy because of a series of publications and presentations by David Stuart, Stephen Houston, and John Robertson (Robertson 1998; Houston, Stuart, and Robertson 1998; Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999; Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2000a, 2000b).

Three principal developments have emerged from these publications. These include 1) a theory of the function of vowel disharmony in glyphic spellings as an indicator of vowel complexity (Houston, Stuart, and Robertson 1998); 2) the proposal of a new type of sign, the "morphosyllable," that has a grammatical rather than a purely phonetic function (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:28-36; Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2000b); and 3) a theory of the identification and socio-political function of the language of the glyphs that posits that it is an Eastern Ch'olan-affiliated prestige language of royal courts (Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2000a). The functions of vowel disharmony and of morphosyllables directly affect the interpretations I advance in ways that I discuss briefly in a section below. The identification and function of the language of the script is also important, especially in the chapter that deals with Chichén Itzá, a site whose texts are usually considered to be written in Yucatec: I discuss that issue along with the Chichén material.

These developments were all presented verbally by Stuart, Houston, and Robertson in the context of the 23rd Maya Hieroglyphic Forum in Austin, Texas in 1999, the first Austin Maya meeting after the death of the originator of the important workshop series, Linda Schele. At those meetings, the traditional audience of several hundred glyph enthusiasts, students, and professional linguists and epigraphers heard many hours of Robertson's complex explanations of the relationship of the Classic Mayan script to the Colonial Ch'olti' and modern Ch'orti' languages. Having been at the meetings, I can attest to the strange combination in the audience of incomprehension, dismay, glee, and dissent (mostly from trained linguists). Accustomed to being treated to new analyses of particular texts and iconography or in-depth treatments of particular topics or sites, the Austin audience got an earful of what was for most people nearly impenetrable linguistic analysis. In my view, that weekend marked decisively the end of an era in Maya hieroglyphic decipherment by making it plain that, whether they agreed with the theories presented or not, anyone who wanted to deal seriously with the texts would have to engage equally seriously with Mayan linguistics, while at the same time having a thorough knowledge of the corpus of Maya texts.

I am not a linguist, and this study does not offer fresh decipherments: that is not its purpose. I take seriously Houston's remark that "epigraphic evidence should first be understood on its own terms, before premature correlations are established with material patterns" (2000:122). The reason that I am able to use texts as I do is that the great majority of the inscriptions relevant for me are relatively well understood, and I am able to stand on the shoulders of many competent epigraphers. My role in this study is to gather together texts that share the feature of being architectural inscriptions that deal with places called *otoots*, to view them from the point of view of their rootedness in

place, to understand them in their local archictectural, archaeological, and socio-political contexts, and to pull out global patterns as I can.

I.2.2 The effect of the climate and pace of Maya decipherment on this study

My reliance on a small group of epigraphers and linguists will quickly become apparent. This situation is unavoidable for several reasons. First, only a very small group of people is actively producing decipherments, not just new syntheses and interpretations that use epigraphic evidence; and since "decipherment" includes not just identifying the sound value of a particular sign, but in many cases also its grammatical function, the knowledge of both historical linguistics and hieroglyphic inscriptions that is required keeps the group very small indeed. The collaboration that is reflected in the Stuart-Houston-Robertson publications is a good example of how many of the advances that are now being made require combined expertise in fields usually considered separate areas of inquiry (Stuart and Houston in epigraphy, Robertson in linguistics).

Second, the quality of any student's education in Maya epigraphy is in part dependent on his or her proximity to one or more members of this small group of epigraphers and upon their generosity with their knowledge, because what is *published* about Maya hieroglyphs does not represent what is *known* about Maya hieroglyphs. Houston (2000) has recently produced an excellent (and blunt) account of the way that modern decipherment proceeds, noting at one point that

> [T]he field is of sufficient complexity and swift development to demand full-time attention. Dabblers and dilettantes should beware: Maya epigraphy is a treadmill set at very high speed, very much intensified by *samizdat* email correspondence and the tight-knit networks at the core of this research. Formal publications often lie years behind the cutting edge, although the opposite can be the case with workshops (Houston 2000:139).

The speed of development has increased in step with the introduction of communicative technologies, from photocopier to fax to e-mail. This rapid pace, in addition to the swift dissemination that can take place at glyph workshops like the Austin Maya Meetings, means that publication of results will very often be either common knowledge and old news, or even evaluated and rejected by the time an article goes to press. It seems unlikely that this situation will ever be remedied, if only because of the inevitable time lag in the publication process. It is further exacerbated by the fact that there are few peer-reviewed journals that will publish very technical articles on hieroglyphs, although this may change as treatments of glyphs become more linguistically sophisticated.

The absence of peer review has advantages and disadvantages. An advantage is that it fosters very rapid dissemination of readings and ideas through unofficial channels, and their "peer review" takes place amongst the few "peers" who are capable of evaluating them. The *Copán Notes* are a good example of the relatively formal (i.e., printed, illustrated, and formatted) presentation of new ideas in a very rapid medium. They are a series of 125-odd short pieces written between 1986 and 1995 by Linda Schele and her collaborators, principally David Stuart and Nikolai Grube; they were printed with support from and under the auspices of the Copán Archaeological Project and the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, and are currently disseminated through Kinko's in Austin, Texas during the yearly meetings there. Peer review of these notes would not have been possible because most of the peers that would have been available to review them were in fact writing them. Although they contain many specifics that cannot now be supported, they remain indispensable for anyone studying the texts and art of Copán, and I use them heavily in the chapter covering that site. Similarly, the workshop proceedings from the Austin meetings are transcribed yearly by Phil Wanyerka, and are as vital a source as any journal article for students of Maya epigraphy.

The disadvantage of the lack of formal peer review means that readings and ideas that turn out to be unsupportable can remain in the literature and in the toolkit of other researchers for a long time, sometimes far beyond the acceptance in one or another network of workers of alternative and better-supported ideas. Thus, although ideas can be introduced rapidly, the evaluations of them do not always travel back along the channels through which they were received.

A significant problem in the current climate of Maya hieroglyphic decipherment is what Houston calls "citational imprecision," or the failure, intentional or unintentional, to credit the appropriate people for readings that they have produced (2000:139). It is indeed a difficult task to maintain precision in giving credit, not least because the knowledge of who developed which readings can be stored in the minds of the small number of people who were party to its development and dissemination, or can be buried in the proceedings of a 1987 hieroglyphic workshop. For the most part, my knowledge of the body of generally accepted readings – those that epigraphic workers no longer feel the need to cite sources for in publications – suffices; for newer or more controversial readings that are critical to my discussions, I cite sources as far as I know them or as I am able to find them out. I try to make it more than clear when interpretations are mine; but for the great majority of instances in which I transcribe or translate texts, I am relying on a body of more or less uncontroversial knowledge.

My profound debt to David Stuart will be immediately clear. He and Stephen Houston have considered architectural and spatial issues in Maya texts to a much greater extent than other epigraphers (e.g., Houston and Stuart 1989; Houston 1996; Houston and Cummins 1998; Stuart and Houston 1994; Stuart 1998a, 1998b; Houston 1998), and it is natural for me to turn to the body of work that deals, whether by focus or in passing, with buildings and places. A second major debt is to the linguist William Hanks, the depth, breath, and sophistication of whose work on Maya space-making and referential practices is unmatched (e.g., Hanks 1990, 2000 [1987, 1993, 1996]).

I.2.3 Maya archaeology as text-aided archaeology

> There is, ironically, some danger that in such areas as eastern Mesoamerica, where ancient texts can be deciphered with increasing completeness, prehistorians may be tempted to follow those historians who have passed over material evidence on households in favor of literary evidence.
>
> Ashmore and Wilk (1988:5)

The two issues that presented potential barriers to the use of Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions as a tool for understanding the general outlines of Maya history, as well as aspects of political, social, and ritual life, have largely been resolved. The first is the extent of the decipherment, which was discussed above: although there are phonetic decipherments still to be made, although a great deal remains to be understood about the grammatical features of the language of the script and the way the script registers them, and although an *interpretive* phase in Maya epigraphy has in some sense only just begun, the decipherment has nevertheless, as Houston (2000:128) notes, "passed its physical."

Second, the question of whether Maya hieroglyphic texts, as products of an elite culture concerned with its own legitimization, contain enough truth value to constitute reliable sources of information, is also moot. Misgivings about the untrustworthiness of ancient accounts of dynastic sequences and royal exploits (e.g., Webster 1988:24) crystallized in the "propaganda" theory of Joyce Marcus' 1992 *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*. This idea, roundly criticized by Stuart (1994; see also Houston 2000:168-171), has been dissolved by the great coherence demonstrated in accounts of historical events in texts from diverse Maya sites – even those that were often hostile to one another – and by the fact that the commissioners of texts were not always averse to recording unfortunate events in their own histories.

Beyond this, however, an unflagging critical and historiographical consciousness is a fundamental tool for dealing with any historical text. It is probably the case that, of all deciphered ancient scripts, Maya hieroglyphs encode the fewest classes of information; notably absent are the economic records that are found in Egyptian, Linear B, and cuneiform texts. It may even be that the people that produced Maya texts were more limited in number and of more rarefied social status than in any other literate ancient society. Nevertheless, the traditional questions of historiographical method – Who wrote? Why did they write? What sort of concept of "history" was operative when they wrote? What personal and cultural agendas are expressed? Who was the intended audience? – together with ongoing archaeological and epigraphic research, will continue to refine our understanding of the range of contexts and reasons in and for which Maya writing was produced. Further, the extent of the interconnectedness of the worldviews of royal Mayas and commoner Mayas, and the usefulness of the writings of royalty and nobility for illuminating many aspects of Maya society, is fundamentally an empirical question – one which this investigation helps to address.

The time span and the environment within which I have learned about Maya epigraphy has not exposed me to the sort of "hostility" – real or exaggerated – between "wielders of trowels" and epigraphers that Coe renders into legend in *Breaking the Maya Code* (Coe 1992:271-73); and I cannot say from personal experience whether that kind of sentiment persists – although Houston implies (2000:159) that there remain those that dismiss inscriptions as incompatible with the search for an "objective past." I suspect that the majority of Mayanist archaeologists understand that the inscriptions are a valuable source of information, a category of remains from the past that, like lithics, ceramics, or botanical remains, has its own set of problems and issues, of advantages and disadvantages (e.g., Webster 2000:90-91). A difficulty that indeed remains is the gap in knowledge between those Mayanists who know nothing of glyphs and those who are more or less competent with inscriptions, and this gap is probably growing as the field of decipherment becomes more linguistically sophisticated.

There is no doubt that the decipherment precipitated a great transformation in the way that Mayanists understood their field; the "danger" of using historical sources over archaeological ones referred to in the quote at the beginning of this section may well have been related to the idea that Maya archaeology would become a historical archaeology in which the contribution of "dirt" archaeology lessened in importance. The perception, in the late 1960's and early 1970's in North America, that historical archaeology was a "handmaiden of history" and a marginalized field may have contributed to the unease of Mayanist archaeologists confronted with the increasing intelligibility of Maya texts.

In what sense, then, is Maya archaeology now to be considered "historical archaeology?" While this may seem a question of definitions only, there is something to be learned from the characterizations of "historical archaeology" in the literature and from the trajectory of historical archaeology as a discipline of recent and largely North American emergence. Textbook characterizations of "historical archaeology" (e.g., Orser and Fagan 1995:4-6; Orser [Fagan]1996:279-80) separate archaeologies that make use of textual sources, such as Egyptology, Sinology, Assyriology, Maya archaeology, and Classical archaeology, from the historical archaeology that studies the recent past. The term "text-aided," coined apparently by Barbara Little for her edited volume *Text-Aided Archaeology* (1992), has been adapted into textbooks (Fagan 2001:7; Orser and Fagan 1995:4; Orser ([Fagan]1996:279) to describe ancient archaeologies of cultures with known scripts; while "historical archaeology" is reserved for the study of the post-Columbian era in the New World, and the post-medieval era in Europe and its Old World colonial sphere.

In contrast to the way it has been adopted in textbooks, Barbara Little ironically intended the term "text-aided" as a *challenge* to a "narrowly conceived vision of 'historical archaeology,'" rather than as a handy term for other text-using archaeologies; she hoped it would encourage a focus on the methodological aspects of using texts in archaeological practice (Little 1992:Preface). "Historical archaeology" has undergone a continuous and self-conscious redefinition over the past three or four decades as part of navigating the stiff relationships between archaeology, anthropology, and history in the American intellectual tradition. The "crisis of identity" in historical archaeology that Deagan referred to in an important article of 1982 is

evident in the way definitions of historical archaeology have shifted over time. Early definitions seem to encompass all cultures with script traditions; for example, Schuyler (1970:119) defined historical archaeology as

> *"The study of material remains from any historic period."*

Later definitions emphasize methodology:

> *"[S]tudies using both archaeological and historical data have come to be called historical archaeology"* (South 1977:1)

More recent workers, however, are interested in particular socio-political issues and aims revolving around the colonial and post-colonial world. Beaudry offers the following definition:

> *"[T]he global, comparative study of the spread of European colonialism in the early modern era, or resultant interactions with indigenous populations (incorporating both indigenous and European responses and accommodations), of in situ development of multicultural colonial and post-colonial communities in various parts of the globe, of the effects of capitalism and the industrial revolution, of post-colonialism and its effects, and of manifestations of social inequality, ethnicity, gender, and race relations in the early modern and modern eras."* (Beaudry 1995:1)

It is this last definition that continues to characterize historical archaeology as it is thought of today. Although the subject matter of this sector of archaeology and its chronological focus clearly differentiate it from other archaeologies, I am not sure that, at least from the perspective of Maya archaeology, it is useful to strongly differentiate the *methodology* of historical archaeology from all other text-aided archaeologies. It is fair to say, as Orser does, that at least part of the basis for discrimination between archaeologies of the pre-colonial and post-colonial eras is "the idea that the world became a different place when colonizing Europeans began to travel across the globe, meeting and interacting with diverse indigenous peoples as they went" (Orser 1996:11): this process means that issues have global rather than local complexity for archaeologists. Further, the sheer volume and range of documentation available for the post-Columbian period certainly cannot be matched anywhere or anytime else, and Beaudry's (1988:1) call for historical archaeologists to "develop an approach towards documentary analysis that is uniquely their own" is understandable.

Nevertheless, in the nature of the source materials used – written documents, oral testimony, and ethnographic description – Maya archaeology and historical archaeology are very similar. The more or less sudden emergence of texts, of *native voices*, from the Classic period itself, seems to have produced a brief identity crisis for Maya archaeology. The materialist perspective on documents that characterizes historical archaeology can equally well apply to perspectives on Maya hieroglyphic texts, and is encouraged by the object-centered nature of many of them – as well as by the fact that they are so blatantly themselves material culture, "written as wrought" (D'Agostino *et al.* 1995) in the most obvious sense. There is certainly some value for Mesoamericanists in explicitly adopting a consciousness of Maya archaeology as a historical archaeology. We should remind ourselves that Maya scholars have been using documentary sources since Alexander von Humboldt's publication of several pages of the Dresden Codex in 1810; and also that a good part of the twentieth century saw archaeologists routinely consulting, for interpretive inspiration and assistance, the oral traditions and ethnographies of various Maya groups, the great ethnohistories of Highland Guatemala and Yucatan, and the chronological aspects of the hieroglyphic texts. This kind of recognition can only result in Maya archaeology becoming more historiographically sophisticated with regard to all of its historical sources, whether from AD 680, AD 1780, or AD 2000.

Interestingly, Maya archaeology as historical archaeology tends to collapse some of the distinctiveness of "historical archaeology" as characterized recently, for example, by Orser and Fagan in their *Historical Archaeology* textbook (1995). They describe the importance of historical archaeology as in part related to the potential it has to "teach us about ourselves," and to "achieve an understanding of the long-forgotten and often compelling histories of once-forgotten folk, whose direct descendants are alive today" (1995:5); and they note that because of its recent focus, it "holds a mirror directly before the face of the contemporary world and reflects more precisely the complex roots of our own increasingly diverse society" (1995:6). While the breathlessness of this description of historical archaeology is probably part of selling it as a legitimate and interesting discipline to students who have never been exposed to it, we should still observe that the success of Maya epigraphy has *also* made once-anonymous people into individuals with agency, and that these people also have living descendants. Moreover, many of these descendants now live in large communities in, for example, Florida, Los Angeles, and Seattle, and are coming to form a part of the social, political, and economic fabric of "our society," expanding the definition of "ourselves" and pushing the complexity of "American" roots into both the Spanish colonial experience and the Maya Classic period itself. The experiences and practices of the descendants of the Classic Maya are clearly relevant for understanding both their colonial and Classic-period roots, just as the archaeology and epigraphy of the Classic period are relevant for understanding the experiences and practices of Mayas in modern contexts.

The historical and historiographical potential of the ongoing decipherment and exploration of Maya texts goes, of course, far beyond the outlining of Maya history. Increasingly precise understandings of grammar, glyphic spellings, and graphic variants of particular glyphs will allow more refined analyses of the distribution over space and time of patterns of grammar and conventions of spelling, with relevance for understanding the diversity or homogeneity of speech communities, recognizing local vernaculars, and possibly identifying population movements. Our understandings of the questions of who was writing and why will continue to evolve, as will our ability to wrest information about the cultural values, ideals, and norms encoded in texts and

iconography; a good example of this kind of second-level analysis is the recent study by Houston and Taube (2000) of cultural understandings of the physical senses of sight, smell, and hearing, and their roles in the life of the Maya court. As Hanks (2000[1996]:274) notes, "the genre systems, rhetorical structures, intertextual relations, and conditions of discourse production and reception all contribute crucially to the meaning of documents."

I.3 Epigraphy and architecture in Maya studies

I.3.1 Hieroglyphic terms for structures

While the contemporary texts of the Classic Maya have only recently become intelligible enough to constitute viable sources of insight about Maya architecture, scholars of Maya hieroglyphs recognized early on that the inscriptions contained words that referred to buildings. In 1888, Cyrus Thomas noted the pictographic quality of the sign later designated by J.E.S. Thompson as T614 (Closs 1982:120) (Fig. 1.2a). The identification of this glyph as a representation of a house, complete with thatched roof, roof posts, and stepped platform, was suggested by its association with paintings of similar houses or temples in the Maya codices (Fig. 1.2c). Thomas suggested that the glyph was read Yucatec *otoch*, "house," cognate to Ch'olan *otoot*. The semantic value of "house" or "temple" was accepted by Eduard Seler (Kelley 1962:28), and Yuri Knorosov later (1967:91) endorsed the reading *otoch*.

A solid phonetic reading was finally provided when David Stuart (1987:33-35) deciphered the initial "leaf" sign (Fig. 1.2b) as **yo** in his "Ten Phonetic Syllables" paper, based largely on its association with the "house" glyph. The "y" in *yo* provides the glide consonant of the possessive pronoun *u* ("his," "hers," or "its") for the glyph, which rarely occurs in unpossessed form – though this does occur in the Classic texts. Stuart also, in the same paper, traced the graphic origin of the sign as a realistic depiction of a house or temple on a stepped platform (Fig. 1.3a). The final consonant "t" in *otoot* is given by the glyphic syllable **ti**, which can be used in the purely phonetic spelling **yo-to-ti** (Fig. 1.3b,c), or as a phonetic complement to the "dwelling" logograph, giving a spelling of **yo-OTOOT-ti** (Fig. 1.3d,e). An unusual variant of the dwelling glyph can be found at Chichén Itzá, where it is shown as logogram of a bird in its nest, often with a **-ti** suffix (Fig. 1.3f). The disharmonic vowel *i* in the phonetic complement indicates a complex vowel in the root, harking back to the long vowel of the reconstructed proto-Mayan form *atyooty* (Kaufman and Norman 1984:127).

While the current study focuses on *otoot* structures, a number of other glyphs have been identified as terms for architectural forms, most of which are summarized by Stuart (1998). *Ehb*, meaning "step" or "stairs," and an unread glyph representing a ballcourt were identified by Miller and Houston (1987) in association with the appropriate types of construction (Fig. 1.4a,b). Stuart (1998:396-7) has proposed the reading *muk* "tomb" for a glyph that often depicts a skull inside a stepped platform (Fig. 1.4c). This glyph can occur as **U-MUK-IL** *u-muk-il* "his tomb" or **U-MUK-NAL** *u-muk-nal* "his burial place." The latter term seems to have a more general spatial referent, for which Houston (2000:156) suggests "cemetery." The decipherment of the *way* glyph led to the identification of the compounds **WAY-b'i** and **U-WAY-b'i-IL** (Fig. 1.4d), giving *wayib'* or *u-wayb'il* in the possessed form, which Stuart translates as "dormitory" or possibly "bed" (1998:399) and Houston glosses simply as "temple" (2000:156): it might also be a place identified with dreaming, like the ancient temple of Asklepios, where supplicants went to receive dreams. While the nature and functions of a *wayib'* are not entirely clear, Stuart notes that in all known occurrences of its glyph, it is possessed by a supernatural being rather than a human, suggesting a specialized religious

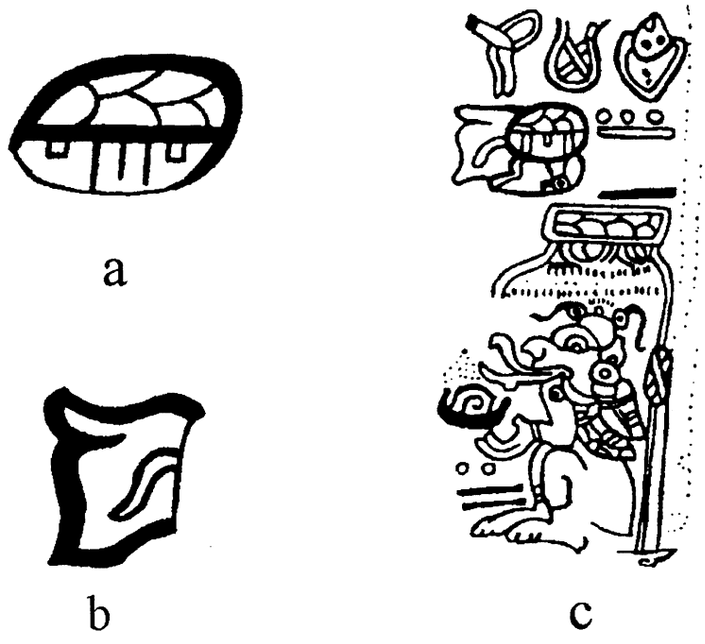


Fig. 1.2. Elements of the *otoot* glyph: (a) Thatched roof element of *otoot* logogram; (b) phonetic **yo**; (c) *otoot* logogram in association with a thatched structure (Madrid Codex 108b).

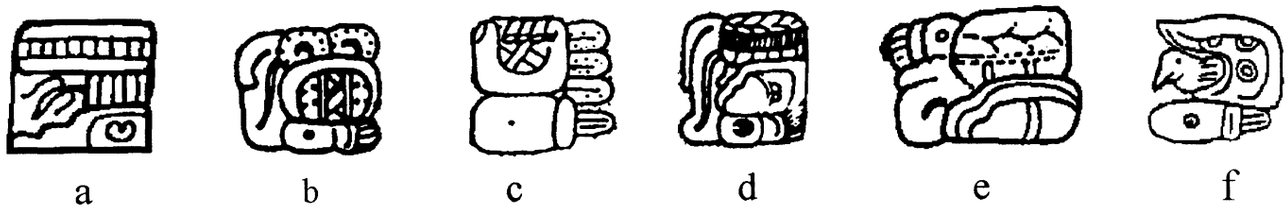


Fig. 1.3 Examples of the *y-otoot* collocation: (a) Early Classic **yo-OTOOT**, MT 140, Tikal cache vessel from Str. 5D-46;(b) phonetic spelling **yo-to-ti**, Tablet of the Foliated Cross, Palenque; (c) phonetic spelling **yo-to-ti**, Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 1:F4, Chichén Itzá; (d) spelling using logograph, **yo-OTOOT-ti**, Palace Tablet, Palenque; (e) spelling using logograph, **ti yo-OTOOT**, Naranjo Stela 29; (f) Terminal Classic "bird in nest" variant from Chichén Itzá, Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 4:B5.

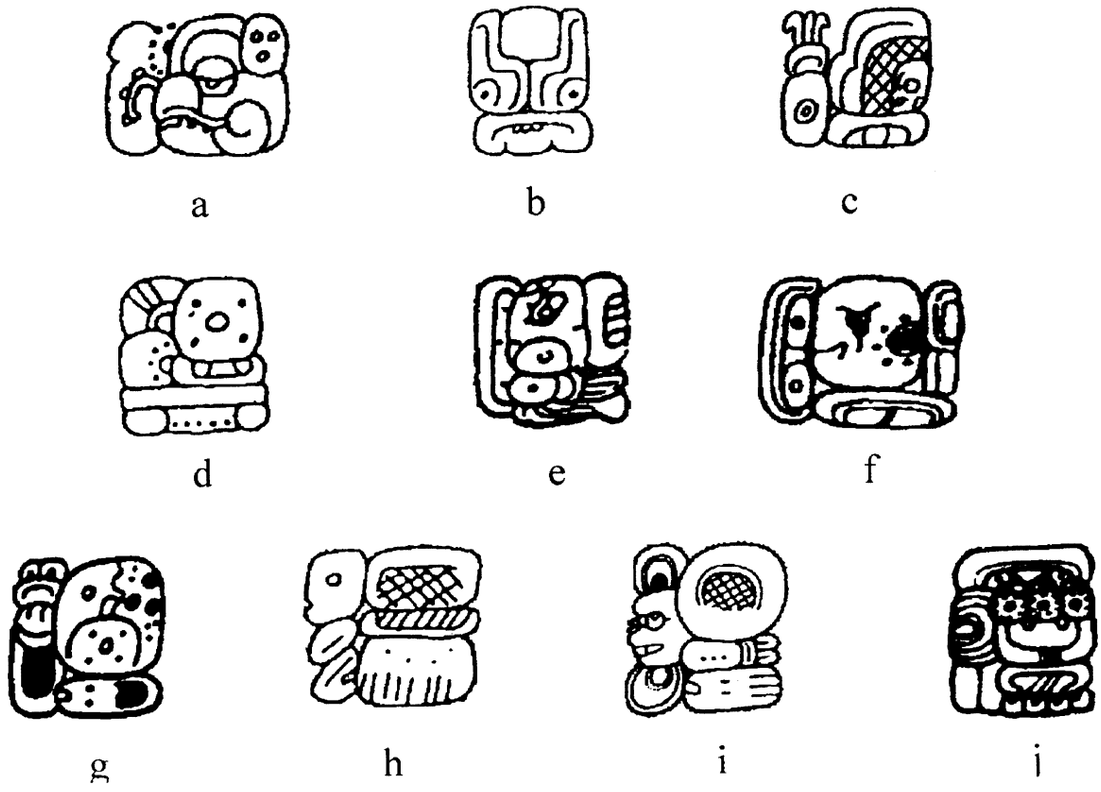


Fig. 1.4 Hieroglyphic terms referring to architectural elements: (a) **e-bu** *ehb*, "stair, step" (Stuart 1998a:377); (b) **..-na** "ballcourt" (Stuart 1998a:377); (c) **MUK-IL** *muk-il* "tomb" (Stuart 1998a:396); (d) **pi-b'i-NAAH-ha/AJ** *pib'-naah* "sweatbath," Palenque, Tablet of the Foliated Cross:F1; (e) **U-chi-ti-ni-IL** *u-chitin-il* "his oven," Palenque, Tablet of the Foliated Cross:O8; (f) **U-ku-nu-IL** *u-kun-il*, "his ink-making oven?," Palenque, Temple of the Cross, west jamb, C1; (g) **tu WAY-b'i-IL** *tu way-b'il*, Dumbarton Oaks Tablet:B5 (Houston and Stuart 1989:11); (h) **U-pa-ka-b'a** *u-pakab'*, "his lintel," Chichén Itzá, Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 1:E3 (Krochock 1989:10); (i) **U-pa-si-IL** *u-paas-il*, Yaxchilán Lintel 23, front edge:B2; (j) **U-nu-ch'a-IL** *u nuuch'-il* (?), Palenque House C eaves (Schele 1994:8).

function (1998:400).[2] Stuart and Houston, and Linda Schele independently, identified the compound *pib'-naah* "underground house" or "sweatbath" in the Cross Group at Palenque (Fig. 1.4e) (Stuart 1987:38). Houston (1996) has proposed that these same structures are referred to metaphorically as *chitin*, "oven," and *kun*, "an oven in which ink is made from smoke" (Fig. 1.4f,g). Components of buildings are also named: Kelley (1982) read a phonetic compound in a number of Chichén Itzá door lintel inscriptions as *u-pakab'*, "the lintel of..." (Fig. 1.4h). Further, Stuart (1998:379) has recognized a compound on the front edge of Yaxchilán Lintel 23 that reads *u-paasil* "its opening," which refers to the door of the structure, and a phonetic *nuuch'*, probably "roof ledge," on the eaves of House C at Palenque (Figs. 1.4i,j).

[2] There is actually an instance on the inscribed stone from Structure 10L-22A at Copán in which a *wayib'* is possessed by a living king. It is discussed in the chapter on Copán.

a b c

Fig. 1.5 Hieroglyphic spellings of *naah*: (a) logographic **NAAH**; (b) logographic **NAAH** abbreviated to bar element; (c) phonetic spelling of *naah* as **na-hi** (from Stuart 1998a:377).

a b c

Fig. 1.6 *Naah* in glyphic structure names: (a) *Sak Nuk Naah*, Palenque Tablet of the 96 Glyphs. Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) *Way-Naah*, Yaxchilán Lintel 10. Drawing by Ian Graham, CMHI 3:31; (c) *pat-tuun Yax ... Naah,* Naranjo Altar 1. Drawing by Ian Graham, CMHI 2:103.

The most common architectural term is *naah*,[3] a word that can mean "house" but seems also to have the more general sense of "building." The logograph used to write *naah* consists of a profile head with a bar emerging from it, often abbreviated to just the bar (Figs. 1.5a,b) (Stuart 1998a:376). Stuart has noted that in the Early Classic, *naah* is always written with this logograph (i.e., never with the phonetic **na** syllable), whereas Late Classic texts sometimes use the phonetic spelling **na-hi** (Fig. 1.5c) in place of the bar element (pers. comm. 1998). Some modern Mayan languages use either *naah* or *otoot* to mean "house," but not both: Ch'orti and Ch'ol, for example, use only *otoot*; whereas others, such as Tzeltal and the Yucatecan languages, and the Classic-period inscriptions, use both terms (Stuart 1998a:376). While in both modern Yucatecan and Classic textual contexts, the same structure can be both an *otoot* and a *naah*, the usage of the two terms is perfectly distinct.

I.3.2 The distinction between *otoot* and *naah* and the notion of "dwelling"

According to William Hanks, *-otoch,* the cognate of *otoot* in modern Yucatec, customarily occurs in possessed form and signifies "the sleeping home of the individual nuclear family." Further, the term always designates residential as opposed to agricultural or planted land (1990:315). By contrast, *nah* (in unpossessed form) also means "house," but is used to mean "both where one sleeps and where one works, even when the two are separated by twenty-five kilometers" (ibid.).

In Classic-period inscriptions, *naah* often forms part of the name of an *otoot* (Schele 1990); for example, Palenque's Tablet of the 96 Glyphs records a fire-entering ceremony in the *Sak Nuk Naah* (White Big? House), which is then described as the *otoot* of Pakal (Fig. 1.6a). *Naah* also appears in numerous contexts without *otoot*, though it is usually modified somehow: for example, Yaxchilán's Lintel 10 mentions a fire-entering ceremony in the *way naah* "sleeping house" or possibly "co-essence (Houston and Stuart 1989) house" of a Yaxchilán deity (Fig. 1.6b). Or again, Naranjo Altar 1 records the construction of the *Yax ... Naah* (Fig. 1.6c). That is, an *otoot* is a *naah*, but a *naah* is not always an *otoot.* That *naah* has the more general meaning of "structure," which can then be specified in various ways, is shown in the usage of one of Hanks' Yucatecan informants, who "describes his kitchen first as a small *nah* that is the woman's *k'oóben* [kitchen]" (1990:322). It is also used in a number of other modern Yucatecan expressions, including *popol nah* "council house" (Barrera Vasquez 1980:666) and *k'amul na* "guest house" or "hostel" (Barrera Vasquez 1980:545). In a possessed form, Yucatecan *na* can be used to specify the place of a number of things or activities. Barrera Vasquez (1980:545) gives

u-na-il nikte'-o'ob	garden ("flowers' house")
u-na-il kambesah	school ("learning's house")
u-na-il menyah	office ("working's house")
u-na-il tu'ux ku koonol ba'al	store ("where-one-buys-things' house")

[3] In this study, I use the Classic spelling of *naah* indicated by the glyphs when I am talking about Classic-period contexts; its many cognates can include *na, nah, naj*, and *na'*.

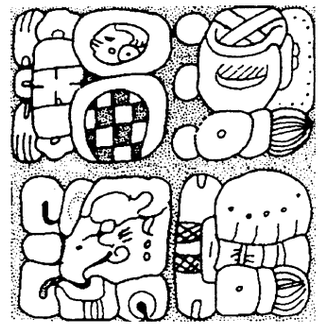


Fig. 1.7 *Otoot* glyph in unpossessed form: God GIII as the "Red/Great Dwelling Lord." **K'INICH "GIII" UX-...-K'UH ya-AJAW-wa CHAK OTOOT**, *K'inich "GIII"... y-ajaw chak otoot.* Palenque Tablet of the Inscriptions Central Tablet:M6-N6. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Although the distinction between *otoot* and *naah* has been said to be the fact that *otoot* is "inalienably possessed" (Hanks 1990:91; Stuart 1998a:376), it does in fact occur in the inscriptions and in modern usage in other ways. A Classic period example comes from the text on the central tablet of Palenque's Temple of the Inscriptions, where the god known as GIII – or perhaps all three of the triad gods – are described at M6-N6 as *y-ajaw chak otoot*, "the Red/Great Dwelling Lord(s)" (Fig. 1.7); and a modern example comes from the Ch'orti' *sian otot*, "hamlet" – literally, "many dwellings" – or *putz'bir otot* "abandoned dwelling" (Wisdom 1950:135, 159). I think what better distinguishes *otoot* from *naah* is that it is inherently *inhabited*, rather than inherently possessed; further, it is *usually* inherently inhabited by entities that can be considered animate, that are considered in Maya thought to have a soul or to partake of the vital force that animates people and things (Vogt 1969:369-71; Houston and Stuart 1996:292). So we can have, in Ch'orti' (Wisdom 1950:118)

u-y-otot-ir e nar	maize storehouse ("dwelling of maize")
u-y-otot-ir e santo	house in which a family's saint is kept ("dwelling of the saint")

or, from Yucatec (Barrera Vasquez 1980:324,980)

y-otoch kab	beehive ("dwelling of bees")
y-otoch sinik	anthill ("dwelling of ants")
y-otoch k'u	church ("dwelling of a holy thing")
y-otoch maskab	jail ("dwelling of metal")
y-otoch tsimin	stable (dwelling of horses)

Eleuterio Po'ot Yah and Victoria Bricker have recently offered support for the idea that an *otoot* is inherently inhabited: Po'ot Yah notes that in his dialect of Yucatec, *nah* refers to an artificial structure – i.e., a building – whereas *otoch* refers to a dwelling (a home), which may be either natural or artificial. Further, he says, an *otoch* must be occupied, whereas a *nah* must be man-made or artificial, and may or may not be occupied (Bricker and Po'ot Yah, personal communication 2003). What underlies these usages may have to do with Hanks' observation that, in Maya thought, "not only do places have owners, but agentive forces, potential owners, have assigned places... all animates... occupy relatively fixed positions" (1990:389). The notion of intrinsic belonging to a place, especially by an animate force or entity, explains rather well the Classic period textual usage, as we will see in the course of this study.[4]

There is no doubt that "dwelling" rather than "house" is the only appropriate English translation for *otoot*, in particular because "dwelling" is a gerund, a verbal noun that expresses an ongoing action. Our word *dwell* is related to Old English *dwellen*, "to hinder, stay," and to Old German *twellen*, "to tarry," with related senses of staying, or lingering, and has come to mean both "to reside" and to linger over something. "Dwelling" as a verbal noun referring to a structure or a place encodes the ongoing act of staying – an act that is almost a non-act. The same idea can be found in the notion of residence, for "reside" comes from the Latin *re-sidere*, a reflexive "sitting," or sitting back – again, an action that involves little activity. Dwellings and seats are intimately involved in Maya culture and in many traditional societies, and I expand on this in the Yaxchilán chapter. Overall, I argue that *otoot* indicates the same kind of ongoing "staying" by an animate entity that is found in our word "dwelling," though I do not assume *a priori* that Maya monumental dwellings are elite residences.

It is precisely this intuition that Heidegger captured decades ago in his essay "Building Dwelling Thinking," when he recognized that building is not the precondition of dwelling, but rather dwelling, as "the basic character of Being" (1977[1954]:338) is the precondition of building. That is – although I must oversimplify here – he recognized the core sense of dwelling as a *staying*, and particularly as a staying where the stayer is at peace, or free, within a sphere in which

[4] It is important to note that in languages that use only *otoot*, or only *nah*, the distinctions "artificial/natural" and "occupied/unoccupied" may disappear. For example, Tzotzil uses only *na*, and one finds both natural and artificial contexts for it; for example (from Laughlin 1975:246),

na šinič	"ant nest"
na kasolina	"service station"
na pistola	"holster"

It would be harder to argue from the examples Laughlin gives whether the occupants of *na* "structures" in Tzotzil – whether holsters or gas stations – are to be considered animate or inanimate. In Ch'orti', which uses only *otot*, one does find unpossessed examples of the term, but I have not located usages in which the *otot* is definitely unoccupied or where the occupier is definitively inanimate: the "inhabited" quality of an *otot* may overpower its extension to other usages. Wisdom's definition of *otot* does include "nest," suggesting, although I have found no examples, that it extends to natural as well as artificial structures. Ch'orti' finds other ways to express words that, in other languages, use *nah*.

its essence is safeguarded and unchallenged; thus the relief one feels when one comes home from a long, troublesome journey. This understanding of dwelling is intimately related to Heidegger's assertion that Being is a nonsensical notion unless it is understood as Being-in-the-world as a lived process.

Dwelling, then, although we can use it as a noun in English, is in effect a fundamental existential condition. The reason that dwelling is a precondition of building is that we must be "at home" in the world, unmolested, not on the run or challenged, before we begin to build the structures and spaces that express that condition. I bring this out here because I think it will be useful for understanding how certain elite Maya dwellings express very clearly this unchallenged staying-on of an animate entity. One of the fundamental interests of this study is ultimately to address the possibility of deep cognitive diversity in core cultural concepts. I believe that the dwellings studied here will show themselves to be uniquely Maya creations in some ways; while in other ways, they point to a universal human existential condition that can be found in words for and notions of dwelling in other societies.

While it would be tempting, as Stuart notes (1998:378), to classify any structure referred to as *y-otoot,* "his/her/its dwelling," as the living residence of the person named in the inscription, a number of considerations make this conclusion problematic. First, a particular owner of a dwelling may have more than one *otoot*: in the Palenque palace complex, a context which is certainly truly residential at some level, at least two structures are referred to as the "dwelling of Pakal," raising questions about the contemporaneity of use of structures as well as change of function over time. Second, *otoot* structures named in a building's texts may not always refer to the structure in which the inscription is placed, but to some other building. Third, the "owner" of the *otoot* is not always a human being, or if a human being, is not always alive: a number of "house-owners" are supernatural figures, and some dwellings are recorded as such only after the death of their owners. Fourth, and perhaps most crucially, as Houston has pointed out in his study of the "sweatbath" sanctuaries of the Palenque Cross Group, the ancient Maya were applying terms to buildings which did not necessarily or literally support the functions associated with those terms: e.g., the Cross Group sanctuaries bear little resemblance to actual archaeological examples of sweatbaths (1996:138). Therefore, while the Classic elite Maya were calling certain structures *y-otoot*, they may have been calling upon a range of symbolic, metaphorical, or ritual associations that must be taken into consideration when trying to identify the function of a structure.

I.4 Epigraphic issues relevant to this study

I.4.1 Architectural inscriptions as Primary Standard Sequence texts

In a section above, I noted that most of the texts that I deal with in this project are or contain some form of the Primary Standard Sequence; that is, they contain a so-called "dedicatory" verb, together with the object dedicated and sometimes its name (and in the case of vessel texts, sometimes the contents the vessel was meant to hold), as well as its owner's name. Stuart (1989) described the basic form of the "PSS," and showed that it could be as simple as a possessed noun and the possessors name; an example is (Fig. 1.8)

y-uk'-ib'	*"So-and-so"*
it is the drinking vessel of	So-and-so

A more extended form is perhaps more common. For vessels, a typical PSS formula often includes (Fig. 1.9)

1. PSS Initial Glyph (PSSIG)
2. **Verb** (most commonly the God N/step verb *t'ab'*(?), and sometimes the *k'al* "bind, enclose" verb; other rarer variants exist)
3. **Possessed noun** (or series of possessive constructions) giving the name of object inscribed
4. Prepositional phrase with **functional information** about the object
5. **Possessor's name**

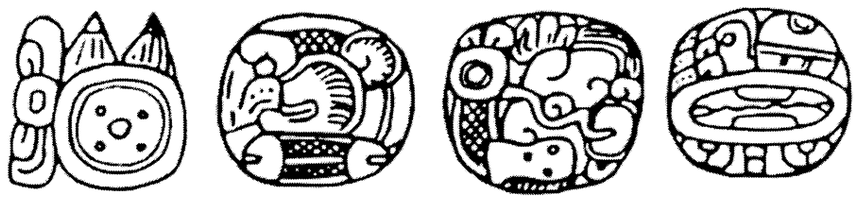
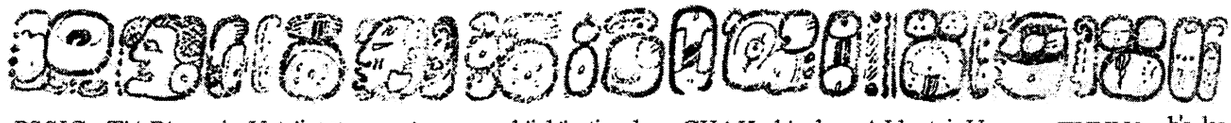


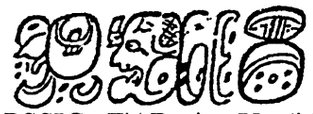
Fig. 1.8 A skeletal Primary Standard Sequence text: **yu-k'i-b'i ch'o-ko ch'a-... K'UH(ul) B'AAK-la AJAW** *y-uk'-ib' Ch'ok Ch'a.. K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw* "it is the drinking cup of Ch'ok Ch'a.. Holy B'aakal Lord." Drawing by David Stuart. See Kerr 4332 for photograph.



PSSIG T'AB'- yi U-tz'i-b'i na- ja yu-k'i-b'i ti-u-lu CHAK ch'o-ko AJ la-tzi U-.. ..-TUUN?- b'a-ka-b'a AJAW

Fig. 1.9 An extended Primary Standard Sequence text, from Kerr 1547.

a



PSSIG T'AB-yi U-tz'i-bi

b

PSSIG K'AL-AJ yi-chi

Fig. 1.10 Primary Standard Sequence verbs: (a) God N/Step verb, *t'ab'*(?). Drawing by David Stuart; (b) *k'al* verb variant, after Zender (2000:Fig. 4).

The "PSSIG" occurs on many vessel rim texts: it is unfortunately undeciphered. The verb is often the "Step/God N" verb that probably reads *t'ab'* "to go up, ascend" (Fig. 1.10a); and sometimes the verb *k'al* "bind, enclose" (Fig. 1.10b) although there are unread substitutes for the PSS verb, particularly on Chocholá vessels (Grube 1990). The *k'al* and *t'ab'* verbs can even occur together in the same text, as, for example, on the looted vases Kerr 5016, 1377, and 1422, where the following formula occurs:

PSSIG k'al-aj	*t'ab'-ay*	*tz'ib'-nah*
PSSIG is bound	it goes up	writing...
y-uk'ib'	*ta ..-teel*	
his drinking cup	for ...	

The possessed noun, or series of possessed nouns, is the object of the verb, and a typical example is

u-tz'i-b'i-na-ja-(la)	**yu-k'i-b'i**
u-tz'ib'-n-aj-(al)	*y-uk'ib'*
the writing? of	the drinking vessel of

It is important to note that the grammar of PSS texts is not entirely understood. For example, the PSSIG main sign is unread and we are uncertain of its precise grammatical function; further, the function of the common **na-ja** suffix on the *u-tz'ib'* compound is not known. There are a number of other variations on the structure of this phrase that, while currently obscure, will ultimately be critical to a proper understanding of its meaning and function.

"Functional" information on ceramic PSS texts usually concerns the intended contents of the vessel, whether plate or drinking cup: for example, the drinking cup in Fig. 1.9 is *ti-ul*, "for atole," and the name of the lordly possessor follows. In architectural texts that deal with dwellings, this basic formula is very common. It appears with and without the PSSIG, with a range of verbs. The basic structure is the following:

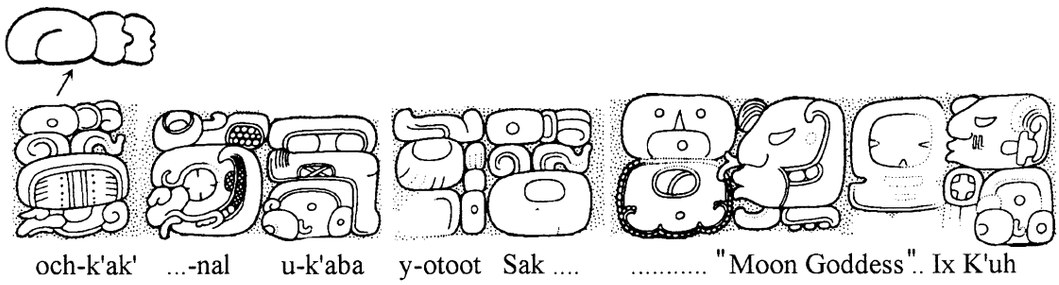
VERB – "HIS DWELLING" – POSSESSOR'S NAME

Sometimes the name of the dwelling will be provided (Fig. 1.11):

[verb]	*[Such-and-such]-Naah*	*u-k'aba*
[verb]	Such-and-such-House	(is) the name of
y-otoot	*[So-and-so]*	
the dwelling of	So-and-so	

A good link between architectural texts and vessel rim texts is provided by Tikal Miscellaneous Text 140, the rim inscription on a carved cache pot from beneath the steps of Structure 5D-46 on the Central Acropolis. This late fourth or early fifth-century vessel shows that the structure and content of PSS-type texts for both vessels and architecture was standardized at an early date (Fig. 1.12):

PSSIG t'ab'-[ay?]	*y-otoot k'uh-[ul?] naah-il*
PSSIG it goes up	the god-dwelling house? of
B'olon Tz'akab'-il Ajaw	
the ninth in the series? Lord	



och-k'ak' ...-nal u-k'aba y-otoot Sak .... "Moon Goddess".. Ix K'uh

Fig. 1.11 Yaxchilán Lintel 23 underside:N5-N7. *och* at N1 is misdrawn as *sak*; but photograph reveals clear "snake rattle" version of *och*.

PSSIG T'AB' yo- K'UH-(ul?) 9-TZ'AK-b'u MOCH?- 6-CHAN-na ? K'UH-(ul?) to-CHAK- MUTUL
OTOOT na/NAAH-IL IL-AJAW XOOK na/NAAH ICH'AAK AJAW

Fig. 1.12 Tikal Miscellaneous Text 140, after Schele and Mathews (1998:78).

Although there are some grammatical and syntactical irregularities in this early text, the structure of its initial glyphs is the same as that of dwelling texts on lintels in late ninth-century Chichén Itzá. That is, these texts are highly standardized for close to five hundred years.

The verbs that relate directly to dwellings and their structural components fall into four categories, as follows:

1. Building:
   pat "make, build, form"
2. Burning/censing/entering:
   och-k'ak' "fire-enter"
   el-naah "house-cense"
   pul "burn" (not used with dwellings, but with other architectural features)
   och-otoot?-naah/och-naah? "enter-house"
3. Ascending:
   t'ab'(?) (God N/step verb) "ascend, go up"
4. Binding/embracing:
   k'al "bind, enclose, fasten"
   peht "embrace, 'perimeterize'"

Stuart (1998) has discussed a number of these verbs. The verb *pat,* "to make, form" (Stuart 1998a:381-384) is often inflected as a positional verb. It can both refer to the construction of an entire building, as in *pat-laj y-otoot* "his dwelling is built" (Fig. 1.13a) and form part of the specification of the location of the construction, as in *pat-laj Lakam-Ha'*, "It is built at Lakam-Ha'" (Fig. 1.13b). The *pat* verb is usually inflected with the positional suffixes **la-AJ** -*laj*, or **wa-ni** (Fig. 1.13c): it is not yet certain how the latter should be transliterated. The two suffixes appear to be regional variants of a positional ending.

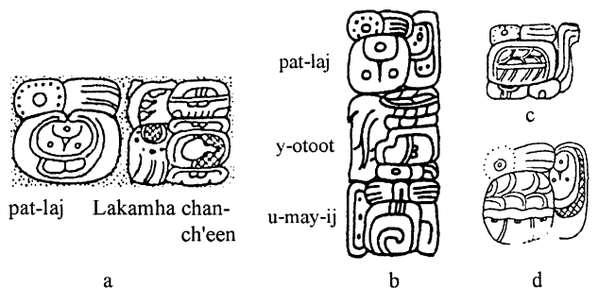


Fig. 1.13 The *pat* "make, build, form" verb: (a) *pat-laj y-otoot*, Tortuguero looted wooden box:S2-S3. Drawing by Mathew Looper; (b) *pat-laj Lakam-ha' chan-ch'een*, Palenque Temple of the Cross alfarda:K2-L2; (c) **PAT-wa-ni** *pat-wan*: full form of *pat* logograph with **wa-ni** inflection, from Palenque Palace Tablet. Drawing by Linda Schele; (d) full form of *pat* logograph with *-laj* inflection, from Stuart (1998a:Fig. 3a).

The verb *och-k'ak'* "fire enters" is extremely common in Classic texts and plainly describes an offertory rite that attends some aspect or aspects of construction, and effects the animation and ritual protection of a range of structures, including dwellings (Fig. 1.11), *pib'-naah* "sweatbaths," *way-ib'* "shrines," and *muk-il* "tombs" (Fig. 1.14a-c); it has strong ethnographic parallels in modern Maya societies that involve burning substances as offerings in a structure or area to "feed" it and provide it with a soul or to cleanse and protect it against unwanted and dangerous entities (Vogt 1976:53-55; Bunzel 1952:37-39; Stuart 1998a:384-399).

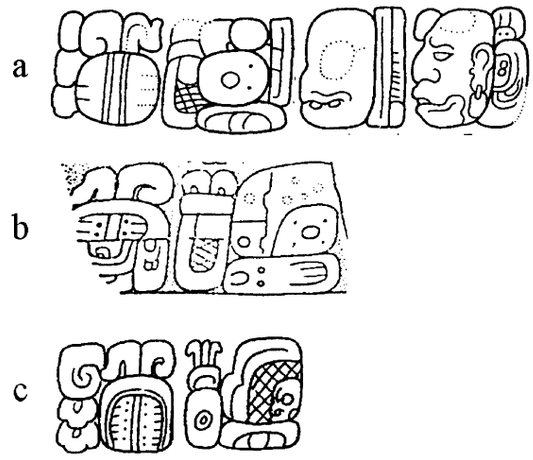


Fig. 1.14 *Och-k'ak'* verb with various objects: (a) *och-k'ak' tu pib'-naah* (Palenque "Death's Head" Monument, from Robertson (1985:Vol.IV:Fig. 286); (b) fragmentary *[och]-k'ak' tu-way-ib'.* From Stuart (1998a:Fig. 16); (c) *och-k'ak' ti-muk-il.* From Stuart (1998a:Fig. 13).

The *el-naah* "house-censing" or "structure-censing" verb (Stuart 1998a:389-393), less common in the texts, works in a very similar way, as in (Fig. 1.15a):

EL-NAAH	**cha-hu-ku-NAAH**
el-naah	*Chahuk Naah*
is house-censed	Lightning House
yo-OTOOT-ti	**ya-?-AHK?**
y-otoot	*Y-ahk?*
the dwelling of	Y-ahk(?)

Fig. 1.15 A dedicatory phrase using the *el-naah* verb: *el-naah Chahuk Naah y-otoot*, Piedras Negras Throne 1. Drawing by John Montgomery.

The God N/step verb, *t'ab'*, can be slotted into the same structure (Fig. 1.16):

T'AB'-yi	**K'INICH K'UK' NAAH**
t'ab'-ay	*K'inich K'uk' Naah*
it goes up	Radiant Quetzal House
ta-OTOT-ti	**ch'a-ho-ma**
ta otoot	*Ch'ahoom*
(as?) the dwelling	of the incense scatterer,

K'INICH K'UK'-B'ALAM
K'inich K'uk' B'alam
Radiant Quetzal Jaguar

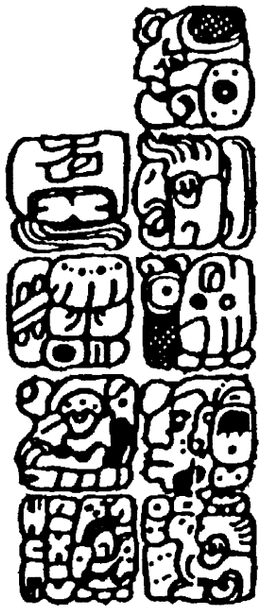


Fig. 1.16

A typical architectural dedicatory phrase using the *t'ab'* verb: *t'ab'-ay K'inich K'uk' Naah ta y-otoot B'aakel Wayal K'inich Kan B'alam K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw,* Palenque Tablet of the Sun:O8-O12. Drawing by Merle Greene Robertson.

Further discussion of the *t'ab'* verb and its objects can be found in Chapter 3. Finally, a verb I discuss little in this study because it occurs principally at Palenque is another "entering" verb of uncertain transliteration. Its components are the *och* "enter" sign, often the "fist" version; the lower half of the *otoot* logograph; and the *naah* logograph (Fig. 1.17): it may be *och-otoot-naah*, or simply *och-naah*, but the sense seems to be "house-entering" or "dwelling-entering." Schele (1994) hypothesized that it was an activation ritual that involved the "housing" of the inhabitants; and Stuart has tied it to the *ok-nah* ritual described by Landa, encompassing the renewal of idols and braziers in their temples (1998:402).

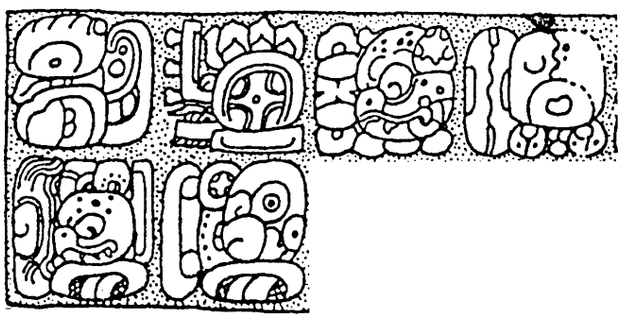


Fig. 1.17 The *och-naah*(?) verb: *och-naah ...-K'an Naah u-pib'-naah-il u-k'uh-il K'inich Kan B'alam.* Alfarda, Temple of the Foliated Cross, Palenque. Drawing by Linda Schele.

The last set of verbs, including the *k'al* "bind, fasten" verb with its various inflections, and the glyph probably read *pet*, are not as well understood. They occur in phrases whose structures are similar to the others, but when used with regard to architecture, they usually refer to a component of the dwelling rather than to the dwelling itself (Fig. 1.18a-b):

a) ***peht-aj*** *u-"lu-bat"-il-il*
is embraced the "carving" of

u-ka-ool-ti' *u-wak-wak pu ahk naah*
the inner door of the Wak-wak Pu Ahk House,

u-k'uhul otoot
his holy dwelling

b) ***k'al-wan*** *u-paasil* *y-otoot*
is bound the door of her dwelling

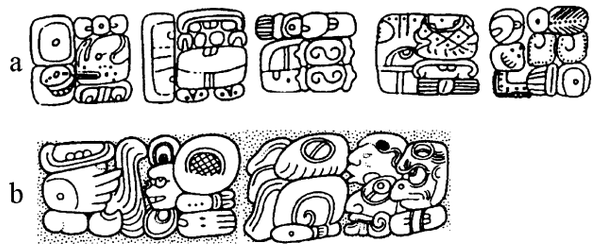


Fig. 1.18 "Perimeterizing" verbs: (a) *pet* verb, Akab Dzib lintel front:A2a, Chichén Itzá. Drawing by Ruth Krochock; (b) *k'al* verb inflected as **K'AL-wa-ni**, Yaxchilán Lintel 23 front edge:A2-C1.

I believe that it is very likely that in their uses with architecture, the *k'al* and *pet* verbs have to do principally with the shaping of ritual space through the creation of perimeters. Although I reserve detailed discussion of these expressions for later chapters, where I can situate them more fully in their textual and architectural contexts, I will note here that the creation of perimeters by "binding," "embracing," and walking ritual circuits is a standard aspect of space-making and curing rituals across the Maya area (e.g., Vogt 1976:205-6; Gossen 1974; Hanks 1990:299-300).

In sum, then, most of the texts that mention dwellings and other kinds of architecture have to do with the construction of the structure and its component parts, and especially with the rites that animate and protect the building at various intervals during its construction. The standardization of the structure of the texts together with their thematic content suggests that we are dealing with a textual genre in a technical sense.

I.4.2 Text genres, ritual speech, and the media of Maya writing

> [T]exts cannot be properly analyzed, or even read, in isolation, but must be placed within the larger discursive formations of which they are a part.
>
> Hanks 2000[1996]:275

Although adopting the blanket term "dedicatory" to refer to Primary Standard Sequence texts risks obscuring interesting variation in their content and form, it is not an altogether inappropriate English-language gloss for the nature of these inscriptions, particularly if one appreciates the Latin

etymology of the term. The word comes from *dedicatus*, the past participle of *dedicare* > *de-* = down and *dicare* = to proclaim. That is, it has its roots in an act of speech, and its common and probably most ancient meaning of "to set apart for sacred use; consecrate [L. *com-sacrare,* make sacred]," appropriately reflects a central emphasis of this study. That is, Maya texts of all types, whether from the Classic or Colonial eras, not only record language as it is spoken, but can reflect a range of oral performance components, in their concern with strict formulas, repetition, sound play, coupletting, etc. (Coggins 1992; Maxwell 1997; Hanks 2000[1987]:149; Hull 2001); further, they often *are* or *contain* genres of ritual speech, where ritual speech is understood as an active and creative force intertwined to various degrees with types of ritual action (e.g., Tambiah 1985:17-21; Hanks 2000[1993]:239-244). Virtually any creation of bounded, protected space in Maya practice – a fundamental component of almost any ritual – will involve more or less elaborate speech forms depending upon the nature and expertise of the person creating it: for example, the conjuring[5] of the guardian spirits that bounds the corners of a Yucatecan *hmeen*'s altar and makes of it a protected ritual space involves the pronunciation of the names of the spirits in the correct order, under precisely the right conditions, and in conjunction with carefully arranged sets of offerings (Hanks 2000[1993]:239). The act of setting a space apart for sacred use in the Latin-speaking world involved ritual speech, just as it does for the Maya; with this sense of the word "dedicate" in mind, we can use "dedicatory" to describe those texts or parts of texts that animate, sacralize, and protect Classic Maya buildings and objects.

In a broad way, then, we can speak of a "dedicatory genre"; but it is worthwhile to be specific about what constitutes a genre in Maya hieroglyphic writing. Formally, a genre can be defined as a type of discourse – that is, a set of utterances that constitute a speech event (e.g., Lindstrom 1996:162) – that exhibits regularity in its grouping of thematic, stylistic, and compositional elements (Maxwell 1997:97; Hanks 2000[1987]:133). It may also, as Maxwell notes, be distinguished by differential exploitation of the basic grammatical system (1997:97). For example, Maxwell shows how Chuj speech genres of "news," "history", and "prayer" use tense and aspect, noun phrases, adverbs, directional verbs, and coupletting differently, such that "each genre combines the syntactic and semantic potentials of the grammar in a unique way" (1997:105-6).

In Classic Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions, genre must be understood not only as a combination of thematic, stylistic, compositional, and grammatical elements, but also as related to a physical medium and location. That is, no text is produced or consumed without a more or less intensely physical interaction with an artifact and/or a locale, whether a massive outdoor hieroglyphic stairway, the underside of an interior door lintel, or a carved deer's ulna. Further, since many inscriptions refer in some way to the object inscribed, the thematic content of the text is influenced by the medium or location. Maya texts occur in a wide variety of locations that entail very different possibilities for reading or general reception. They can be painted or carved in and on stone, wood, stucco, smooth plaster surfaces, bone, and ceramics; there are even depictions of hieroglyphs painted on items of clothing, with portions of the texts hidden by the drape of depicted cloth. Texts may occur on portable objects such as carved bone weaving tools or ceramic drinking vessels that must be turned over and rotated in the hands to be appreciated; on objects that are portable only with great effort, such as the massive stone incensarios at Copán; or may be mounted into monumental and inherently stationary architectural contexts. All of these factors will influence textual content, length, and style, such that we must take medium and location into account when trying to identify genre.

The identification of genre is not a gratuitous act of categorization. Hanks notes that there are at least two approaches to text and speech genres. The first is a formal approach, where genres are seen to consist of "regular groupings of thematic, stylistic, and compositional elements, irrespective of the historical conditions and social values in a given context" (2000[1987]:135). A second approach, however, sees genre as a set of historically specific conventions and ideals according to which authors compose discourse and audiences receive it (ibid.). That is, genres are elements of social practice, communicative acts that are historically situated. An understanding of Maya texts as situated social practice is therefore critical to a more precise grasp of the social and meaningful contexts of their production.

Hanks' application of Bahktin's (1981) discussion of primary and secondary genres to colonial Maya texts is helpful for conceptualizing prehispanic text genres, where the linguistic and material culture aspects of the texts are so thoroughly intertwined. A "primary," or simple, genre is a particular type of discourse, such as quoted speech, particular kinds of verse construction, narrative description, or testimonial. A "secondary" genre is one that encompasses primary genres; for example, a novel contains "virtually all other types of discourse through dialogism, direct quotation, reported speech, and so forth" (Hanks 2000[1987]:137). A colonial Yucatecan *información de derecho* written by local nobles to demonstrate ancestral rights over certain areas of land may, for example, contain first person narrative, reported speech, and intermittent verse constructions.

Although discussion of literary genre types does not typically include the dimension of material form, text must always be consumed through some medium, so that we might regard a Classic Maya figure-painted cylinder vase as a secondary or complex genre that includes a number of primary genres, which together determine its overall meaning. For example, the vase in Fig. 1.19 from Tikal Burial 196 could be said to contain at least two primary text genres: one is the Primary Standard Sequence beginning at A (missing the PSSIG but otherwise a relatively elaborate PSS); and the other is the reported speech of the hummingbird, identified by the phrase *y-al-ji:iy tz'unun ti Itzamnaaj,* "said the hummingbird to Itzamnaaj" (Glyphs R2-R4, V1-V3). An interesting comparison can be made with Yaxchilán Lintel 25, one of the famous "blood-letting" monuments from Structure 23 at that site (Fig. 1.20). The core of the text on the front edge of

[5] Note again the intimate connection between ritual action and ritual words preserved in the word "conjure" > *con* = "with, together" + *jurare* = "swear."

the lintel is a PSS using the *t'ab'* verb (O2) where the object is the "carving" (P1) of the dwelling of Ix K'ab'al Xook, a royal woman of Yaxchilán. The underside of the lintel, however, is occupied by a figural depiction accompanied by two kinds of texts. One (Glyphs A1-F4) is a large text along the upper rim of the scene that is a narrative description of the action – what Josserand (1987) has called a "capsule commentary" – and the other (Glyphs G1-I3) is a small text inside the scene that functions as a "caption," giving the impersonation identity and name of Ix K'ab'al Xook. Like the vessel, the lintel as a secondary genre contains different primary genres in spatially restricted zones on its surface, with the PSS in both cases acting as a kind of frame for the other subject matter.

The physical differences between the two inscribed objects, however, create very different contexts of reception for the similar texts. The pot would have been turned around in the

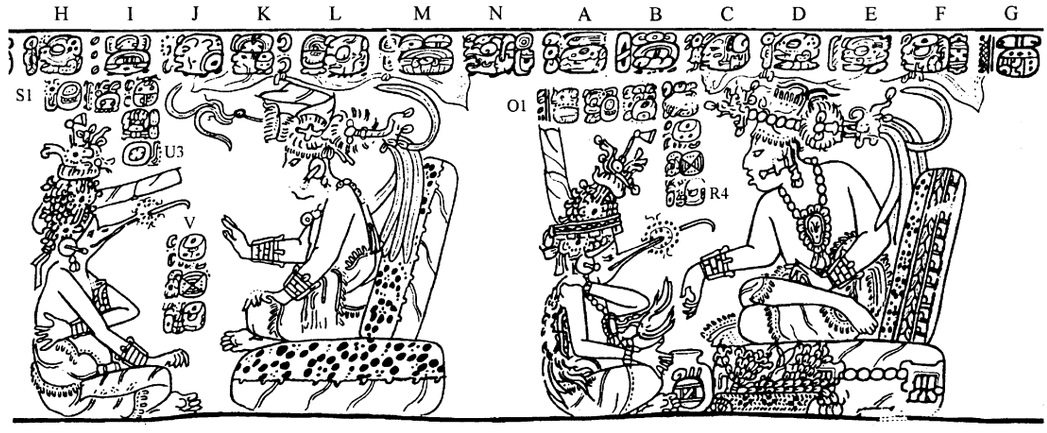


Fig. 1.19 Text genres on ceramic vessels: the Hummingbird vase from Tikal Burial 196, from Coggins (1975:Fig. 140).

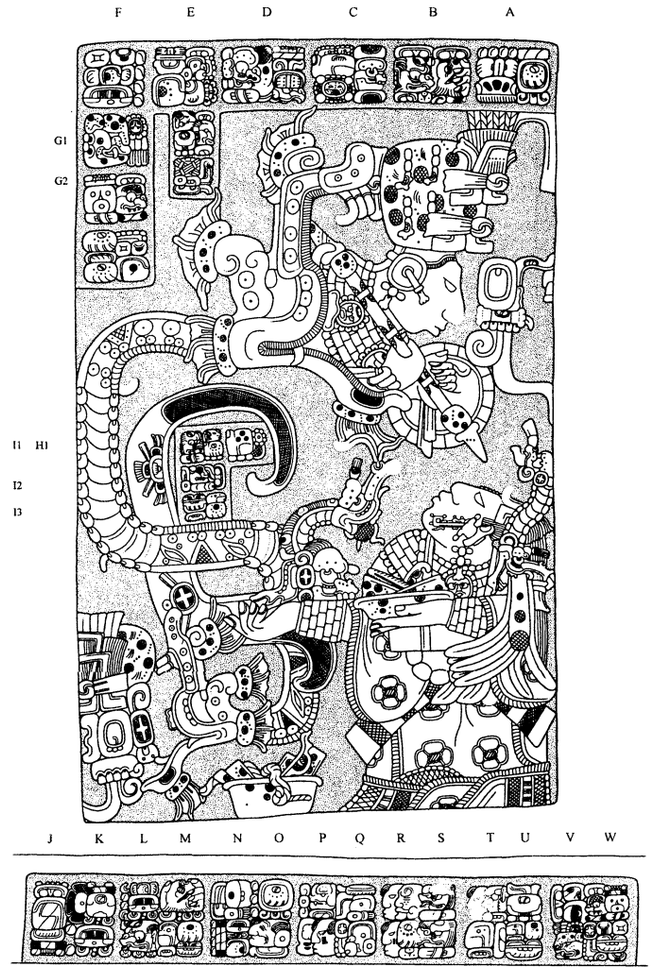


Fig. 1.20 Text genres on monuments: Yaxchilán Lintel 25. Drawing by Ian Graham (CMHI 3:55-56).

hands of its owner or guest user, or spotted across a room or courtyard by a court visitor; whereas the appreciation of the lintel texts requires, first, stopping in front of a doorway and looking up, and then, to see the underside, twisting one's body and neck awkwardly, and probably screwing up one's face, to look straight up over one's head. This kind of bodily encounter with monumental Maya texts is fairly standard, as when one walks around a stela to view all sides; and some texts are so physical as to be effectively unreadable, such as the massive hieroglyphic stairway of Copán. There are probably a number of ways to approach the issue of the intended reception context of Maya texts; for example, it has been noted before that many texts, especially those that are physically difficult to read, may be directed at divine rather than human audiences. Alternatively, some texts, like the undersides of lintels, may have been designed to require a humiliating or humbling posture in order to read them.

I think, however, that the presence of formulaic dedicatory texts on a wide range of object types is probably indicative of the value of giving physical body to ritual speech in contexts where the ongoing well-being of a space and its inhabitant are of primary importance. The extremely, consistently, and enduringly formulaic nature of the PSS over several hundred years gives it the feeling of an incantation or prayer, which is the feature that Michael Coe originally keyed into with his (1973) suggestion that the PSS was a mortuary chant. In incantations and prayers, precision in word order is critical to the outcome of the rite (e.g., Hanks 2000[1993]:229). Clearly there are many formulaic and enduring text and speech genres that do not constitute prayers or incantations; but the concern of the content of the texts with ritual acts of sanctifying, animating, or protecting spaces and objects is suggestive.

Better understandings of the curious grammatical elements of PSS-type texts will have much to do with understanding their function; for example, a single inflectional particle could make the difference between a verb in the incompletive aspect and a verb as a supplication. The undeciphered PSS Initial Glyph may be a deictic particle: that is, it may be a linguistic form that accomplishes an act of reference or indication, such as "These ones are..." or "Here is the...".[6] Whatever it is, it is probably a very important clue to the nature of these texts; a fine-grained understanding of Maya text genres must await a better grasp of glyphic grammar. However, there is suggestive evidence from some inscriptions, particularly at Chichén Itzá and Xcalumkin, that some texts of the PSS type constituted tangible, visible, and efficacious ritual speech with, at least from an emic standpoint, a complex and multi-dimensional ontology. I am not suggesting that certain texts can be equated with certain modern speech formats; there are clearly speech formats that are specific to the glyphs. But if we are to use Maya texts responsibly with archaeology to understand the Maya past, then we should understand what kind of "record" we are presented with; as Hanks notes, "whether we read a text as fiction, parody, prayer, or documentary is a generic decision with important consequences for interpretation" (2000[1987]:136-7).

[6] Hanks (1990:523,n.1) provides a formal definition of deixis as the "indexical denotational function of linguistic forms, whereby they contribute to the individuation of referential objects relative to indexical contexts."

I.4.3 Issues of language, grammar, and syntax

In this section I will briefly discuss recent developments in decipherment in order to introduce their import and terminology for this study. I also make short comments about interpretive problems that arise over and over again because of the nature of dedicatory texts.

Three major developments have arisen from the collaborative work of David Stuart, Stephen Houston, and John Robertson. The first is a theory about the identification of the language recorded by Maya texts, and the second and third are theories about specific ways in which the script renders features of spoken language and grammar.

Houston, Robertson, and Stuart (2000) recently proposed that the Classic script records a single language with an identifiable place in the developmental trajectory of Mayan languages; specifically, they argue that it is ancestral to Ch'olti' and Ch'orti', the "Eastern Ch'olan" languages, and call it "Classical Ch'olti'an." Further, they believe the script preserves Classical Ch'olti'an as a prestige language that served to link Classic-period elites as a community across both polity lines and the vernaculars that may have been spoken in their respective areas. Although the work of many other scholars (e.g., Bricker 1986; MacLeod 1984, 1987; Schele 1982; Campbell 1984; Josserand, Schele and Hopkins 1985; Lacadena 1998; Wald 1994) has been pointing at Ch'olan language family data as of key importance for some time, the Robertson, Houston, and Stuart paper for the first time brings together several lines of evidence to produce a coherent theory with parallels in other script traditions. While the theory and its specifics will be controversial for some time, as evidenced by the contributions of the various commentators on the article, and will of course be modified with future work, it nevertheless represents a benchmark in the decipherment process, forcing other scholars to adopt and defend particular positions. For me, it provides a general backdrop of the requirement of precision in thinking about texts and their patterns, internally, intertextually, and between sites, as well as a caution against uncritical use of multiple linguistic sources in interpretation. It has more specific relevance for my treatment of the texts of Chichén Itzá, which have generally been considered to be of Yucatecan linguistic affiliation; I treat this problem in more detail in that chapter.

Both of the theories about script mechanics have made it into Coe and Van Stone's recent (2001) glyph guide, *Reading the Maya Glyphs*, and appear at this time to be relatively uncontroversial, in spite of some initial resistance (e.g., Grube 2000). The first (Houston, Stuart, and Robertson 1998) provides an explanation for the exceptions to Knorosov's rule of vowel synharmony in glyphic spellings. That is (Fig. 1.21), **pa-ta** and **pa-ti** spell two different words because the disharmonic vowel of the second syllable in each spelling indicates that the root vowel is complex. So, while **pa-ta** spells *pat*, "make, build, form," **pa-ti** could spell *paat, paht*, or *pa'at;* in the script, **pa-ti** is generally used in contexts that mean "back" or "after."

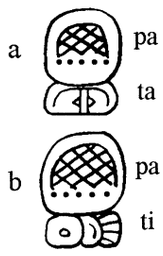


Fig. 1.21 Harmonic and disharmonic spelling: (a) **pa-ta**; (b) **pa-ti.**

The disharmony theory has proven to be so productive that its basic validity is not in question, but the specifics of what kind of complex vowels it indicates and how it does so remain to be worked out. One convention for representing a complex vowel without making a decision about whether it is a long vowel, an *-h-* infix, or a glottalized vowel, is to use a colon (:) to represent complexity. So, while **cha-ka** spells *chak*, "red" or "great," **cha-ki** renders *cha:k*, the name of the rain god. Classic inscriptions spell the word for dwelling in two basic ways, either with a logogram

yo-OTO:T-ti

or using a purely syllabic spelling

yo-to-ti

In both cases, the final vowel is disharmonic, indicating vowel complexity. Although the colon is a useful device, the current preference among epigraphers is to use a double vowel, which has the benefit of minimizing visual confusion. Therefore, I will spell *oto:t* as *otoot* throughout, maintaining the same convention for other root words hieroglyphically spelled with disharmonic vowels, unless there is evidence for the actual character of the vowel.

The other important development is the theory of morphosyllables (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:37-38; Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2001:14-23). That is, in addition to logograms, which represent whole words and thus have semantic significance, and syllabic signs, which represent V (vowel) or CV (consonant-vowel) sounds and are thus phonetic, morphosyllables are signs that are both logographic and syllabic. A single sign such as the **li** syllable can be used for purely phonetic purposes, as, for example, to spell

ti-li *til* "to burn"

As a morphosyllable, however, the **li** sign takes on independent *grammatical* meaning as the suffix *-il*, transcribed **-IL**, or possibly as a *-Vl* (vowel-L) suffix, transcribed **-VL,** where the vowel depends upon other considerations, such as harmony with the vowel of the root word. The *-il* suffix can function as an abstractive, turning, for example, *ak'ab* "dark" into *ak'ab-il* "darkness"; or it can function in possessive constructions in various ways (Houston, Robertson, Stuart 2001:25-42). For instance, "step" as an isolated noun will be spelled **e-b'u** *ehb'* (Fig. 1.22a); but "his step" will be spelled **ye-b'a-IL** *(u)y-ehb'-il* (Fig. 1.22b), or sometimes **ye-b'u-IL**.

Fig. 1.22 Use of the partitive *-il* suffix: (a) **e-bu**; (b) **ye-ba-IL**.

An important feature of morphosyllables is that they create a spelling boundary between the vowel of the root and the vowel of the suffix, suspending the rule of disharmony; that is, while the disharmonic vowels in **ye-b'u** indicate a complex vowel in the root *ehb'*, the disharmonic vowels in **ye-b'a-IL** have no consequence for the complexity of the second vowel.

An example from Chichén Itzá can show how these developments directly affect interpretations, making some possible and others impossible. A fairly common expression in architectural texts at Chichén is spelled **U-k'a?-li**[7] (Fig. 1.23). The final *-li* syllable can be analyzed as a morphosyllable **-Vl** that functions here as a possessive and possibly "partitive" suffix – a type that often occurs with juxtaposed nouns, and seems to function in a surficial sense as a marker of possession (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:58-61; Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2001:24-32). The **U-k'a-li** sequence in fact often appears just before *y-otoot* and forms part of a series of juxtaposed nouns. If the final **-li** syllable is accepted as a morphosyllable **-VL** (possibly *-il*) then the transcription, transliteration, and translation of the sequence look like this:

Transcription: **U-k'a(?)-IL**
Transliteration: *u-k'a(?)-il*
Translation: "his/her/its *k'a*(?)"

If, however, the **-li** syllable does not function as a morphosyllable, then it must be interpreted as part of the spelling of the root noun, giving

Transcription: **U-k'a-li**
Transliteration: *u-k'al*
Translation: "his/her/its *k'al*"

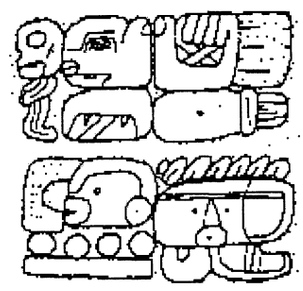


Fig. 1.23

The *k'a* expression: **u-k'a-IL yo-to-ti K'UHUL B'OLON AJAW-wa.** Chichén Itzá, Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 1:A6-B7.

K'a and *k'al* are different words. The possibilities for understanding the collocation are then further constrained by the rule of vowel disharmony. Because morphosyllables

[7] The question mark after **k'a** reflects the possibility that it is acting logographically in this context, in which case it would be transcribed **K'A**. It is also possible that a soft 'h' is underspelled in the logographic spelling, giving **K'AH-IL,** much as the word *naah* "house" –can be glyphically spelled **na** (Palenque Tablet of the Foliated Cross:M7), **na-hi**, or **NAAH.**

constitute a spelling boundary, in the first example, the vowel *a* of **k'a** would be unaffected by the vowel *i* of the morphosyllable **-IL**, leaving it *u-k'a-il*. In the second example, however, in which a morphosyllabic value is not accorded to **-li**, a glyphic spelling of **k'a-li** would give a root not *k'al* but *k'aal* – again, two different words. The context of the collocation in a series of possessive constructions virtually guarantees, however, that the **li** sign functions as a morphosyllable rather than a simple syllabic spelling.

Probably the most crucial expression for the interpretation of the Chichén building texts is that spelled **U-K'UH-IL** in the texts of the Temple of the Four Lintels (Fig. 1.24). This particular transcription requires the acceptance of the logographic nature of the "God C" head as *k'uh*, "god," (not syllabic *k'u*), as well as the morphosyllabic (**-IL**) nature of **-li**, giving *u-k'uh-il* "his/her/its god" (Houston and Stuart 1996:304; Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:196). At Chichén and a number of other sites, the expression is interposed between the *y-otoot* compound and the names of historic personages, giving "it is the dwelling of the god of So-and-so." Because of the context, any other reading of the compound is precluded. This specific transcription and transliteration of the glyph compound is important because it is the one principally responsible for transforming the way that Chichén's texts have traditionally been interpreted, by attributing the ownership of *otoot* structures to gods rather than humans, by shortening the list of "historic" or human personages in favor of supernatural ones, and by thus obliging re-evaluation of the appropriateness of the *mul tepal* hypothesis for Chichén's political structure.

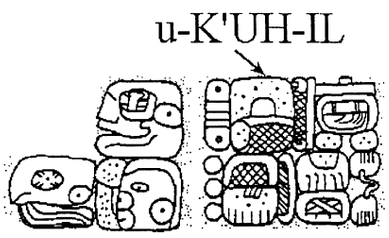


Fig. 1.24 The *u-k'uh-il* "his god" expression: *16 ok'in(?) k'uh* ***u-k'uh-il*** *Aj Wak-Chanal(?) Ox Pakab Matam*, "16 Ok'in God is the god of Wak Chanal, Three Lintel Matam." Chichén Itzá, Temple of the 4 Lintels, Lintel 4:B7-D2.

A recurrent difficulty in the interpretation of dedication texts is the juxtaposition of possessed nouns or other types of possessive constructions referred to above: in these cases, sentence boundaries are not always clear, although they were undoubtedly crystal clear for the Maya who understood the lexical meaning of all the words and the purpose of the texts. A good example comes from the front edge of Lintel 3 of Las Monjas at Chichén Itzá (Fig. 1.25):

U-"bat"-lu-na-ja-ki	***u-pakab'-ti'il***	***u-k'a(-il?)***
[verb]	the lintel of	the *k'a* (of?)
u-jol	***u-sak-..***	*[name]*
the door? (of?)	the white… of	[name]

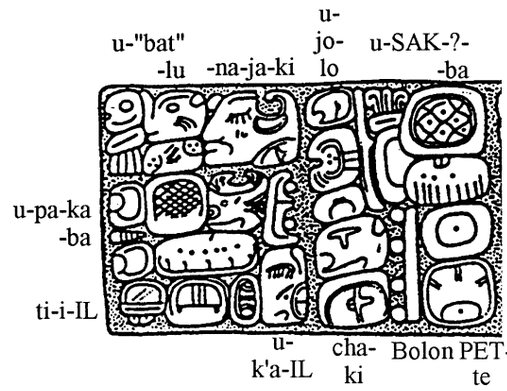


Fig. 1.25 "Ditransitive" constructions: Lintel 3a, Las Monjas, Chichén Itzá. Drawing by Ian Graham.

In this instance, four possessive constructions follow the verb. We would understand where to place a period if we were Chichén Mayas, but as outsiders, we could construct

> [verb] the lintel of the *k'a*. It is the door of the white … of [name]

or

> [verb] the lintel of the *k'a* of the door. It is the white … of [name]

The correct parsing makes a difference, especially if one does not know what a *k'a* is. Because architectural dedications are often concerned with components of dwellings, or with components of components of dwellings, such as

"the lintel of a room of a dwelling of the god of someone"

these strings of possessives are a common interpretive problem.

Because strings of possessive constructions are so frequent in dedicatory statements, I use the idiom of possession or "ownership" to express possessive grammatical relationships. These can occur between personages such as gods and humans – e.g., *y-otoot u-k'uh-il Ox Pakab Matam,* "it is the dwelling of the god of Ox Pakab Matam"; as well as between gods and dwellings or humans and dwellings. I do not mean to imply that a god or a dwelling is a "property" owned by a human personage; rather, I use "own" and "possess" temporarily to reflect grammatical possession for the purpose of withholding judgment about the exact nature of the relationship until all the evidence is considered. I suspect that what is going on with "god possession" is, of course, more akin to the sense of possession in "A mighty fortress is our god." In this expression, humans grammatically possess "god," and the sense is not property ownership but belief and emotional investment. It is fairly clear from Classic period inscriptions that the relationship between kings and queens and their gods has some specific characteristics, involving mutual patronage and certain caretaking duties on the part of the human person that incorporate ritual feeding and sacrifice. The "ownership" idiom may in fact have some emic resonance: Hanks (2000[1993]:215), for example, notes that Don Séeb, a

Yucatecan ritual specialist, becomes the *yùumil* "owner, responsible agent" of directional gods through ritual action. Further, the supernaturals that inhabit spots on modern Maya landscapes are frequently referred to in Spanish as the *dueños*, or "owners," of the places they inhabit.

I.4.4 Notes on orthography, transcription conventions, and procedure

In rendering names of Mayan languages and in transcribing hieroglyphs, I generally use the orthography endorsed by the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala. For long established place-names invented by foreigners or archaeologists, such as Yucatán or Uaxactun, I keep the old spellings.

For transcription, transliteration, and translation, I use the standard method of **boldfacing** transcriptions, with syllabic values in **lower case** and logographic ones in **UPPER CASE**; *italicizing* transliterations; and using "regular face type and quotation marks" for translations. In those sections of each chapter in which I need to discuss texts in glyph-by-glyph detail, I sometimes alter these conventions slightly as a visual aid to the reader.

When I must talk about Maya terms in the plural, I generally italicize the Maya portion of the word and add the un-italicized -s; I do this because, although "*otoots*" looks awkward, there is only sparse evidence in the script for pluralizing suffixes, although Stuart, Houston, and Robertson have discussed some possible examples (1999:56-58).

When I reference Kerr numbers for vessels, the roll-out photographs of those vessels can be found at http://www.famsi.org/research/kerr/. References to the volumes of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions are given according to Ian Graham's instructions as CMHI [Volume number]:[page number].

I.5 Overview of chapter structure

Chapter 2 sets up the intellectual context of the project within the trajectory of cognitive anthropology and addresses the methodological concerns of using emic categories as a basis for classification in anthropology. It then looks at the various etic classifications that have been applied to Maya architecture by archaeologists with a view to the practical and methodological reasons for their successes and failures. It explains why the approach I take herein is a reasonable one, at the same time noting the problems that may be inherent in it. Chapters 3-6 are site-by-site treatments of Yaxchilán, Oxkintok, Copán, and Chichén Itzá.

At Yaxchilán (Chapter 3), the textual information is rich, the architecture is reasonably well documented and extensively consolidated, and the archaeological information extremely scarce. The textual information available allows a focus on specific local conceptions of five *otoot* structures; and by combining epigraphic data with an understanding of the place of the structures within the site plan and local landscape, I am able to suggest that the relationship between these buildings can be profitably understood as an expression of Maya referential practices that encode generational and gender relationships.

At Oxkintok (Chapter 4), the textual information is minimal, but the architectural and archaeological data is extensive and well published. By paying attention to the way that inscribed dwelling-related monuments cycle through the changing landscape of the great complex of buildings called Grupo Ah Canul, I can suggest a rationale for the chronological and spatial development of the group and propose archaeological tests for these hypotheses.

The site of Copán (Chapter 5) has an astoundingly rich corpus of texts and iconography and a century's worth of archaeological excavation. Here, the combination of epigraphic and archaeological data permits the identification of a structure type that goes beyond the immediate group of inscribed structures. The recognition of this emic structure type together with a consideration of its temporal and spatial setting suggests a series of revisions to the current and influential understanding of its Late and Terminal Classic political organization. It also points to the importance of thoroughly revisiting particular previously-excavated bodies of data at Copán – particularly ceramic data – with new analytical techniques.

The numerous texts of Chichén Itzá (Chapter 6) overwhelmingly focus on the dedication of the dwellings of gods and probable divine ancestors, sponsored by important local human actors. When this is understood, some of the strangeness of the occurrence of the many personal names in Chichén's texts disappears because the names of living people can be separated from those of supernaturals, and the inscriptions can be recognized as sharing many of the typical features of Classic lowland Maya dedicatory texts. Further, analyzing the spatial distribution of the dwellings of deities together with the patterns of human names and titles associated with them reveals a clear, probably political, hierarchy among the humans, suggesting that we should regard the *mul tepal* joint government hypothesis with caution and re-evaluate ancient reasons for creating glyphic texts. At Chichén, erecting inscriptions is an offertory act that forges relationships between gods and the humans responsible for maintaining their various dwellings.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 7) draws out the major themes touched on in the four site-study chapters and looks at their interconnections, including the relationships between emic categories and etic descriptions and the involvement of women with *otoot* architecture. It draws on some of the data from sites that I have not fully treated, but that bear and expand on these themes. Finally, it summarizes the case for the usefulness of Maya emic categories to archaeologists that is made chapter by chapter, and gives an account of the cognitive organization of the category *otoot*.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

II.1 Introduction

> The analysis of a culture's terminological system will not, of course, exhaustively reveal the cognitive world of its members, but it will certainly tap a central portion of it.... To the extent that cognitive coding tends to be linguistic and tends to be efficient, the study of the referential use of standard, readily elicitable linguistic responses – or terms – should provide a fruitful beginning point for mapping a cognitive system.
>
> Frake 1962:87

> That there is no inevitable connexion between concepts and words is shown by the now well-established fact that concepts can and do exist independently of language.
>
> Bloch 1991:185

This chapter addresses the question of why it makes sense to use a native or "folk" category as a baseline for analysis in the particular ancient context taken up in this study, and what advantages, difficulties, and limitations accompany its use. Further, it looks at the ways in which archaeologists have classified buildings in order to provide a baseline for comparison between emic and etic approaches. Basing the investigation on a native category invokes an intersecting set of issues in cognitive anthropology, linguistics, and classification studies, and ultimately engages the question of the appropriate aims of anthropology. Briefly, my position is that although there are limitations imposed on the study by the nature of the data themselves and by myself in restricting its scope, this study operates as an opening into a systematic study of Maya architecture from the standpoint of Classic-period hieroglyphic texts.

II.2 A cognitive-anthropological approach

II.2.1 The place of this study within the tradition of cognitive anthropology

The methodology and goals of this investigation are best understood within the tradition of that set of approaches that has been called "cognitive anthropology," i.e., the study of "how people in social groups conceive of and think about the objects and events which make up their world" (D'Andrade 1995:1; see also Dougherty 1985; Casson 1981). The project can be viewed as an aspect of the long-term effort to relate society, thought, and language in order to understand how cultural knowledge is organized. Although several intellectual strains in anthropology have combined to produce the background of possibility for examining the relationship between physical and conceptual objects, cognition, and language,[8] the tradition into which this study properly falls begins with the work of Floyd Lounsbury (1956, 1964) and Ward Goodenough (1956) on the componential analysis of kinship systems.

Componential or feature analysis assumed that kinship as a cultural domain constituted a *system* with underlying organizational principles; these organizational principles could be elicited through a rigorous analysis of the commonalities and differences between the referents of kinship terms to reveal the way a society made sense of itself, to expose its true categories. The idea that the mental world of a culture could be accessed through the analysis of terminological systems was quickly adopted by other anthropologists in order to investigate other semantic domains. The seminal workers in the field of classification studies were Harold Conklin, who provided the baseline for work on ethnobotanical classification with his work on the Hanunóo of the Philippines (1954) and later on their pronominal system (1969[1962]); and Brent Berlin and his colleagues, who initiated important cross-cultural studies of color terminology (Berlin and Kay 1969), Tzeltal Maya plant classification (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1968, 1973, 1974), and ethnobiological classification in general (Berlin 1992). Other investigations of native categories have looked at Tzeltal firewood (Metzger and Williams 1966), beer in Munich (Hage 1972), spirits in Thailand (Stanlaw and Yoddumnern 1985), diseases (Frake 1961; Young 1978; Garro 1986; Weller 1984), body parts (Werner *et al.* 1989), personality traits (D'Andrade 1985), and, more recently, Honduran *campesino* entomology (Bentley and Rodríguez 2001).

Classification systems may be of different kinds; good accounts of the structure of organizational schemes are provided by Conklin (1969[1962]:43-54), Howell (1984:214-

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[8] Classification as the conceptual arrangement of objects and ideas was isolated as an aspect of culture and an object of anthropological analysis by Durkheim and Mauss in *De quelque Formes Primitives de Classification* (1903). The ideas in this volume were not translated until 1915, when Durkheim's *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Réligieuse* was published in English translation, and at that time they gained wider intellectual currency. *Primitive Classification* itself did not become a standard text in American anthropology until Needham published a translation in 1963. While Lewis Henry Morgan's (1871) work on kinship terminology recognized that different societies applied terms to kin in different ways, his interest was primarily in assigning those societies to evolutionary stages; kinship nevertheless later become the archetypal semantic domain for the foundational classification studies of Lounsbury and Goodenough. Durkheim and Mauss, in contrast to Morgan, recognized classifications as *systems* with hierarchical structures (1963:81). While the specific content of their argument – that the first categories are social categories, and that social classifications generate all other classes of things, including those in the natural world – has been largely rejected, they still recognized more or less explicitly the relationship between classification systems and cognition as the way humans make sense of their environments.

The valorization of the "native's point of view" (Malinowski 1922:25) is another important intellectual strain in the study of classification and cognition, particularly as expressed by Malinowski and Boas and implemented as the method of participant observation. Both emphasized the primacy of indigenous worldviews and the description of experience in terms of native concepts as the proper goal of anthropology. Finally, Sapir and Whorf made language a primary arena for the understanding of particular societies by positing that language determined thought, that the "kaleidoscope flux of impressions" presented by the world has to be organized by the "linguistic systems in our minds" (Whorf 1940:213-4). Many of the initial studies of classification of various semantic realms were in some sense tests of the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis.

215), and Casson (1981:75-91). For the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to delve into the complexities of classification types. It is important, however, to distinguish between classifications that involve sets of hierarchical relationships, or *taxonomies*, and those that do not, which we might call categorizations or nomenclatures: categorizations do not necessitate lexical expressions of the categories, whereas nomenclatures do involve lexical designations. For example, studies of ethnobotanical and ethnozoological classification typically involve taxonomic systems, where semantic units can be ordered vertically at successive levels of inclusion: societies worldwide tend to order the living world in terms of the taxonomic relationship "*x* is a kind of *y*" (D'Andrade 1995:92; but c.f. Howell 1984:211-242).

Studies of kinship and color terminologies, on the other hand, involve sets of properties and features that interlock at various levels of difference and commonality. For example, the English kin terms "grandmother" and "granddaughter" share the dimension of being *female* kin, and *direct* kin (as opposed to the collateral term aunt), but they differ in the dimension of generation; in many societies, these terms will also differ according to the gender and generation of the speaker using them, and relationship through maternal or paternal lines may also be significant. There is no way to organize these intersecting dimensions such that they form a vertical taxonomic tree that systematically depicts relationships of the form "x is a kind of y; y is a kind of z"; rather, terms for kinship are typically shown on charts and diagrams.

As one gets into more complex systems that have clear underlying order but cannot be described by a taxonomy or by a relatively simple chart, the notion of a *model* as an "interrelated set of elements which fit together to represent something" (D'Andrade 1995:151) becomes useful. The concept of a model has been important in anthropology for a long time; D'Andrade notes that the idea of a cognitive model was introduced by Kenneth Craik (1943) as a thought structure that allowed coherent and safe behavior in the external world (D'Andrade 1995:151). Geertz' (1966) description of culture as "models of" and "models for" was a way of framing a set of older issues about the existence of coherent thought systems that operate at both conscious and unconscious levels: as Holy and Stuchlik put it, "there is a basic difference between models which are directly built to guide behaviour and those which influence it indirectly, as a consequence of being held" (1981:19). For the purposes of this investigation, D'Andrade provides a very serviceable definition of a cultural model as

> a scheme or interrelated set of cognitive schemas used to represent something, to reason with or to calculate from by mentally manipulating the parts of the model to solve some problem,

noting that cultural models are usually *implicit* knowledge rather than explicit propositions (D'Andrade 1995:180). He distinguishes, for example, cultural models from cultural *theories,* which he describes as propositions, explicitly formulated in language, that describe or explain the nature of some phenomenon (D'Andrade 1995:180).

The term "folk" is generally used to distinguish the thought systems of a society under study from those of the researcher. For example, Honduran peasant farmers use the word *insecto* to classify insects, but also other crawly things such as spiders, centipedes, and slugs, the last of which are molluscs in formal biological classifications (Bentley and Rodríguez 2001:289). Thus, one can have "folk taxonomies," "folk categories," and "folk models," as in a Tzeltalan folk botanical taxonomy, or an American folk model of marriage – i.e., a set of assumptions about what marriage is or ought to be based on and a consequent guide to action during marriage (Quinn 1987).

Anthropological studies of modern-day folk classifications of *architecture* are notably absent from the list of semantic domains that have been investigated, although architectural classifications are certainly a feature of *archaeological* explorations of buildings, as discussed in a later section of this chapter. There are likely to be several reasons for this absence. The most fundamental reason is that the objects to be classified are extraordinarily complex. A single building can be multi-functional; or functions that we typically think of as belonging to a certain kind of structure can be distributed among several structures. Waterson, for example, notes that dwellings in eastern Sumbawa, Indonesia fuse the functions of house, granary, and ritual site; and that granaries and barns in other Indonesian cultures are appropriate sites for meeting places (1990:55-5). A single building may cycle through different uses, the most obvious example from the Maya area being the tendency of residences of important people to become ritual sites after their deaths; although they can also cycle "backwards" to become sites for trash deposits (e.g., Wilk 1991).

That is, it is very difficult to provide traditional lists of features of one structure type as opposed to another in order to arrive at unitary definitions of types. Further, any kind of vertical taxonomic "x is a kind of y" classification of structures would be likely to be very shallow: what would a dwelling be a kind of? The immediate answer from a "Western" standpoint might seem to be "building"; though in fact I think that there may be grounds for questioning whether or not there is indeed a Maya classification "building" or "architecture," whether covert or not. Some evidence presented in this study indicates that at the very least there is a certain Classic Maya flexibility in applying "architectural" designations to various kinds of space that an outside observer might not consider to be "architecture." This question probably cannot be answered here – addressing it fully would require systematic ethnolinguistic fieldwork that is beyond my present scope.

Dwellings in particular are fundamental social, political, and religious constructs beyond their physical existence as structures. Bourdieu has called the house a "structuring structure," "the principal locus" for the objectification of culture and its generative schemes (1977:89; Johnston and Gonlin 1998:145). Ethnographers working both within and beyond the pale of structuralism have since focused on the many levels of social, economic, and political significance of the house across the world (e.g., Hanks 1990; Levine and Levine 1991; Oliver 1987; Waterson 1990). As the most "intimate and proximal daily environment" of human beings next to the human body itself (Carsten and Hugh-Jones

1995:43), the dwelling is a fundamental arena for symbolic thought and for the conceptualization of socio-political organization. It is also, as Paul Oliver notes, an artifact of great longevity, whose continuity of use "exceeds the utilitarian life of virtually every other artifact" (1987:10). Because of this longevity, dwellings and buildings in general can be sites of tremendous archaeological, functional, and meaningful complexity (Oliver 1987:10). This very complexity suggests that an examination of indigenous architectural classifications may provide insights into a number of cognitive schemas.

II.2.2 Trends in cognitive anthropology

D'Andrade (1995) has examined the many lines of research on folk classifications and cognitive structures over the last several decades and has constructed a very useful history of ideas in the development of what he calls cognitive anthropology – a history that is useful for understanding the several goals of this study. He outlines four stages. The first is the definition of the agenda with the conceptualization of culture as *knowledge*, exemplified by Ward Goodenough's definition of culture as "whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its [a society's] members" (D'Andrade 1995:xiii): the agenda is then to understand *what* the knowledge is and *how* it is organized.

The second stage is a detailed research phase concentrated primarily on the analysis of words and terminological systems that are assumed to encode cultural categories (D'Andrade 1995:245): this phase, which still continues, has produced a huge body of work on the various semantic domains discussed above. The third phase takes the agenda into the realm of psychology and the organization of the human brain with the work of Eleanor Rosch on cognitive prototypes and the growth of schema theory. This period de-emphasizes taxonomies and lists of traits and features, and de-emphasizes the link between language and concepts, looking more at how complex networks of objects, qualities, and concepts may be organized in the mind in relatively simple ways to produce effective social and cultural action. Researchers operating at this level are looking less for complete descriptions of the features of objects or concepts and more for the "configurations of features which create psychological objects" (D'Andrade 1995:121). They are taking into account the processes of memory, metaphor, and various kinds of reasoning processes, such as analogy. The fourth phase D'Andrade characterizes as still relatively new and unformed, but he emphasizes concern with emotion and motivation as well as interest in the relationship between cognitive structures and the physical structure of artifacts (1995:248).

The methodology of this project is closely linked with D'Andrade's second phase, because the driving force is the use of a *term*, a category with a lexical expression, to group objects – buildings, in my case. As an archaeologist interested in being able to assign a classification to a structure, the set of goals and methods of this phase are attractive. A study that is a good example of this phase and one with methodological parallels to mine is Brent Berlin's study of categories of eating in Tzeltal (1967). His objective is to provide what is called a "conjunctive definition" for the various Tzeltal verbs of eating, of which there are at least seven. Following Lounsbury (1964) and others, he tries to make a more or less complete inventory of the set of the *denotata*, or the referents, of each verb of eating – in Berlin's case, the nouns with which the verbs occur. Examination of the fullest possible set of referents of a term ought, then, to allow one to construct its conjunctive definition – that is, a description of the necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in the set of denotata of a particular verb (Berlin 1967:2). So, for example, the Tzeltal eating verb *ti'* can have as a set of noun referents

ich	chili pepper
ti'bal	meat
chehchew	mushroom
k'in	kidneys
sehk'ub	liver
puts	lungs
tsalub	chicken's comb
cha'	gizzard
tsukum	stomach
ch'ich'	blood

Berlin hopes that each verb will have a mutually exclusive set of associated noun referents; and that each group of referents will have a clear semantic feature that sets them apart from the denotata of other verbs. In the case of the *ti'* verb, most of the referents appear to be kinds of flesh; but there are the exceptions of chili pepper, mushroom, and blood. In order to avoid having to give a "disjunctive" definition of "meat + mushroom + chili pepper + blood," Berlin observes that the incorporation of ethnographic data gathered through "lengthy eliciting" of contexts from informants shows that these three nouns are examples of "semantic extension" (Berlin 1967:3). Already, at this early time in the history of classification studies, Berlin pushes into the psychological realm, noting that the informants offer "folk theories of explanation" when pressed about these anomalies: he suggests that, from an emic standpoint, each anomalous noun is conceptually "flesh," for different contextual reasons. *Chili peppers* take the same numerical classifier as animal referents – i.e., the numerical classifier -*koht* is used whether one is talking about "two dogs" (*cha-koht ts'i)* or "two peppers" (*cha-koht ich)*; *mushrooms* are described as *lumilal ti'bal* "earth's meat,"; and the *ti'* verb is used with *blood* when it is used in the preparation of blood sausage, giving it the physical form of flesh (Berlin 1967:3-4).

At an initial level, my project has as a goal the compiling of as complete a set of denotata of the term *otoot* as possible, in order to work toward a conjunctive definition – the "necessary and sufficient conditions" for membership in that class of buildings. Here, it of course suffers from serious limitations. First, the traditional method of elicitation from living informants is not available to me for the Classic Maya period; although I have the use of ethnographies of modern Maya people whose languages and material culture are tightly linked to those of the Classic period Maya, these sources must be used cautiously and with an understanding of the historical and social transformations that lie between the Classic period and the present. Second, the number of utterances that I have to work from is limited both in number and in discourse diversity; that is, I have only a certain

number of texts to work with, and these are by and large formulaic dedicatory statements that will not provide examples of everyday conversational usage or usage in other formal discourse types. Third, I am examining only one term, one category, in detail, and thus I am unable at this stage of research to know if ancient Maya architecture viewed through ancient texts is amenable to either a taxonomic classification or a formal and non-hierarchical classification: certainly, I will be unable to construct one. The question of whether Classic Maya architecture can be described in taxonomic terms is an empirical one, though this investigation may not have the resources to answer it. Finally, in order to keep the project to a reasonable length, I have had to restrict the scope of the study to the material from four sites, incorporating some material from other sites along the way, such that not all available denotata are discussed in detail here.

As with Berlin's analysis of Tzeltal verbs of eating, however, the data set that I work with encourages pushing forward from constructing unitary definitions to considerations of specific cultural notions that affect categorization, psycho-cultural processes of metaphor and analogy, and more general notions of cultural models. For example, although Berlin does not speculate about it, the semantic extension of the category of "animal" to the chili pepper through use of the same numerical classifier may have to do with the culturally significant quality of *heat* that the pepper possesses, giving it the kind of agency, animacy, or "soulfulness" that animals generally have in Maya cultures; or even with some particular role that chilis play in Maya mythology or cosmology. As becomes apparent in the course of the treatment of structures at each site, and in the conclusion where non-architectural examples of *otoot*s are discussed, there are certainly levels of metaphor and semantic extension at work which must be related to specifically Maya cultural notions; Houston (1996) has begun to deal with this arena in his work on the *pib'-naah* structures of Palenque. It might be said that I am investigating the folk *category "otoot"* with an eye to elucidating a folk *model* of dwelling, a set of interrelated schemas and ideas about the cultural nature of bodies in space, a model that makes sense of the comparatively large number of phenomena such as anthills, corncribs, and offering boxes that can be described using the same term.

An important critique of the methods of eliciting and elucidating folk taxonomies and folk models using terminological systems is that expressed by Bloch in the epigraph of this chapter: that is, words cannot be taken as a direct guide to concepts. Rather, various lines of research, including that into the pre-linguistic development of children, have shown that behavior can be guided by concepts that have no linguistic formulation; and that it may even be that the transmission of cultural knowledge, and particularly cultural *know-how* as the performance of complex tasks like weaving or intimate knowledge of an agricultural environment, is largely non-linguistic (Bloch 1991:185-6).

This critique can be understood at various levels within the study of folk categories and conceptual schemes. At the level of a relatively simple folk taxonomy, Berlin and his colleagues showed early on that there is evidence for what they called "covert" categories (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1968); that is, they were able to determine through a series of carefully designed experiments with linguistic informants that there were plant taxa that existed for Tzeltal speakers that were not lexically labeled, but that were "meaningful and culturally revealing" and essential for an understanding of the Tzeltal semantic domain of "plants" (1968:290). For example, the high-level plant taxon *te'*, "tree," includes 138 specific low-level taxa, equivalent to species, with no *lexically labeled* mid-level groupings to break up these many species into convenient bundles; another taxon, *ak'*, "vine" is similarly large. Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1968) were able to show through experimentation, however, that informants consistently grouped plants together in ways that reflected the existence of other organizational structures, i.e., mid-level taxa, that were not lexically labeled but were culturally significant. For instance, within the *ak'* category, informants distinguished squash and gourds at levels equivalent to our genus and family, even though there was no term for these mid-level groupings.

At a more complex level, the notions of "schema" and "script" have become important for understanding the way that human beings get along in society on an everyday basis: Bloch gives the example of "getting the breakfast ready" as an example of a "chunked network of loose procedures and understandings which enable us to deal with standard and recurring situations... that are clearly culturally created" (Bloch 1991:185). Bloch believes that for cultural knowledge to work efficiently, it cannot be entirely language-like; rather, "connected domain-relevant networks" must be constructed "which by their very nature cannot be stored or accessed through sentential logical forms such as govern natural language." It is with these developments that anthropological study of folk knowledge and models begins to approach and to need cognitive science.

The relevance of this critique for the present study is that I cannot expect Classic Maya architectural terminology – particularly in the abbreviated form in which it is available to us – to be an exhaustive guide to Classic Maya architectural and spatial concepts and practices. Nevertheless, as Charles Frake noted early on (see epigraph above), we can expect that the analysis of a culture's terminological system will reveal at least some portion of their cognitive world. D'Andrade notes – comfortingly for my study and for others dealing with the newly emerged native voices from the Classic Maya past – that none of his four periods of research in cognitive anthropology are completed episodes, and that work is still being done in all of these areas (1995:248).

II.2.3 Issues in emics and etics

> For anthropologists who are concerned with the evolution of culture from remote times to the present, there is no alternative to etic descriptions. The absence of written records as well as of living informants from prehistory simply precludes the collection of emic data. I am aware of course of a resurgence of interest among archaeologists in "the meaningful construction of social acts" (Hodder, 1982, p. 22), but alas, these reconstructions

> necessarily represent the etics of mental life whose correspondence with emic structures must forever remain untestable.
>
> Harris 1990:60

The existence of covert categories within cognitive schemes of all levels of complexity, both linguistic and non-linguistic, is a key into the issue of emics and etics, of the ontology and "authorship" of classifications and models described or constructed by anthropologists. Although many anthropologists do not agree with Marvin Harris' cultural materialist views, his definitions of emic and etic are still generally current, and he has not changed his formulation of them since his most influential expounding of those definitions in 1968. *Emic* is generally taken as a descriptor of a cultural insider's point of view, while *etic* describes the viewpoint and analytical stance of the scientific observer. The terms are typically used in context as emic/etic *statement*, emic/etic *model*, or emic/etic *analysis*. Harris defines *emic* statements as referring to

> logico-empirical systems whose phenomenal distinctions or "things" are built up out of contrasts and discriminations significant, meaningful, real, accurate, or in some other fashion regarded as appropriate by the actors themselves (1968:571; 1999:31 for an almost identical formulation)

and *etic* statements as depending on

> phenomenal distinctions judged appropriate by the community of scientific observers (1968:575; 1999:31).

It is important to distinguish the idea of an emic *statement* from an emic *model*. An emic statement, such as "this *babosa* ('slug') is a kind of *insecto* ('insect')," should make sense to the cultural participant; but the organizational structure, principles, and rationale of Honduran *campesino* entomology outlined by a scientific observer as an emic model might include statements or propositions not recognized by a participant. A scientific observer may pull what we could call "covert" organizational principles out of a native classification system, as Berlin did for Tzeltalan plant taxa.

An oft-cited non-taxonomic example of the idea that "the emic model is not the native's model" (e.g., Barnard 1996:181-2) is Harold Conklin's early study of the pronominal system of the Philippine language Hanunóo. Instead of using the traditional intersecting categories of person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd), number (singular, dual, plural), and inclusivity or exclusivity, Conklin showed that three sets of simple oppositions (minimal/non-minimal membership, inclusion/exclusion of speaker, and inclusion/exclusion of hearer) could be combined to produce a chart of all and only the eight pronouns used in Hanunóo; the traditional categories, on the other hand, produce an awkward chart with a number of gaps where the categories predict pronouns that do not exist (Conklin 1969[1962]:54-55). Although he seems to have discovered the principles that produce the native categories, none of these principles are named or would be recognized as such by cultural participants. Conklin conducted an emic analysis in the sense that he worked from terms used by native participants to produce an organizational model of that usage; and it is in this sense that this study can be considered an emic analysis.

Harris turned the distinction between emic and etic into a discussion about the appropriate aim of anthropology by observing that while the test of the correctness of an emic statement is whether it offends a participant's sense of appropriateness, an etic statement need not be falsified if it does not conform to the participant's sense of correctness. In his view, description and analysis using the categories of the scientific observer, without making reference to the intentions, choices, dispositions, or motivations of the participants, is "essential in order to allow for the human capacity to lie, obfuscate, forget, and disguise our inner lives; to say one thing and do another; and to produce in the aggregate effects that were not intended by any individual" (Harris 1990:55). Harris, at least later in his career, seems to accept the validity of using emic categories to produce emic models, as he does in his study of Brazilian race-color categories (Harris *et al.* 1993); and he appreciates the scientific rigor of studies like those of Conklin, Berlin, and others (1999:34). Nevertheless, he fairly continued to view emic analysis and emic models as only a first stage, which later had to be explained by etic analysis; that is, it needed to be explained why people would order their world in such and such a way. This is not an unreasonable viewpoint.

From his cultural materialist standpoint, however, which prioritized description of behavior over inquiry into intent, ideology, motivation, etc., Harris developed a highly charged agenda. For any anthropological description, one could isolate

1. **emics of mental life** (i.e., a participant's account of the ideas and principles that guide behavior)
2. **emics of behavior** (i.e., a participant's description or account of their own behavior)
3. **etics of mental life** (i.e., a scientific observer's account of the principles that guide a participant's behavior)
4. **etics of behavior** (i.e., a scientific observer's account of a participant's behavior)

Harris saw the emics of mental life as typically containing "constructions whose main function is to prevent people from seeing their behavior in ways that might correspond to etic behavioral descriptions" (1999:45); and he chose emotionally and politically charged situations to expound his views. A good example is his description of the Hindu worship of cows and the cultural prohibition against killing them. In ethnographic work in Kerala, India he observed that, contrary to the prohibition, cows were sometimes allowed to starve to death, and he developed the following scenario (e.g., Harris 1979:38, 1999:44):

1. Emics of mental life: All calves have the right to life
2. Emics of behavior stream: No calves are ever starved to death
3. Etics of mental life: Let the male calves starve to death when feed is scarce
4. Etics of behavior stream: Male calves are regularly starved to death

I bring Harris in for three reasons. First, his distrust of intention and motivation, and especially of emic accounts of it, have probably unnecessarily polarized the field, making cultural materialism and its focus on behavior seem more hostile to questions of the role of ideology in structuring action and material culture than need be. The emic-etic distinction came into the anthropological purview with, of course, the work of Summer Institute of Linguistics linguist Kenneth Pike. Briefly, Pike (1967[1954]) derived the term emic from phonemic – the set of sound contrasts significant for speakers of a particular language – and etic from phonetic – the linguist's objective description of sound patterns in language in general; and his goal was clearly to refine the initial etic descriptive posture through research with informants until the description became an emic description (1967[1954]:39), or as close to one as possible.

Gerald Murray (1995) has produced an interesting analysis of the way that Harris adopted emics and etics from the tradition initiated by Pike, to the effect that emics later in Pike's thought came to signify meaning as it existed *in the minds of the participants* and to incorporate the *purposes* of actors. Murray calls this "mentalization" of emics, and postulates that, before this event, Pike began with a view of emics that was more akin to the notion of systemics, i.e., of living, coherent, functioning systems that are capable of being discovered (Murray 1995:147). However, the emics that Harris inherited and reacted against was Pike's later version, a nebulous world of intents, purposes, and obfuscations. I think that some of Harris' distrust of emics and of the worth of looking for and at emic models can be defused by adopting this cleaner notion of discoverable thought systems that are not occulted in the heads of people, but present in speech, behavior, and material culture. This notion is indeed basic to material culture studies in archaeology, and, as D'Andrade notes (1995:248), anthropologists interested in cognition are moving more toward material culture's relationship to thought. Harris seems to move toward this notion later in his life: in response to James Sebring's (1987) discovery that some Hindu farmers admit that they starve some calves to death for economic reasons, Harris asserts (admits?) (1999:45) that people have alternative emic prescriptions for behavior that can be contradictory and that are elicitable.

Second, Harris' assertion, in the epigraph above, that archaeologists cannot hope to get at the emics of mental life or the emics of behavior can be addressed. In archaeology, in cases where there is a well-understood ancient writing system, and especially when there are inscribed artifacts with good archaeological context, it is patently untrue that we have no access to the emics of the behavior stream. A good example from outside the Maya area is Postgate's (1994) study of inscribed human and animal clay figurines found in Mesopotamian contexts such as the pavement outside of a temple at Aqar Quf: the inscriptions indicate that the figurines are dedicated to particular gods and goddesses, either in supplication or in thanks for divine help, and the content of the texts together with their archaeological context allows for discrimination between the role of human as opposed to animal figurines in ritual. In my study, dedicatory texts present me with a native account of building terms and ritual and at least some of the people and events considered relevant by the participants – a partial "emics of behavior" in Harris' terms. The allure of a study like Postgate's or like mine is that archaeologists can, in contexts like these, be presented with emic descriptions of behaviors that are represented in the archaeological record and are available for study in etic terms. As Harris himself notes, "The road to a better understanding of both emics and etics... lies through the persistent juxtaposition of emic and etic versions of social life" (1999: 45). This is the standard methodology of historical archaeology.

Third, Harris' agenda of exposing obfuscation in emic accounts is one to be taken seriously. I am dealing with the written record and material remains of royalty and high nobility in the Maya area, whose objectives in creating architecture and writing certainly involved the desire to influence people in certain political and religious ways and to legitimate their own position in society. There may be ways in which the dedication of buildings as royal *otoot*s by cultural elites manipulates local concepts of dwelling in the name of pecularily elite agendgas. I will address this possibility briefly in the concluding chapter.

One issue that arises in discussing emic categories and cognitive schemes is that of *translatability*: that is, is it a predicament of the observer that rendering and describing "native" concepts in our language and our terms reduces their essential difference? I have indicated in the introductory chapter that I have no doubt that "dwelling" is the only appropriate translation for *otoot*; certainly, it is fundamental to the study that *otoot* and its cognate forms are widespread in modern Mayan languages, being present in every language group, and that, at least when applied to buildings owned by living people, they signify the sleeping residence of the owner. The modern distribution in Maya languages of the term *otoot* and the circumscribed nature of its meaning point to its antiquity: that is, we quite probably have excavated examples of Classic-period *otoots* belonging to people of a wide range of social statuses.

The Classic Maya elites, however, appear to be using the word in a wider range of ways; and it is the point of this investigation to elicit those ways and to determine how "dwelling" is to be understood for the ancient Maya. I hope that contextual analysis will shed some light upon the relationship between the spatial ideologies of royal houses and other kinds of houses and households. I can suggest now that while the *otoot*s treated herein may not be residential in the usual understanding of the term, they may still be "domestic" or "*domus*-like" spaces in an interesting sense. The juxtaposition of Classic-period emic terminology with Classic-period excavated data, architectural remains, and ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources enables the beginnings of an understanding of what diverse aspects of social life are unified in the sphere of an *otoot*. In any case, as Robert Feleppa notes, whether or not translation is capable of revealing "radically foreign schemes" (Feleppa 1995:102), the demand for evidence of deep cognitive divergence between human societies is an empirical one (ibid.:115).

It is notable that the work of cognitive anthropologists, particularly Brent Berlin, Paul Kay, and their colleagues, has contributed some of this empirical evidence about the possibility of cognitive diversity, most interestingly in the field of color discrimination. Contrary to the assumptions of the Boas-Sapir-Whorf tradition that each society experiences

reality in a different way, they showed (Berlin and Kay 1969; Berlin and Berlin 1975) that while the number of color terms varied from society to society, basic color terms appear in a particular order. For example, if a society has only two color terms, they are black and white; if three, black, white, and red; if four, black, white, red, and green or yellow. While years of research have uncovered some complexities in color term use, the general idea that basic color terms are equivalent in meaning and hue/saturation ranges across a large sample of languages, and thus translatable, has held up well. A cursory look at literature on dwellings across the world suggests that there may also be universal patterns in the way that human beings are compelled to set themselves up in space, particularly as regards the mapping of body, dwelling, town, and cosmos onto each other and the emphasis on protective "fixing," "binding," and cleansing rituals for inhabited space (e.g, Khambatta 1989; Knapp 1999; Pavlides and Hesser 1989:282-290; Sather 1993:71; Waterson 1990).

II.3 Archaeological approaches to building classification and building function

II.3.1 The "palace" problem

A key part of the present study is the juxtaposition of the emic Maya term *otoot* with the products of the enduring archaeological effort to classify, excavate, and analyze ancient Maya residences, and Maya elite architecture in general. Because only elaborate masonry structures preserve inscriptions with architectural terms, the most immediately pertinent body of archaeological data relates to those buildings and building complexes variously described as "palaces," "elite residences," and "range structures" (e.g., Coe 1967:55; Harrison 1999:183; Houston 1993:42; Webster 1989:11, 1998:24). These complexes were foci of early excavations in Maya centers (Merwin and Vaillant 1932; R.E. Smith 1937; A.L. Smith 1950; Satterthwaite 1935). Now, renewed and intense archaeological interest provides a timely context for the incorporation of epigraphic data. Older bodies of data are being revisited (Harrison 1970, 1999) and re-excavated (Houston *et al.* 1998, 1999, 2000), and new ones are being investigated and evaluated across the Maya lowlands (Andrews 1995; Ball 1993; Ball and Taschek 2001; D.Z. Chase and A.F. Chase 1994, 2000; A.F. Chase and D.Z. Chase 2001a, 2001b; Folan *et al.* 2001; Hammond *et al.* 1998; Hendon 1987, 1991; Inomata 1997; Inomata and Stiver 1998; Reindel 1997; Traxler 2001; Vidal Lorenzo 1999).

Fundamental problems persist in dealing with elite residential architecture and with elite architecture in general, in spite of the volume of excavation and study. One source of difficulty stems from the loose classificatory terminology that has traditionally been applied to the building complexes in which royal and noble Maya people carried out their lives. The complexes typically identified as possible locales of elite residence are largely composed of groups of vaulted rooms constructed with their long axes in a single line and arranged into courtyard complexes on low platforms (Fig. 2.1). While Mayanists have widely adopted the functionally neutral term "range structures" (Coe 1967:55) to describe these buildings, the term "palace" has more powerfully framed thinking and debate on elite residences since sixteenth-century Spanish writers used the word *palacio* to refer to structures they encountered (Harrison 1970:88,203, 1999:114; Kowalski 1987:76-77). As Harrison notes in his exploration of Maya "palace" themes in twentieth-century archaeology, the term is surrounded by confusion because of inconsistency in its use and disagreement about the function of palace-type

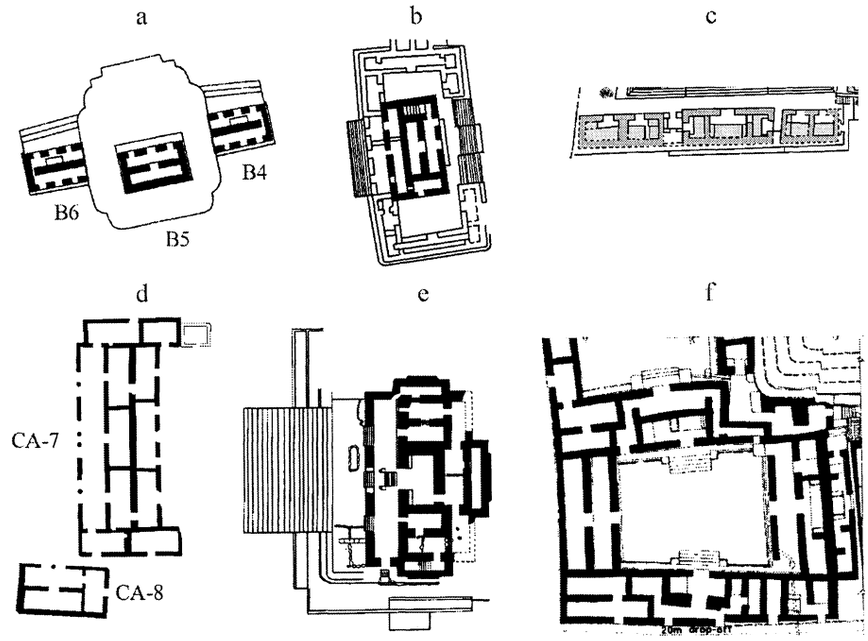

Fig. 2.1 Examples of Maya buildings identified as elite residences: (a) Caracol Structures B4, B5, and B6 palace compound, after A.F. and D.Z. Chase (2001:Fig. 4.6); (b) Tikal Structure 5D-46, after Harrison (1999:187); (c) Copán Structure 9N-82, after Webster (1989:Fig. 7); (d) Oxkintok Structures CA-7 and CA-8, after Vidal L. (1999:88); (e) Calakmul Structure III (after Folan *et al.* 2001:248); (f) Cahal Pech palace, after Ball and Taschek (2001:Fig. 6.6).

buildings (Harrison 1970:203-227). Since the turn of the century, some researchers have seen these structures as residences (e.g., Tozzer 1911; Pollock 1936; Smith 1950); some have rejected residential functions (e.g., Satterthwaite 1937); and others have attributed both residential and public/administrative/ritual functions to palaces (e.g, Willey 1964; Sanders and Price 1968). Some scholars have avoided the term altogether in favor of purely descriptive terms (e.g., Ruppert and Dennison 1943) or explicitly functional designations such as "royal residential zone" (e.g., Andrews V and Fash 1992:83).

Recent scholarly conferences focusing on palace-type architecture have emphasized the co-existence of residential and other functions ("New World Palaces," Dumbarton Oaks 1998), and the palace as the physical setting for the royal court as a group of actors ("Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya," Yale 1998; Inomata and Houston 2001). Researchers still diverge, however, on the usage, appropriateness, and analytical utility of the term "palace." It has recently been used to label both single buildings (e.g., Schele and Mathews 1998:94) and complexes of buildings (e.g., A.F. Chase and D.Z. Chase 2001b:103.). Harrison and Andrews V have argued that the label "palace" is inadequate to the description of the Central Acropolis of Tikal, an assemblage of multi-roomed, multi-storied buildings, courts, and stairways which exhibits tremendous spatial, temporal, and functional complexity (Harrison and Andrews V n.d.). Inomata and Webster, on the other hand, believe that using the term "palace" poses no difficulty if its definition is that of a residence of an individual with his family and retainers, with spaces included for all the concomitant functions of power (Inomata and Webster n.d.). In each of these views, the term "palace" becomes a convenient descriptor of elite architectural compounds which are thought to be residential and also to encompass a range of political, juridical, religious, educational, and storage functions – functions for which there is often little to no artifactual evidence, as will be discussed below. Rather, the functions of a royal court are inferred by analogy with court architecture and society in other regions of the world such as medieval England (e.g. Steane 1993), pre-revolutionary France (e.g. Elias 1983), or Indonesia (e.g. Geertz 1980).

II.3.2 Archaeological building typologies and determinations of function

II.3.2.1 Typologies for individual buildings

The limited number of attempts at developing more precise classifications for Maya architecture – and range structure-type architecture in particular – have focused both on individual structures and on groups of buildings, at non-elite and elite levels. It is probably more appropriate to call these classifications "typologies," for, as Brian Hayden has noted, typologies are usually intended to reveal something about "true historical meaning" (1984:80), and are devised to deal with specific problems (1984:82). Typologies for individual buildings tend to be oriented toward *function*, i.e., toward answering the question "what activities was this structure designed to house?" or, more generally, "what was this structure for?"

Tourtellot (1982), for example, has developed a detailed functional typology of individual structures from survey data from outside the site center at Seibal using purely descriptive categories, whose appropriateness has been verified by excavation; it is a study that probably stands unmatched in its meticulousness and refusal to gloss over empirical deviation from ideal types. His evaluation of the function of the generally non-elite or lower-status structures he studies makes thorough use of evidence from excavated artifacts and features, as well as the position of the buildings inside larger groupings. For example, his Class D "oratories" have the highest frequency of antecedent buildings in the same locale; they have a square ground plan, stepped pyramidal form, greater relative height, sometimes a formal stairway, and almost always a northern location on their patios (1982:546-549). To cite one more example, he believes that his Class G Two-Level Platforms with C-shaped Upper Level structures are dwellings, based on uniformity of plan and associated artifactual remains; whether or not he is correct about function (his argument is convincing), one is left with little doubt that the Class G Two-Level Platforms with C-shaped Upper Level is an emic building type. The success of his approach is difficult to replicate in high-elite, site-center contexts: as he later notes, "[i]t has... proved remarkably difficult to pin down royal households, because so many different activities are jumbled together in typical Maya site-cores" (1993:227).

In elite and especially in "palace" contexts, residential function and function in general is less frequently inferred from excavated artifactual evidence than from general architectural characteristics, change in the architectural forms of complexes over time, and iconography of building facades (e.g., Kowalski 1987; Andrews V and Fash 1992). Specific functional classifications derived from artifactual or specific architectural features are scarce for structures in these elite compounds. It is well known, and Webster has in fact recently pointed out, that archaeologists still cannot consistently identify where ancient inhabitants were cooking, eating, and sleeping, after decades of excavation in major courtyard areas and courtyard-temple complexes (2001:130-31).

The evasiveness of these basic spatial dimensions of residence and the archaeological intractability of "palace" groups is related both to the "use-neutral" quality of "range" structures (e.g., Kowalski 1987:82), and to the sanitary habits and complex trash disposal behaviors of their inhabitants (e.g., D. Chase and A. Chase 2000:68-69). First, rooms in "range" structures tend to be rectangular, narrow, and windowless. Their few non-perishable accoutrements are usually restricted to built-in "benches" in various positions, beam holes, cord-holders for supporting drapery in doors or as room partitions, and shallow niches, providing little in the way of specific functional cues. Early investigators of these buildings had difficulty conceiving of them as residences, experiencing them as "damp," "gloomy," and "unhomelike" (A.V. Kidder in Smith 1950:11). Of course, it has long been noted that Western notions of comfort may not be shared by other cultures (Rapoport 1969:60-62; 131-2), such that the interior spaces of Maya buildings cannot be dismissed as permanent residences. Second, plaster-floored interior and exterior spaces in elite compounds were typically swept clean during their periods of use. Artifactual material, when

discovered inside these spaces, is often the remains of termination rituals, post-abandonment/squatter debris, or other kinds of post-abandonment visitation episodes (c.f. Webster 1989:38). Undisturbed refuse or long- or short-term midden deposits can be scarce in the immediate vicinity of royal and high-elite residence areas, possibly because many domestic tasks were done in removed areas, and because much midden material was re-used as structure fill (Hammond 1991:20-21; Tourtellot 1982:586, 606-7; Webster 1989:17-18).[9]

Harrison's (1970) work at Tikal is one of the first systematic efforts to classify individual structures in a "palace" complex; his use of artifactual material in his typology is negligible, simply because *in situ* material was rare in his excavations. Harrison derives four building categories from the room layouts of the buildings in the Central Acropolis: of these, he identifies "tandem" and "tandem-transverse" range structures as residences based on the criteria of room arrangement, modification to the interiors and access patterns of the structures over time, and the presence of interior features such as benches, niches, and beam holes (1970:253). These criteria generally remain important for identifying function in elite range structures. Harrison identifies a number of other quite specific functions for certain buildings, including houses of judgment, retreat houses, schools, etc.; these functions are determined solely from extrapolations from ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence (Harrison 1970:281-296; 1999:183).

Sanders (1989) and Hendon (1991) have developed functional classifications for individual structures in high-elite (as opposed to royal) architectural compounds at Copán, with Group 9N-8 forming the largest part of the database. These classifications are discussed in detail in the chapter on Copán's *otoot*s, though I note here some general features. Sanders equates residences with "dormitories," and divides them into three types based on architectural features such as room plans and presence and position of benches. Temples are identified by the presence of high sub-structures; kitchens, from small size and density of sherds. He ventures as well into more impressionistic functional identifications: for example, he proposes that Str. 9N-81 was either a shrine for rituals preparatory to the ballgame or a special clubhouse for unmarried ballplayers. He bases this identification on the presence of stone hacha and yoke fragments and a ceramic effigy incensario, as well as on the overall spaciousness of the building and its unusual bench configuration (Sanders 1989:91). In general, artifacts play a small and intermittent role in Sanders' functional classifications, depending on the context.

Hendon (1991) identifies three major structure types: these are ancillary structures, residential structures, and ritual structures. The basis for her identifications is a combination of artifact analysis and architectural characteristics. *Ancillary* structures are platforms lacking any remains of a superstructure that are small in size and have a "distinctive artifact profile." This profile consists of a predominance of storage vessels (defined by Hendon as jars and restricted-neck bowls) and food-preparation artifacts (defined as three-pronged braziers, manos, and metates); a lack of decorated food serving ware and ritual censers; a lack of evidence for manufacturing activities; and associated midden deposits (1991:901). Oddly, the largest group in her study, Group 9N-8, has only four of them, while the much smaller Group 9M-22 has thirteen of them; Hendon believes that rooms in buildings in the larger group served the same function as ancillary structures in the smaller ones (1991:902).

Hendon's *residential* structures are associated with food-preparation and consumption wares and artifacts as well as material indicating ritual observances and some specialized production. They have a partially or completely stone superstructure built on a raised substructure, and may contain very spacious benches and built-in cordholders, ledges, and niches. Further, they are most likely to have caches and sub-floor burials (1991:902-3). As we will see in the Copán chapter, the criterion of presence of burials and caches for the identification of the function of Copán structures can be applied inconsistently and in contradictory ways. Finally, *ritual* structures have fewer artifacts than the others but tend to be associated with censers, candeleros, and figurines; they rarely have associated burials and caches; and they have higher and squarer substructures with partially or completely perishable single-roomed superstructures (1991:903).

Both Sanders' and Hendon's classifications have useful features, but, as described in the Copán chapter, they suffer from dependence on determinations of artifact-structure contemporaneity based on a now-outdated ceramic chronology that cannot distinguish chronological units smaller than several centuries; they also suffer from lack of consideration of the effects of the abandonment process upon the functional significance of *in situ* finds on living surfaces such as interior room floors and exterior terraces.

There are of course exceptions to the difficulty in functionally classifying individual structures in elite compounds, and cases in which *de facto* floor remains and undisturbed trash deposits of various descriptions can be located. A good example is the identification of sweatbaths at Chichén Itzá and Piedras Negras (Child 1998), where functionally explicit architectural features make any other conclusion difficult to reach. Ball and Taschek's work at Buenavista del Cayo revealed a Maya archaeologist's dream – deep "palace middens" (Ball and Taschek 2001:179), eight of which contained rich deposits of cups, steins, decanters, serving dishes and platters, "presentation vessels," and abundant animal bone; at least one of them was associated with a specific building (Ball 1993:250). Further, work in the rapidly-abandoned structures of Aguateca (Inomata 1997; Inomata and Stiver 1998) has been able to rely almost completely on well-preserved artifact assemblages to identify specific elite structures as residences that also housed specialized craft production of high-status items. The volcanically buried site of Cerén in El Salvador (Sheets 1992, 2002) is the best-known example of rapid abandonment, but as a smaller, rural site it helps us little with the problem of elite residences.

[9] See D. Chase and A. Chase (2000) for a good recent position on terminology for various kinds of trash disposal behaviors and deposits.

II.3.2.2 Typologies for building groups

The more generally encountered paucity of artifactual remains in elite complexes, however, causes Tourtellot to suggest that a more useful approach might be to demarcate elite residential sectors rather than concentrate on individual building types (1993:231), an idea echoed by Houston *et al.* in their work on the Piedras Negras acropolis (1998:50). Marshall Becker sees two general trends in approaches to understanding Maya building groups: one uses the overall size and complexity of building groups as a way of organizing ruins into classes which are generally taken to correlate with social class – a decidedly non-functional approach – while the other identifies specific group patterns or "plaza plans" in Maya settlement maps (Becker 1999:137). The latter is Becker's own approach at Tikal, and could appropriately be described as an "emic" approach, because he tries to isolate architectural structural units that would have been recognized as significant by the original builders.

The classic example of the first approach is the type-site scheme developed by Willey and Leventhal for their 1976 settlement-pattern study of Copán. Four "unit" types were defined as "trial classifications" to be checked by excavation, using the two co-varying criteria of individual mound size and complexity of mound groupings (Willey and Leventhal 1979:81). Residence was a suspected function for these groups as a whole, a hypothesis generally confirmed by a number of excavations (Hendon 1987, 1989; Webster 1989:7; Webster, Freter, and Gonlin 2000; Willey and Leventhal 1979), although the typology was not aimed at eliciting function.

For Becker, this typological approach, while useful for providing an indication of the wealth or status of a group's inhabitants, misses the opportunity to organize a site into "cognitive units reflecting, in theory, those held by the Maya occupants and builders" (Becker 1982:112) – the classic aim of an emic analysis. Plaza Plan 2 at Tikal is a particular building configuration that characterizes both very large and very small groups, cutting across the hierarchy of group size and indicating to Becker that the factors responsible for the configuration transcend status and wealth (1999:139). He sees Plaza Plan 2 groups as residential units that may have belonged to a lineage head and proposes that they constitute a single "house" comprising both residents and household structures (1999:144). The defining feature of this plaza plan is a high, square eastern structure that consistently contains multiple burials and burned areas, suggesting that Becker's approach may have isolated a building type which would have had a particular lexical designation in the Classic period; i.e., the eastern structure and the plan as a whole probably correspond to a Maya emic unit.

At Caracol, numerous *in situ* interior and exterior floor deposits in the site epicenter, apparently deriving from a catastrophic and warfare-related rapid abandonment episode (D. Chase and A. Chase 2000), together with extensive mapping and areal excavation, have made possible a focus on both individual structure function and general functional attribution for palace complexes. For example, the Structure B4-B5-B6 complex directly opposite the face of Caana (see Fig. 2.1a) contained "high-status trash" including jadeite, shell jewelry, and Terminal Classic fineware vessels; smashed "domestic" pottery in the rear rooms (apparently bowls and restricted-neck jars) (A. Chase and D. Chase 2000:70); abundant animal bone; and a total of sixteen projectile points in Structure B4 and B6, which they believe to be "atlatl" points (A. Chase and D. Chase 2001b:117). Chase and Chase consider the central building, B5, to be a temple, because of rounded corners, two summit burials and an axial stairway burial; whereas the side structures B4 and B6 are considered to be elite residences. We can note that the presence of burials here has the opposite functional significance from that attributed to presence of burials by Hendon (1991). Observing the odd plan of the complex and the presence of what they describe as "weapons," the Chases note a possibly variant, perhaps military, function (A. Chase and D. Chase 2001b:118). They have not as yet attempted to construct any kind of functional typology for individual structures whose uses they derive from artifactual material.

At the group level, however, functional types do seem to be identifiable from contextual information. Chase and Chase note, for example, a special form of plaza surrounded by low range structures that occurs directly on causeway routes just before reaching the outer, second ring of termini in the massive sacbe system of the city; they infer a probable "control" function for these, apparently from both their relative location and their architectural characteristics (A. Chase and D. Chase 2001a:276).

II.3.2.3 Other considerations in determining building and group function

At some level, archaeologists have not needed to appeal to any physical evidence at all to identify the function of architectural buildings and groups: temples are a good example, since they are typically identified from the characteristics of their substructures (i.e., they are high); the presence of burials and tombs, as I have noted, can be taken to support both ritual and residential functions. For elite groups, residential function is often suspected before excavation takes place, if only because royal people have to live somewhere. For non-elite groups, the "principle of abundance" proposes that most of the large number of buildings at Maya sites must have had residence as a function – again, because people have to live somewhere (Chowning and Haviland 1961, cited in Becker 1982:114).

In the absence of distinctive architecture, extensive midden deposits, or the Pompeii-like circumstances at Cerén and Aguateca, excavations in site-center acropolei and complexes of monumental range structures typically produce an outline of chronological and architectural development and recover burials or tombs, deposits from termination rituals and late or even squatter habitation, and architectural sculpture (see Johnston and Gonlin 1998:152); in the aftermath of this, function must be attributed through a combination of possibilities deriving from ethnographic and ethnohistorical materials and iconography, as well as from impressionistic criteria. Reviewing decades of excavation at Copán leads me to the conclusion that, with a few exceptions, the excavation of acropolis architecture at Copán and perhaps other large sites, as well as the excavation of some major buildings of the Sepulturas-area compounds, does not generally produce the kinds of artifactual remains that are useful in the

functional analysis of architecture – through no fault of generations of archaeologists.

Regional variation poses further difficulties for developing reasonable classifications of elite residential or palace buildings. In a recent comparison of Tikal's Central Acropolis to another royal residence, Group 10L-2 at Copán, Harrison and Andrews V note some significant differences (Harrison and Andrews V n.d.). They suggest that whereas the attributes that Harrison (1970) identified as indicative of residential function ("tandem-transverse" rooms, east-facing doors, traffic control arrangements, benches and cord-holders near them, and alterations over time) can be found in a single building at Tikal (Structure 5D-46), these same attributes are spread over an entire compound Copán's Group 10L-2 – that is, the living quarters of the king and his family are not localized in one building. Work at Caracol, Belize, also suggests that "palace" complexes at different sites may be organized along somewhat different principles. A. Chase and D. Chase (2001b:108) maintain that a major difference between some palace complexes in epicentral Caracol and those at other large sites such as Tikal, Uaxactun, and Palenque, is that palaces and temples at those sites do not occur together in courtyards and plazas, with the exception of the Tikal South Acropolis; whereas temple and range structure integration is more common at Caracol. On a non-royal level, Tourtellot has noted that the plans of several of his residential structure classes are unique to Seibal (1982:699): for example, he says, it cannot be decided if the typical Seibal "house plan" is that of a dwelling – i.e., a place where people actually slept – by comparing it to other sites, where the C-shaped plan is not common (1982:597, 623). Becker, on the other hand, has noted the occurrence of Plaza Plan 2 at Copán and Quiriguá (1982:120-121) and extensively at Caracol (Becker 1999:145), although no systematic inter-site study has yet been made.

II.3.2.4 Questioning the functional approach to architecture

As Tourtellot notes (1993:227), disentangling residence from the "jumble" of other activities that take place in an elite compound is difficult. This difficulty probably holds for residential complexes at all levels of society: ethnohistories and ethnographic studies show that ceremonial or ritual activities and designated spaces for them are a normal feature of residential compounds and individual houses (e.g., Landa §27 in Gates 1937; Earle 1986:164-5; Hanks 1990:Ch.7; Vogt 1976). It is certain, however, that elite palace compounds of the Classic period hosted a number of activities that did not take place in the households[10] of most Classic Maya. Scenes painted on polychrome vases seem to take place in rooms of masonry "range structures," and depict a wide range of interactions between royal persons and others of a diplomatic, judicial, or ritual nature (Schele and Miller 1986:133-174; Reents-Budet 1994:234-275, 2001). It is probable that a "residence-only" living situation is not an appropriate social or spatial category for either Classic Maya elites or modern Maya peoples; and it seems to be accepted that the basic functions of residence (i.e., sleeping, dressing, hygiene, eating, socializing) were dispersed among the various spaces in a residential complex (Becker 1982:114; Webster, Freter, and Gonlin 2000:51).

Given the often artifact-poor environs of royal/noble complexes, the use-neutral aspect of building interiors, the presence of regional variation in architectural form, and the dispersal of residential functions among diverse spaces, it is not surprising that developing functional typologies is a difficult undertaking. It is probably not unfair to say that regardless of the meticulousness of excavation, so few contemporary artifactual remains occur with royal and noble architecture that the effort to delineate activities and activity areas *for the time period with which archaeologists of Classic structures are usually concerned* is often unproductive; some archaeologists do, however, maintain that continuity of function can be assumed in spite of changes in trash disposal practices (e.g., Webster 1989:39; Folan *et al.* 2001:257). Structure function in the epicenters of large sites is determined using architectural criteria such as room size and arrangement, access patterns, presence and shape of benches, and masonry quality – that can be ambiguous, and that are almost always augmented with ethnographic or ethnohistorical information. These features typically have none of the functional specificity that one might find, for example, in the storage rooms of Cretan palaces.

A further concern has to do with calling "residence" a "function" of a building: to say that a building has a residential function does not help us to distinguish between kinds of social groups that may live together, nor encourage the kind of artifact analysis that would foster these distinctions. For example, how could we distinguish the residential remains of a group of temple attendants perhaps unrelated by blood from those of a series of nuclear families with a large ritual installation in their courtyard? "Domestic" or "utilitarian" pottery is usually taken to be an indicator of residence; but there may be many kinds of groups that use this pottery that "reside" in many different kinds of ways.

Maya archaeologists are therefore left with very broad functional categories – "residential," "administrative," "shrine" – that seem perfectly sensible, but are also perfectly unprovable. Other categories, such as "men's house," "jail," "council house," "dance platform," are, while also often reasonable, nevertheless almost purely speculative. They rely principally on 1) ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence from time periods that lacked both the level of political and social organization and the institution of divine kingship which undoubtedly strongly structured the internal spaces of Maya acropoleis and noble compounds; and 2) on iconographic evidence which is subject to multiple interpretations. Johnston and Gonlin's observation about functional analysis of commoner contexts holds also for elite ones:

> If it is true that the artifactual contents of houses are not preserved fossil-like in their systemic context,

[10] "Household" is a loaded term in anthropology. I note here that I carefully differentiate an *otoot* dwelling, as a discrete architectural unit specified by the Maya, from the socio-economic group which reproduces itself therein (e.g., Wilk and Ashmore 1988). To discuss royal, explicitly *architectural* "houses" as "households" at this stage would be to assume the nature of relations between persons living in these areas before the data has been understood. Consideration of the *otoot*'s role in a household is properly left to interpretative phases of the study.

> and if, as in the case of Maya commoner houses, the architectural record is both sparse and poorly preserved, then what do we establish by excavating a house beyond a crude functional classification of its architecture, a mere description of its construction history, and a foundation from which to infer commoner population (1998:156)?

The success of an approach like that of Tourtellot (1982) in identifying patterning on a site-wide scale, independent of absolute group and structure size, can perhaps temper the pessimism that Johnston and Gonlin express, at least for non-elite architecture. Further, the identification of these patterns in non-royal and non-elite environments can shed light on the connections between different sectors of society.

However, the persistence of the problem of functional attribution, or producing lists of activities, should point to the possibility that the functional approach is not necessarily particularly appropriate for elite architecture in the first place. The fact is, of course, that buildings are not tools. Unless their purpose is extremely specialized – e.g., storage of a particular kind of item, sweat-bathing, bee-keeping, etc. – their physical shape may well be tailored much more toward social concerns than toward any kind of efficiency or appropriateness for a particular function. This is especially the case where dwellings are concerned. The form of any dwelling, in any but the most extreme climates, is extravagantly underdetermined by the physical requirements of human beings and suffused with cultural, social, economic, and ritual-religious significance. William Sanders wisely notes, in the very chapter of the House of the Bacabs study (Webster 1989) that outlines the functional attributions of buildings in Group 9N-8, that single functional identifications should not be overly stressed because ethnographic data suggests that strict definition of function was never a feature of most traditional housing (Sanders 1989:91).

Maya archaeologists are of course not ignorant of multiple approaches to architecture: for example, Johnston and Gonlin (1998) recently outlined the possibilities of cultural/structural and social analyses with respect to Maya architecture, particularly "commoner" architecture. It is rather that Maya architecture, both elite and commoner, presents archaeologists with multiple difficulties, which make the application of any of these approaches problematic in various ways. Johnston and Gonlin note that for the social approach – which for them entails understanding household organization as logically prior to physical form – to be productive, large-scale exposures of residential architecture must be combined with subsurface sampling of middens and garden areas (1998:171). This is next to impossible in royal/acropolis contexts.

II.3.3 Summary

Since Harrison's work at Tikal's Central Acropolis, archaeologists have rightly backed away from the focus on single buildings and moved toward the plaza plan (Becker 1982, 1999), the type-site (Willey and Leventhal 1979), the unit (Tourtellot 1982), and the "linked sector" (Houston *et al.* 1998), recognizing that more meaning might be recoverable by examining relationships rather than isolated structures. Each of these etic models elicits for archaeologists different kinds of cultural, social, and political information. This project, however, because of its unique data set, can push back into the realm of individual buildings which were specified by the Maya as being *otoot*s, against the background of the weight and wealth of archaeological research into the compounds in which those structures are located. Although I am still interested in function, as most archaeologists always will be, this is not a functional approach. Approaching Maya residence by using a Maya category in combination with its architectural and archaeological context encourages attention to cultural and social *roles*, rather than functions, and points to buildings and dwellings as a social actors in their own right, particularly from an emic perspective. Dwelling turns out to have a more complex relationship to residence than archaeological typologies can characterize.

II.4 Use of ethnographic materials

My use of ethnographic materials is limited in scope: the most important sources are those that deal with built space in some way, whether in its construction, the ritual practices that surround it, or the terminology for it. By far the most important resource has been the body of work by William Hanks (1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996), who addresses the interface between language and Maya spatial practices at a level of detail and thoroughness approached by no other worker in the Maya area. Other ethnographic sources include aspects of the work of Bloch (1995); Bunzel (1952); McGee (1990, 1998); McKinnon (1991); Gossen (1974); Waterson (1990); Redfield and Villa Rojas (1962[1934]); and Vogt (1969, 1976). Dictionaries, grammars of Maya languages, and text compilations have also proved useful for demonstrating the geographical and semantic range of key lexical items and concepts (e.g., Aulie, Aulie, and Scharfe 1999; Barrera-Vasquez 1980; Dienhart 1997; Kaufman and Norman 1984; Laughlin 1975; Wisdom 1950).

Generally, I am not using ethnographic data to explain patterns found in the hieroglyphic or archaeological records. I do not use the "direct historical approach" (Marcus and Flannery 1994) to generate sets of expectations about the ancient data; neither do I import ethnographically-derived models into ancient contexts, as Fash convincingly did by using the modern Ch'orti'' settlement model of the *sian otot* to interpret ancient settlement patterns at Copán (1983). Rather, when I call on ethnographic information, it is typically to illuminate or corroborate the interpretations generated by the juxtaposition of texts and archaeological or spatial data, and to provide examples of parallel practices in modern contexts. Overall, this study contributes to demonstrating, rather than assuming, that certain core cultural practices and notions exhibit great durability over time, even while particular instances of them – such as dwellings of kings as deity impersonators – do not survive. I concur with McAnany (1995:21) that "social practices can be studied both in their historical specificity and across the space-time continuum," and that certain of them "persevere and... transcend historical incident."

CHAPTER III: THE ROYAL *OTOOT* AND DISCOURSES OF SPACE AND GENDER AT YAXCHILÁN

III.1 Introduction

Five structures in the site core of Yaxchilán contain inscriptions that refer to them as the dwellings of various members of Yaxchilán's royal dynasty (Table 3.1). All of the *otoot* texts were carved between AD 726 and 764 (GMT), on stone door lintels and one hieroglyphic stairway, during the reigns of the two most famous kings, Itzamnaaj B'alam II and "Bird Jaguar IV."[11] The site's "dwelling" texts present several features that are not found at other cities.

First, women "own" two of the structures, Structures 23 and 11. Although women's names appear in dwelling dedication texts at Chichén Itzá, the character of the involvement of Yaxchilán women with architectural space is distinct from that at Chichén, and so I devote a large part of this chapter to these explicitly woman-owned dwellings.[12] The section on Structures 23 and 11 shows that they are unequivocally female spaces, that their inscriptions describe them as special and central places in Itzamnaaj B'alam's domain, and that, at least in the case of Structure 23, they are probably loci of female agency. Comparisons with ethnographic data on women's space and lived space in general in Maya households indicate that the dwelling as a strong locus of personal identity plays out gendered spatial dynamics in ancient as well as modern contexts.

Second, the texts associated with Structure 44 record that it is owned by Itzamnaaj B'alam in the guise of an impersonator of an aspect of the maize god; explicit dwelling ownership by an impersonator as identified by the *u-b'aah-il-aan* phrase is otherwise recorded only in Structure 1 of Bonampak (although Yaxchilán Structure 23 may also involve impersonation, and I argue later that Copán Structure 22 is another example). Further, the Structure 44 inscriptions contain explicit textual evidence that Maya buildings were not only animate, but were conceived of as specific named cosmic beings. The section on Structure 44 introduces the idea, found throughout this study, that the line between built space on one hand, and other kinds of spatial realms or constructs on the other, is blurred in Maya thought and practice.

Third, each of the five *otoot* structures occupies a distinct area of the site core and has a distinct view-shed (in a non-technical sense). I suggest that an appropriate analogy may be made between the "corporeal fields" that William Hanks posits for Maya individual and intersubjective linguistic deictic[13] acts (1990:90-92), on one hand, and the referential fields that are constituted for buildings as social actors on the other. Maya buildings are very clearly animate bodies: architectonic elements, as is well known, are named with anatomical terminology, and ethnographic research demonstrates that buildings are ritually fed and ensouled. As such, they may plausibly be considered to possess an *-iknal* – a proximal region of action and reference around the individual or object functioning as possessor of the *-iknal.* The inscriptions provide good support for the idea that the corporeal fields of buildings are defined with respect to both generation and gender, and that they encode both spatial and temporal constraints. The sections on Bird Jaguar's refurbishing of the *otoot* of the Early Classic king "Moon Skull," and on the dedication of his own dwelling, Structure 10, set the stage for this discussion. When viewed in the light of the social and political relationships among their owners, the placement and dating of the *otoot* structures suggest that the social dynamics of the royal court of Yaxchilán play out in spatial terms in a way that can be illuminated by the notion of corporeal fields. I rely in this discussion heavily and unapologetically on William Hanks' (1990) work *Referential Practice.* No other linguist or ethnographer has provided a comparably profound treatment of the interconnectedness of linguistic referential practices with space-making practices among the Maya – precisely what this study deals with, if on a much simpler level.

Yaxchilán is located in the hilly lowlands of Chiapas, Mexico on a horseshoe bend of the Usumacinta River. The site plan (Fig. 3.1) is atypical of large Maya centers: it is strung out along the steep bank of the river, such that its main plaza has a narrow, elongate plan. The main plaza has two principal levels, a lower one that fronts the riverbank itself, and a built-up "bench" running along the base of the steep hills that rise behind the plaza. These hills themselves, separated by deep ravines and housing several caves, support two monumental acropolei, the West Acropolis and the South Acropolis, as well as smaller complexes on lower hill summits to the west of the West Acropolis (see CMHI 3:5-6 for full map).

The site has been excavated since 1972 by archaeological teams from INAH and Japan, resulting in the discovery of a number of tombs and in the consolidation of many structures. These excavations are unpublished, except for several short updates in the *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* and the *Boletín Consejo de Arqueología*, mainly covering the consolidation work (Garcia Moll 1977, 1978, 1984; Juarez Cossio and Pérez Campa 1990). The principal sources on Yaxchilán are thus Maudslay's *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, Maler's (1903) *Researches in the Central Portion of the Usumacinta,* Ian Graham's *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* volumes (CMHI 3 (1977-1982)), Peter Mathews' 1988 dissertation on the sculpture and inscriptions, and Carolyn Tate's 1992 work on the city's kings, buildings, and design. Tate's work in particular functions as an invaluable catalog and source for anyone working with Yaxchilán's buildings and texts: this chapter would have been very difficult to write without it. The eventual publication of the site's archaeology will enrich epigraphic treatments immeasurably.

[11] I use Bird Jaguar's nickname instead of a transliteration in this chapter because the "bird" element of his name has not been deciphered.

[12] This discussion is a revised and much expanded version of the views I present in my section of McAnany and Plank (2001): although I do not alter dramatically the conclusions reached there, new information and the perspective gained by completing the study of *otoot* structures at other sites provide for a more refined understanding of the buildings.

[13] See Chapter 1,n.5 for definition of deixis.

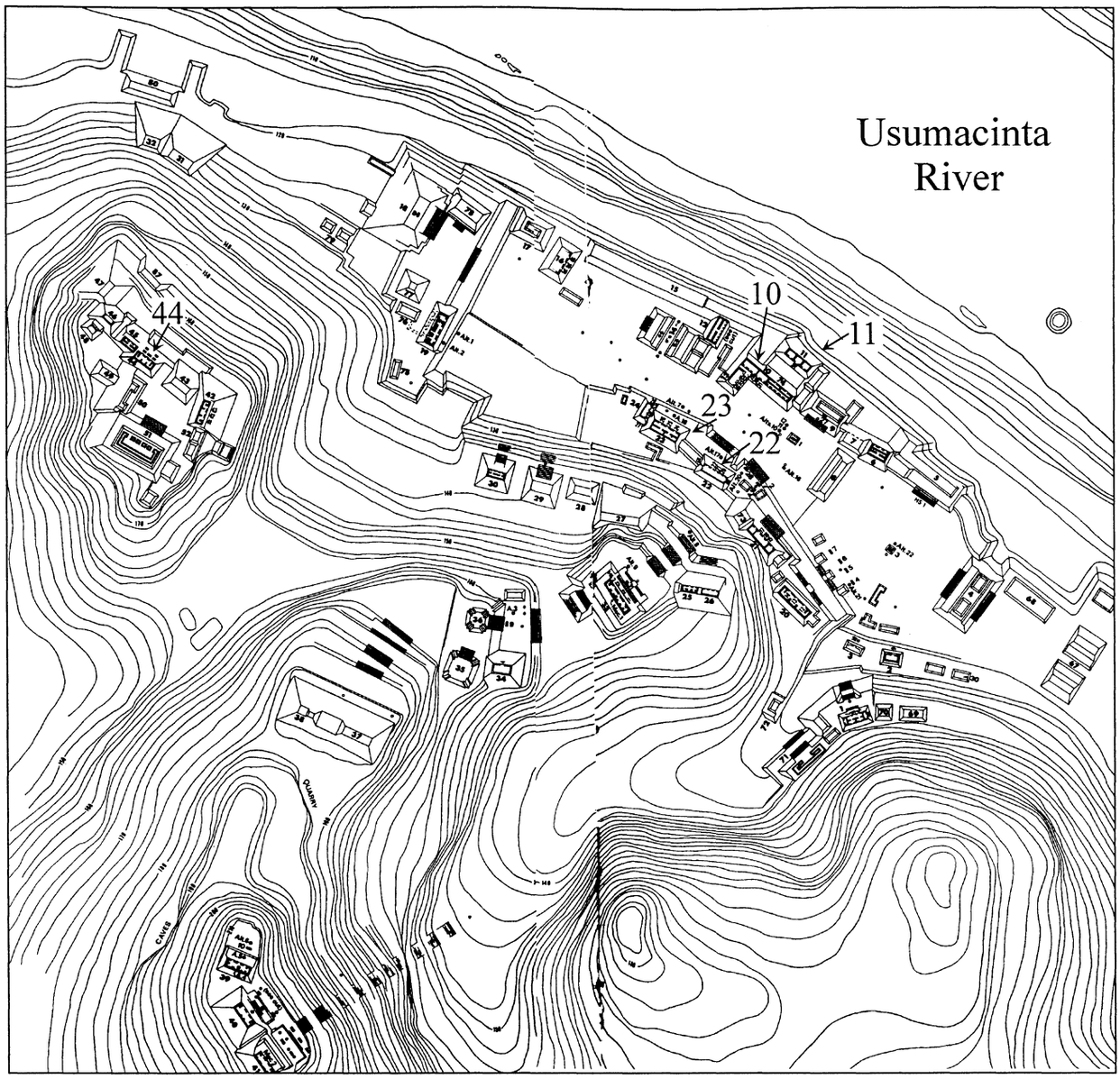

Fig. 3.1 Map of Yaxchilán, from CMHI 3:6-7. This figure shows the principal structures discussed in the text, but is only a segment of the fuller map reproduced in CMHI 3:6-7.

III.2 Structures 23 and 11: Women's dwellings at Yaxchilán

III.2.1 Background

The inscriptions of Structure 23, and, to a lesser extent, of Structure 11, are the primary sources of epigraphic evidence on dwellings possessed by women in the Maya area. Because the inscription of Structure 11 is brief, relatively straightforward, and replicates the structure and content of the Structure 23 texts, I devote only a short section to it, treating it mostly in the course of the Structure 23 discussion.

The three front entrances of Structure 23 (Fig. 3.2) supported a set of carved door lintels (Lintels 24 and 25, now in the British Museum, and Lintel 26, in Mexico City) that depict auto-sacrificial ritual at a rare level of detail, and feature a woman, Ix K'ab'al Xook (a.k.a. "Lady Xook"), in the carved scenes and texts. She is paired, on these lintels, with a man usually described as her husband, the Late Classic king Itzamnaaj B'alam (a.k.a. "Shield Jaguar") during whose reign the structure was built. A fourth, entirely glyphic lintel (Lintel 23), inscribed on both its underside and front edge, was mounted over the southwest side-door of the structure and remains there today. The syntax of Lintel 23's text is problematic, and, combined with early readings of key "relationship" glyphs, has fostered excessively convoluted interpretations. The lintel remains imperfectly understood, but its problems can be simplified and its content shown to pertain to the nature of the place as a women's locale. Together the lintels record eight dates spanning forty-five years, from Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession in AD 681 to a ceremony involving a dedication of Structure 23 in AD 726 (see Table 3.2 below).

TABLE 3.1: *OTOOT* STRUCTURES, OWNERS, AND DATES AT YAXCHILÁN

Structure	Monument	*Otoot* owner	Dedication Date(s)	event	Gregorian (584,285)
22	Lintel 21	"Moon Jaguar" (Ruler 7)	9.0.19.2.4 2 Kan 2 Yax	*el-naah*	16 Oct **454**
23	Lintels 23-26	Ix K'ab'al Xook	9.14.11.5.1- 9.14.14.13.17	See Table 3.2	17 Jan **723** -26 Jun **726**
44	Hier. Stair. 3: Step IV	Itzamnaaj B'alam I	9.14.11.10.1 7 Imix 14 Zotz	*och-k'ak'*	27 Apr **723**
11	Lintel 56	Ix Sak B'iyaan	9.15.6.13.1 7 Imix 19 Zip	*och-k'ak'*	8 Apr **738**
10	Lintel 31	"Bird Jaguar" IV	9.16.13.0.0 2 Ajaw 8 Wo	*och-k'ak'*	1 Mar **764**

TABLE 3.2: DATES FROM YAXCHILÁN STRUCTURE 23

Maya Date	Gregorian Date	Monument	Event
9.12.9.8.1 5 Imix 4 Mak	23 Oct 681	L25 underside	*Tzak* "conjuring" of *K'awiil* at Tan Ha' Yaxchilán.
9.13.17.15.12 5 Eb 15 Mak	27 Oct 709	L24 underside	*Ch'ab'-il* "penance" of Itzamnaaj B'alam and Lady Xook.
Undated (lintel front destroyed)	?	L24 underside	*T'ab'* "ascension" (God N verb) of carving of Mo'-Chaak
9.14.11.15.1 3 Imix 14 Ch'en	4 Aug 723	L25 front edge	*T'ab'* "ascension" (God N verb) of "carving" of dwelling of Lady Xook.
9.14.12.6.12 12 Eb 0 Pop	12 Feb 724	L26 underside	*T'ab'* "ascension" (God N verb) of "carving" of K'awiil Chaak
9.14.12.8.9 10 Muluk 17 Wo	20 March 724	L23 front edge	*K'al* "binding" of doorway of dwelling of Lady Xook, with women participants.
9.14.14.8.1 7 Imix 19 Pop	2 March 726	L23 underside	Itzamnaaj B'alam's 9th hotun accession anniversary.
9.14.14.13.16 ? 5 Cib 14 Yaxk'in ?	25 June 726 ?	L26 front edge	"Fire-entering," dwelling of Lady Xook (?).
9.14.14.13.17 6 Caban 15 Yaxk'in	26 June 726	L23 underside	"Fire-entering," dwelling of Lady Xook as the moon goddess.

Schele and Freidel's influential treatment of Structure 23 (1990:262-305) portrays its monuments as "a carefully orchestrated political message critical to Itzamnaaj B'alam's ambition and to the future he hoped to create" (1990:266). In this view, the building functioned as a compromise between two crucial but antagonistic concerns of the king and his court. On one hand, the building was a means of publicly recognizing an important local lineage to which Itzamnaaj B'alam was allied by his marriage to Lady Xook, his principal but heir-less wife. On the other hand, it was meant to satisfy a foreign alliance with Calakmul by less directly commemorating the birth of the future heir, Bird Jaguar, Itzamnaaj B'alam's son by a junior wife who came from that city.[14] Little is usually made of the six different dedication

[14] Neither Bird Jaguar nor his Calakmul mother appears anywhere in the inscriptions of Structure 23. The evidence for a reference to Bird Jaguar consists of the date of the events depicted on the underside of Lintel 24, which is 62 days after his birth. Lady Xook and Itzamnaaj B'alam are shown on this lintel in the act of self-sacrifice through bloodletting: although blood-letting almost certainly occurred on the occasion of the birth of an heir, as attested

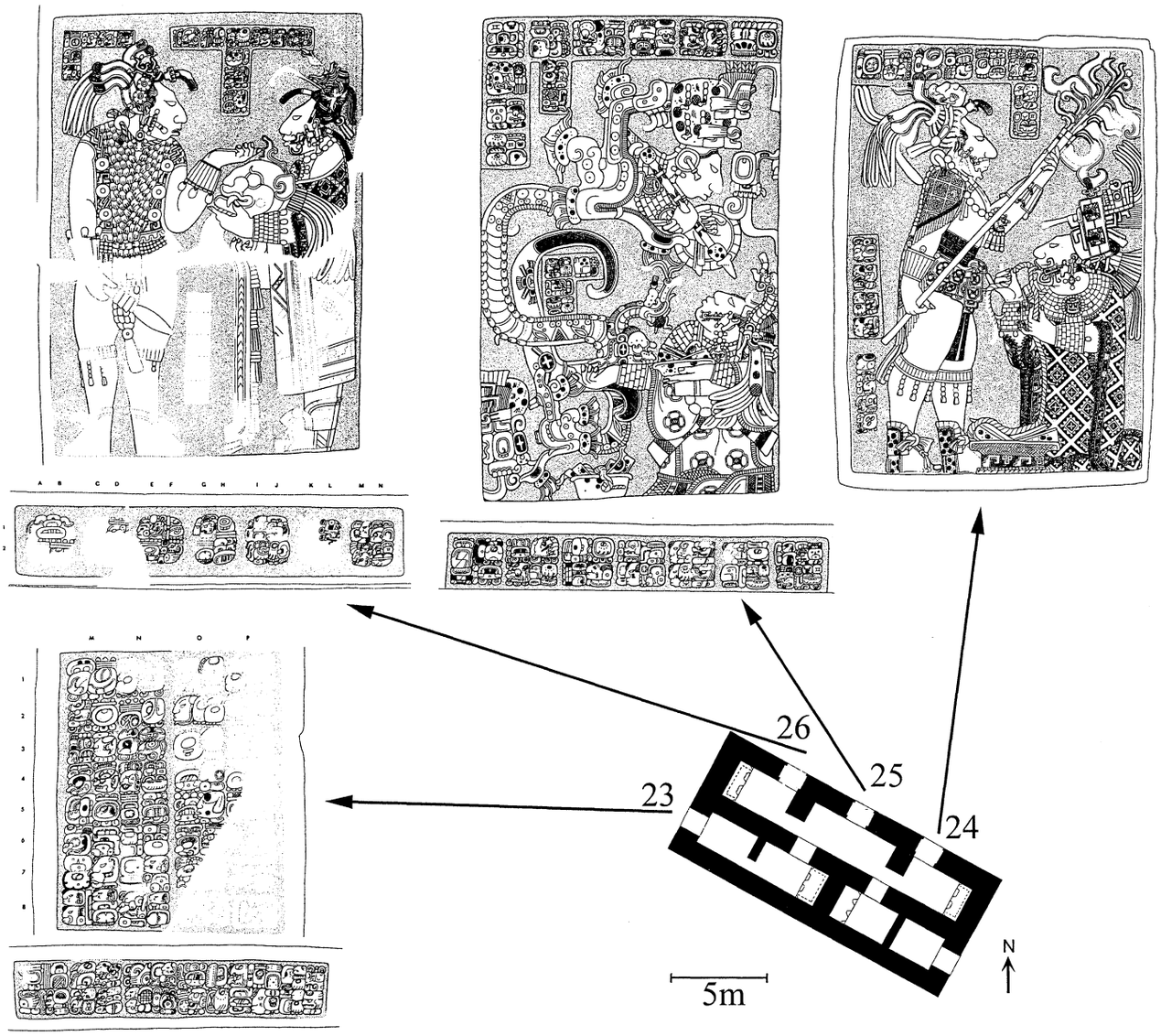

Fig. 3.2 Yaxchilán Structure 23 and its lintels. All drawings by Ian Graham (CMHI 3:53-58, 3:135-136). Drawing of Structure 23 adapted from plan by Tate (Tate 1992:207).

events contained in the texts of Structure 23, even though dedications of the structure as the *otoot* of Lady Xook occupy all of the three extant front edges of its lintels (Lintels 23, 25, and 26) and the underside of Lintel 23, and probably occupied the destroyed front edge of Lintel 24. While the agenda behind the construction of Structure 23 was undoubtedly deeply entangled with court politics, the woman's *otoot* itself is the dominant theme of its inscriptions.

Over the past decade, and since McAnany and Plank (2001) was written in 1999, a number of books and articles have appeared that deal with prehispanic gender, and many of them use the lintels of Yaxchilán in one way or another to support their conclusions (e.g., Hewitt 1999:257-258; Joyce 2000:65-68, 83-89; Josserand 2002:123-143; Looper 2002:192; Bruhns and Stothert 1999:162-3; Tate 1999:89-93). While Lady Xook and her associates perhaps have not been as severely beaten as the proverbial dead horse, they are in rough shape. What I contribute here as succinctly as I can is a discussion of the specific glyphic evidence for the nature of Structure 23 and its importance as a place beyond its role as a showcase for its lintel.

III.2.2 The nature of the Structure 23 locale

Structure 23 is twice clearly characterized as Lady Xook's *otoot,* on the front of Lintel 25 and on the underside of Lintel 23 (see Figs. 3.3, 3.9). In a third context, the front edge of Lintel 26 (see Fig. 3.8), the name phrase associated with the possessed dwelling is almost completely lost to erosion but is probably Lady Xook's: some of the surviving parts of the name and title phrase appear in Lady Xook's other name phrases, and she is most likely the woman pictured on

by the lintels of Yaxchilán Structure 20, it was clearly a feature of many kinds of ceremonies and need not be connected to a birth event. Lady Xook and Itzamnaaj B'alam are the *only* protagonists of the figural scenes and the texts of the lintels over the front doors of Structure 23 (save for the "artists' signatures" on Lintels 24 and 26).

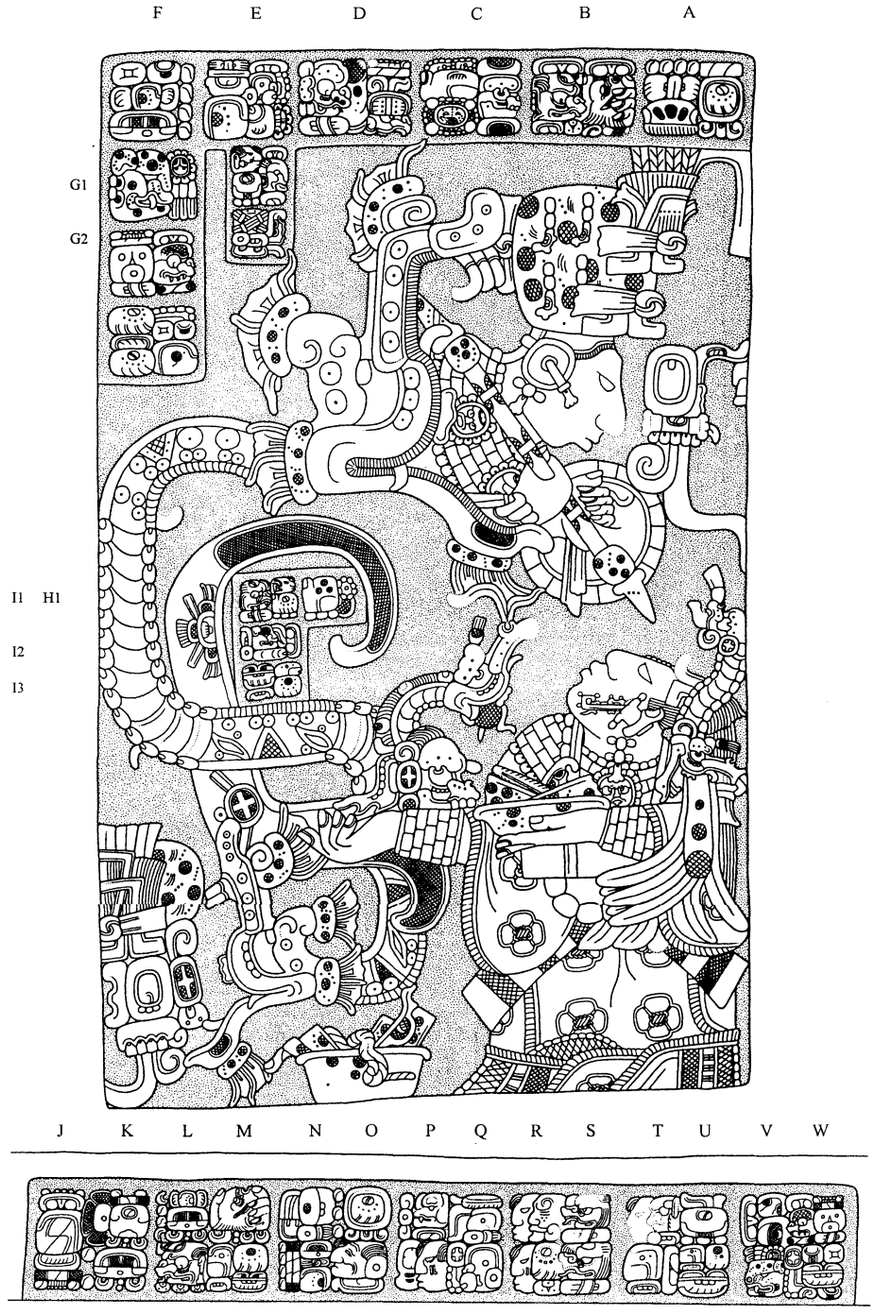

Fig. 3.3 Yaxchilán Lintel 25. Drawing by Ian Graham (CMHI 3:55-56).

the underside of the lintel, although her name phrase is gone there as well. A fourth *otoot* "ownership statement" appears on the front of Lintel 23 (see Fig. 3.11), where only part of Lady Xook's titles appear: the rest of her name does not occur until the end of that text. I comment upon the possible significance of this odd ownership statement below. All of the *otoot* phrases are in the context of "dedicatory" events, including two "fire-entering" (Stuart 1998a) ceremonies. Of all of the so-called "dedicatory" verbs used in Maya texts, the *och-k'ak'* "fire-entering" collocation is perhaps the clearest in meaning. Stuart has shown that it has a clear parallel in, for example, the *och-kantela* "candle-entering" dedication ritual for new houses, documented for the Tzotzil and other Maya groups, whose function is to "give the house a soul," to ritually animate and protect the space for the benefit of future inhabitants. I do not explore the *och-k'ak'* verb in depth here because it is relatively well understood, but I will examine other "dedicatory" verbs and their probable significance in this chapter and in the rest of the study.

Beyond the fact that Structure 23 is characterized as a woman's dwelling, three sets of locational references in its texts identify it as a building with a special character. The first set occurs entirely on Lintel 25 and specifies the location of Structure 23 in the site core; the second set is composed of a particular usage of a collocation read *kab'-ch'een* and situates both women's dwellings within the domain of Itzamnaaj B'alam; and the third set comprises the recorded

names of Structure 23, which suggest a strong lunar association for the building. I treat each of these sets of references in separate sections below. I then examine the involvement of other women in the structure's dedication as recorded on Lintel 23, and finish with a consideration of women's space at Yaxchilán.

III.2.2.1 Locational references 1: The Lintel 25 Tan-Ha' "Yaxchilán" *locations*

The locational references must be understood in the context of the overall agenda of the texts. Generally stated, the purpose of Lintel 25 is to relate the K'awiil-conjuring undertaken by Itzamnaaj B'alam and Lady Xook on the occasion of the king's accession (described and pictured on the lintel's underside), to the dedication forty-two years later of the "carving" of Lady Xook's dwelling that is recounted on the lintel's front edge as follows (Fig. 3.3):

U-TZ'AK-ka-AJ	**0-[*k'in*-ya]**	**7-"winal"-ya**
u-tz'ak-aj	*0-[k'in]-ya*	*7-"winal"-ya*
It is the completion of	zero days	7 winals

2-HAB'-ya	**2-"k'atun"-ya**
2-haab'-ya	*2-"k'atun"-ya*
2 haab'	and 2 k'atuns since

TZAK-ji-ya K'AWIL	**TAN-na HA' "Yaxchilán"**
tzak-ji:y K'awiil	*Tan-Ha' "Yaxchilán"*
since K'awiil was conjured at Tan-Ha' Yaxchilán	

i-u-ti 3-"Imix" 14 "Ch'en"
i-uht 3 "Imix" 14 "Ch'en"
and then 3 Imix 14 Ch'en happens

The K'awiil-conjuring happens at a location called Tan-Ha' "Yaxchilán" (M2), roughly translatable as "In-front-of-the-water-Yaxchilán," or perhaps "Waterfront Yaxchilán"; *tan* can also signify "in the middle of" or "within," such that the epithet might recall the fact that the city is essentially surrounded by the U-bend of the river. In any case, the physical referent of Tan-Ha' "Yaxchilán" must be the locale within the city where Structure 23 is located; that is, it refers to the architectural epicenter of the city along the bank of the Usumacinta. Stuart and Houston (1994) have, of course, documented a number of instances in which locales within sites have specific names.

The event of 3 Imix 14 Ch'een follows directly:

T'AB'(?)-yi	**yu-U..-IL**	**yo-OTOT-ti**
T'ab'(?)-ay	*y-u..-il*	*y-otoot*
It goes up	the carving?	of the dwelling

[inverted vessel]-IX K'UH	**IX ... XOK-ki**
[goddess title?]-Ix K'uh	*Ix ... Xook*
of the ...Goddess (?)	Ix... Xook

IX k'a-b'a-la XOK-ki	**IX KALO:M-TE'**
Ix K'ab'al Xook	*Ix Kaloom-te'*
Ix K'ab'al Xook	Ix Kaloom-te'

This is a straightforward dedication statement that notably, like the Chichén lintels discussed in a subsequent chapter, focuses on the *carving* of the dwelling, rather than the dwelling itself, as the object of dedication.[15] The owner of the dwelling is Lady Xook.[16]

The text of the front of Lintel 25 finishes with another locational reference (U1-U2):

yo-OL-la TAN-na-IL	**TAN HA' "Yaxchilán"**
y-ohltan-il	*tan ha' "Yaxchilán"*
it (she?) is the *ohltan* of	Tan-Ha' "Yaxchilán"

The subject of this phrase is either the architecture, "it," or Lady Xook, "she," but is almost certainly the architecture: *ohltahn* is a locational reference. In some Mayan languages, *-tan* can be suffixed to adverbs of locale and to names which signify the four parts of the world (east, west, north, south) (Barrera Vásquez 1980:770). *Ohl* is a pan-Mayan term with a series of related meanings, including "middle," "center," "heart," and "soul." *Ohl* as the center, the fifth direction, can also take the *-tan* suffix, and it appears to be directional in some way that is related to the "center" of the city. Since the only location mentioned in the text is the *otoot*, it is most likely that the sense of this phrase is "Lady Xook's dwelling is the heart/center of Tan-Ha' Yaxchilán."

The third and final reference to "Tan-Ha' Yaxchilán" is contained in a caption (Fig. 3.4), on the underside of Lintel 25, that reveals the ritual identity of Lady Xook at the moment of the conjuring rite for Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession. This caption emphasizes the association of Lady Xook and her dwelling with a heart or center:[17]

U-b'a(ah)-IL-AN	**IX-OL-la**
u-b'aah-il-aan	*Ix Ohl*
She is the impersonator of	she (of) the Center/Heart

wi-?-TE'-NAAH	**ch'a-ho-ma**	**IX k'a-b'a-la XOK-ki**
Wi-?-te'-Naah	*ch'ahoom*	*Ix K'ab'al Xook*
the Wi-te' House	offering-maker	Ix K'ab'al Xook

U-yo-OK-le-TE'	**TAN-HA' "YAXCHILÁN"-na**
U-y-ok-te'el?	*Tan-Ha' "Yaxchilán"*
the *ok-te'el* of	In-front-of-the-water "Yaxchilán"

---

[15] Where "carving" is concerned, the other "dedicatory" verbs such as *och-k'ak'* and *el-naah* are not used: those verbs are reserved for structure dedications. The God N/step verb, provisionally read by Stuart (1998:417) as *t'ab'* "ascend, go up," can be used with a certain range of features, including *tz'iib* "writing," the **lu**-"bat" carving glyph, and the dwelling glyph itself; while another verb, *k'al* "to bind," can be used with a similar range of contexts, including ceramic ones. These distinctions end up being important for understanding the reasons for inscribing objects at all, but that discussion is reserved for the concluding chapter.

[16] The "inverted vessel" title that constitutes the first part of her name is addressed in the section on Lintel 23, below.

[17] The sense of this phrase depends upon whether one sees the glyphs inside the serpent curl (H1-I3) as a continuation of the phrase that begins at G1-G2. Since impersonation phrases for gods are usually followed by the core names and titles of the human impersonator, and since *ch'ahoom* can be modified in other contexts (e.g., *4-k'atun ch'ahoom*), I think that G1-I3 probably constitute a single phrase.

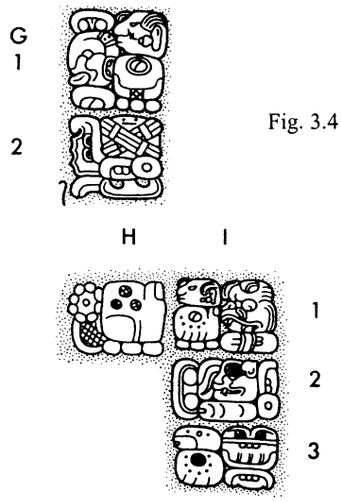

Fig. 3.4 Caption on underside of Lintel 25, flipped for ease of reading. Drawing by Ian Graham (CMHI 3:56).

The "numbered" *b'a* head at G1a that introduces this phrase has been shown to identify human personages as deity impersonators (Houston and Stuart 1996:298; Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:54). The name of the entity impersonated consists of the female *Ix* prefix in front of the word *ohl,* "heart" or "center": the deity thus might properly be called a goddess. The "crossed-bundles" glyph that follows her name incorporates, as Stuart has recently emphasized, an architectural referent (*naah,* "house") and is strongly associated in its earliest occurrences with Teotihuacan dynastic origins (Stuart 2000:492). Taube (2004) details the fire associations of the structure's name glyph; and the *ch'ahoom* title, an epithet probably derived from the offertory act of dropping of incense into a burning censer, may relate to these fire associations. The *Wi-te' Naah ch'ahoom* reference strongly suggests that Lady Xook is impersonating a Teotihuacan deity closely associated with the "crossed-bundles" structure.[18] The final collocation in Lady Xook's name phrase calls her the *y-ok-te'el* of Tan Ha' Yaxchilán. Although *y-ok-te'el* is incompletely understood,[19] it is nevertheless certain that both Lady Xook and her dwelling are associated with Tan-Ha' Yaxchilán in an intimate way: indeed, this epithet for the epicenter of the city occurs on no other monument at the site.

It is difficult to be sure whether some or all the events depicted and described on Structure 23's lintels took place Yaxchilán is both the specified location of the K'awiil-conjuring and the setting of Lady Xook's *otoot,* and is exclusively associated with Structure 23. As the possible site of the ritual involving Lady Xook's impersonation of the Xook takes on the identity of *Ix Ohl Wi-te' Naah Ch'ahoom,* so Structure 23 itself as her dwelling impersonates that Teotihuacan structure. The Maya regarded and continue to regard buildings as animate entities (e.g., Vogt 1969:461-4, 1976:52-55; Gendrop 1980; Stuart 1998a:395; Houston 1998:521); and buildings as impersonators of sacred or mythological places would be a natural extension of this idea. The many cord-holders carved into the outer projecting stone eaves of structures (e.g., in the Palenque Cross Temples and some structures in the Palenque palace group) could have sustained drapery, suggesting that buildings, like humans or gods, could be "dressed" for different ritual occasions, like human impersonators and god effigies. At Copán, both Stuart (2000:493) and Taube (2001) link the *Wi-te' Naah* "'crossed-bundles" house to Structure 10L-16 and to the veneration of the founder Yax K'uk' Mo': this building and its predecessors are loaded with symbolism relating to Teotihuacan and to fire. In the chapter on Copán, I suggest that the *Wi-te' Naah* may actually have had a number of representations at that site. The ultimate referent of the glyph is probably an actual ancient structure at Teotihuacan associated with military prowess, burning, and dynastic founders, probably the Temple of Quetzalcoatl.

Lintel 25's texts and iconography confirm the Teotihuacan warfare associations, as Taube has demonstrated (1992b). Itzamnaaj B'alam emerges from the mouth of the Teotihuacan war serpent – probably as an impersonation of a Teotihuacan warrior – carrying an atlatl dart and shield and wearing a Tlaloc mask and Central Mexican year-sign headdress, while Lady Xook holds a probable *xiuhcoatl* fire centipede in her hand, and wears a skeletal version of it in her hair; this beast is intimately associated with the drilling of fire and central Mexican year renewal ceremonies, as well as with atlatl darts (Taube 2001). The accompanying text on Lintel 25's underside corroborates this concern with ancient or ancestral warfare. It records the conjuring through Lady Xook's and Itzamnaaj B'alam's bloodletting of the personified ancestral war prowess of Teotihuacan, on the date of Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession.[20]

[18] Although *ch'ahoom* is a title usually associated with humans, the inscriptions of Ruler 16 at Copán clearly show that it can also be attached to ancestor deities such as Yax K'amlay.

[19] The *ok-te'* expression figures prominently in the text of the Sun Tablet at Palenque. It has been called a "junior title" (Martin and Grube 2000:158) and is a state or position to/in/as which one could be "bound," using the verb *k'al.* The deduction that it constitutes a junior title comes from the fact that Kan B'alam and the early Palenque king to which he links himself in the Sun Tablet inscription, K'an Joy Chitam, both come into this state at the age of 6 years. In Lady Xook's case, it is not certain if the expression is the same or has the same meaning; certainly, it would not appear to be exclusively a junior title. *ok-te'* and *ok-che'* can mean "upright wooden pole" (Wisdom 1950:117) or "stilts" (Barrera Vásquez 1980:596) in Ch'orti' and Yucatec, respectively. It is clear that the young Kan B'alam as portrayed on the Sun Tablet is being shown bound as this object/office: his torso is encased by knotted cloths, as are several kinds of objects, including staffs, in Maya iconography. It is also interesting that he stands on the Pax god, whose head is the variant for the *te'*, "tree" or "wood" syllable. It is probable that a metaphorical meaning is involved with the title: Lady Xook as the *ok-te'el* of Tahn Ha' Yaxchilán may involve being a metaphorical staff, support, or platform. The *-el* suffix is not well understood, but it is possible that it conveys the idea of a social institution as posited by Houston, Robertson, and Stuart (2001:11) (i.e., Ch'orti' *hol* = head, but *hol-el* = cabeza principal or chief head; also Classic Mayan **AJAW-le** *ajaw-el?/-lel?* "lordship").

[20] Specifically, the text records the conjuring of the *K'awiil* of the *took'-pakal,* "flint-shield." *K'awiil,* a god and symbol of the power of royal ancestry and lineage, can in this instance be thought of as a property of the *took'-pakal*, "flint-shield," as shown by its inflection with the partitive suffix *-il*, giving *K'awiil-il. Took'-pakal* is a compound noun which has been interpreted by Freidel and Schele (1993:302-310) as a powerful Maya emblem of war and possibly a battle standard with a supernatural, ancestrally-inherited potency; and by Stuart (1995:301-304) as a term for war and a symbol of the royal duty of warfare inherited by the ruler.

Certainly the suggestion that the structure as a woman's dwelling was a site for accession ritual must confront the chronological problem of whether or not it existed as Lady Xook's *otoot* at the time of Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession: the dedication dates of the lintels are decades after that event. Until the archaeology of Structure 23 is published, it is not possible to evaluate whether the lintels may have been inserted into a pre-existing structure, or whether Structure 23 was built in the vicinity of or on top of an older women's residential area. There is no doubt, however, that the Lintel 25 text marks Structure 23 as a central place, perhaps a literal heart, of the epicenter of the city, Tan-Ha' Yaxchilán; and it may indicate that Lady Xook's dwelling was the site of important war-related accession rituals in which her participation and probably her blood were crucial.

III.2.2.2 Locational references 2: The kab'-ch'een location

The second set of references to Structure 23 as a location consists of a *possessed* compound noun that combines the **KAB'** "earth" logograph with the glyph long known as the "impinged bone." Stuart (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:32-33) advanced the reading *ch'een* "cave" for the "impinged bone" sign, a reading that I accept here. The entire collocation is probably read *u-kab'-ch'een*, or *u-kab'-u-ch'een*. Whether it is a couplet or a compound noun may be important for understanding its significance: Stuart (personal communication 1998) sees it as a compound noun "earth-cave," where as Victoria Bricker (personal communication 2003) believes that it is a couplet, a belief that I also tend toward because it is often written with the doubled ergative pronoun as *u-kab'-u-ch'een*. The second reading would produce "his earth, his cave."

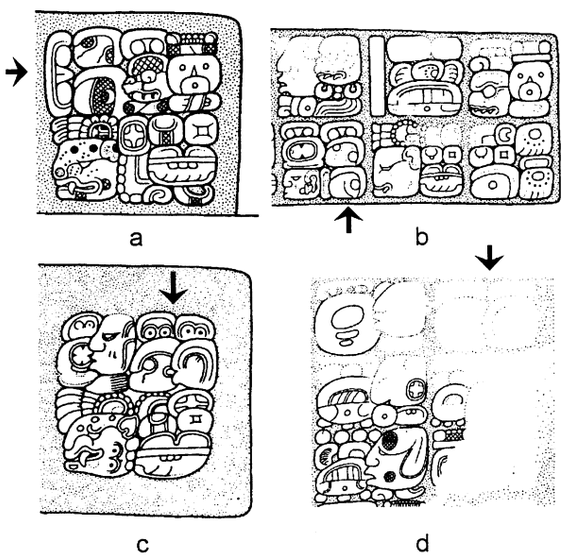

Fig. 3.5 The *kab'-ch'een* collocation at Yaxchilán: (a) Lintel 25:V1-W2 (CMHI 3:56); (b) Lintel 56:J1-L2 (CMHI 3:121); (c) Lintel 26:M1-N2 (CMHI 3:58); (d) Lintel 23:O3-P5 – *kab'-ch'een* is clear in photograph, though not in drawing (CMHI 3:136-7). All drawings by Ian Graham.

Kab'-ch'een occurs five times in the inscriptions of Yaxchilán (Fig. 3.5 and Fig. 3.7g). Three of the five examples are on the lintels of Structure 23 in the context of dedicatory statements for the dwelling. A fourth example is on Lintel 56 of Structure 11, the other *otoot* at Yaxchilán that belongs to a woman: this instance too is appended to the dedicatory statement of the dwelling of that woman, whose name is Ix Sak B'iyaan (Stuart 1998a:386). The last example appears on Stela 18, a text that involves Itzamnaaj B'alam's seizure of a captive named Popol Chay and the creation of a fictive parental relationship between the two men.

In the first four cases, the *u-kab'-ch'een* compound is immediately followed by the name and titles of Itzamnaaj B'alam: the *kab'-ch'een* therefore "belongs" to him. In the three examples on Lintel 56, Lintel 26, and Lintel 23 (Fig. 3.5b-d), the compound is preceded by a *possessed* form of the "inverted vessel" title. This common women's title usually takes the form of an inverted vessel whose body is marked by a *k'in* "sun, heat, day" sign, often with a **-la** suffix, followed by the expression *Ix K'uh* "goddess" (see, for example, Fig. 3.13, Glyph I1). The examples in Figure 3.5 do not incorporate the word *k'uh;* instead, the inverted vessel is followed only by the **IXIK** "woman" logograph. The anatomy of the phrase is as follows:

U-[inverted *k'in* vessel]-IXIK U-KAB'-CH'E:N
[Itzamnaaj B'alam]

or

She is the ?-Woman of the *kab'-ch'een* of Itzamnaaj B'alam

Although Jones *et al.* (1990) proposed that the two consecutive possessed nouns *u-..-ixik u-kab'-ch'een* constituted a relationship glyph with the sense of "his woman," it has proven to be a locational expression. Stuart and Houston have identified it as a location of uncertain reference (1994:12-13): they point out that Chaak stands on the *kab'-ch'een* glyph in the Dresden Codex (38b, 40c, and 42b) (Fig. 3.6) – a typical way of representing a place in Classic-period iconography – and that the glyph appears in the captions above the pictures, where it takes the locative *ti,* "at" (1994:12).

What kind of location is a *kab'-ch'een*? A consensus is emerging among epigraphers that it is a metaphorical way of referring to a realm or territory (Stuart, personal communication 2003). Its many contexts include a large number of codical examples, as well as the Classic-period texts of Toniná Monument 83, Bonampak Panel 1, Copán Stela 49, the Copán "Papagayo" structure step, Quirigua Monument 26, and Quirigua Zoomorph G (Fig. 3.7a-g).

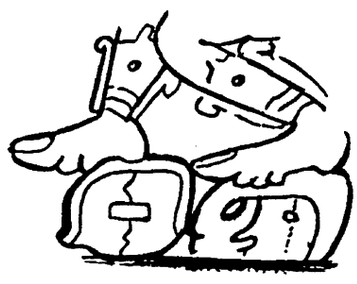

Fig. 3.6

Chaak on *kab'-ch'een* glyph, Dresden Codex 38b. After Stuart and Houston (1994:13).

I am not competent to deal with all of the numerous codical examples of the glyph, but I will give an example of its usage. In **Dresden 40c-41c** (Thompson's (1972) "Farmer's Almanac" 67), the six "t'ols" (Thompson 1972:19) all use the same verb and all depict Chaak in a different location, one that is specified in the accompanying text. From left to right, the locations are: Chaak in the water in a canoe, Chaak seated on the *kab'-ch'een*, Chaak in the sky, Chaak on the road, Chaak in his dwelling, and Chaak at(?) B'olon Chit(?). One supposes that these locations – water, *kab'-ch'een*, sky, on the road, in a dwelling – have a typological equivalence, since location is the principal interchangeable variable

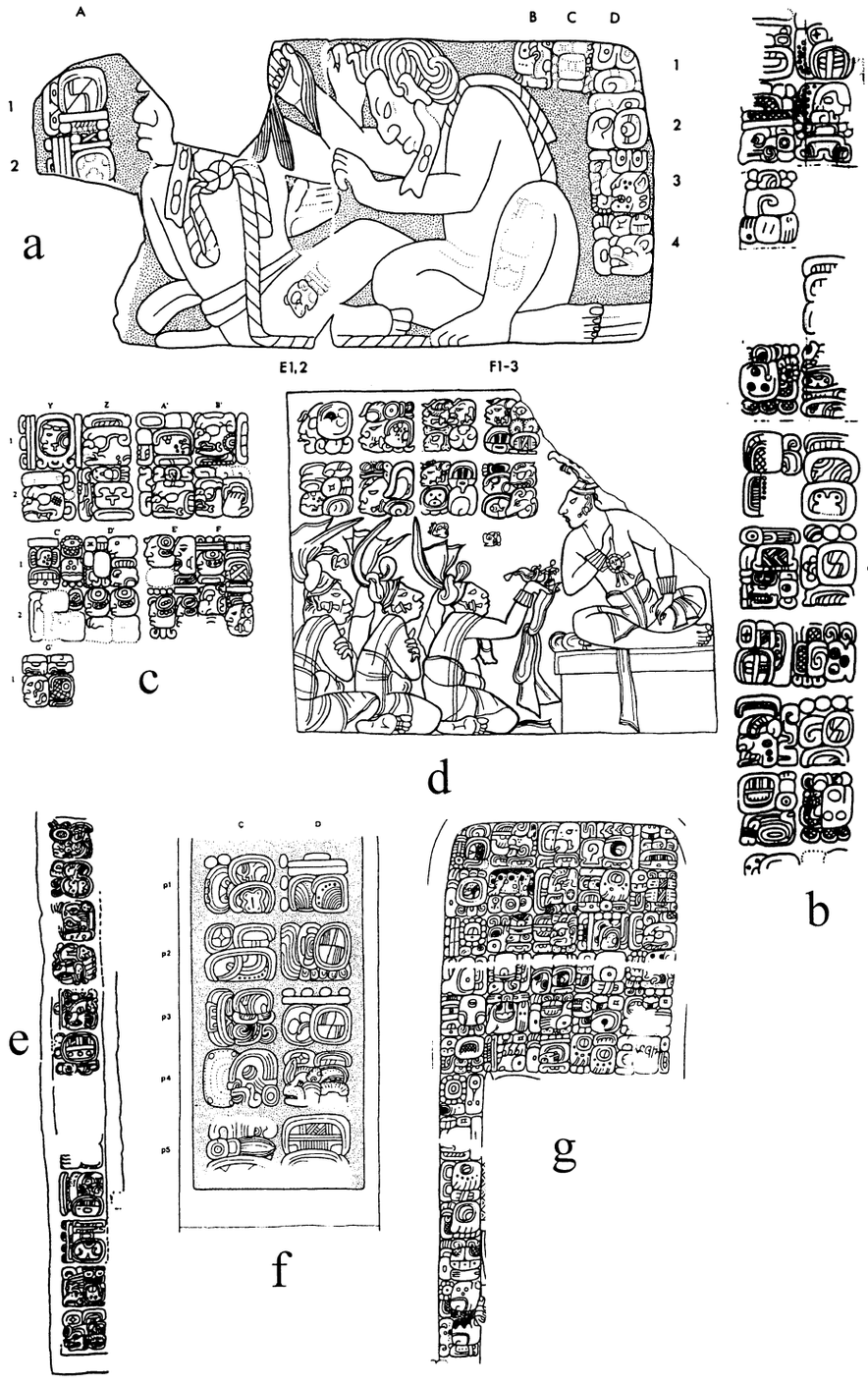

Fig. 3.7 Monumental occurrences of the *kab'-ch'een* glyph. (a) Toniná Monument 083 (CMHI 6:113). Drawing by Ian Graham; (b) Quirigua Monument 26, after Looper 1999:264. Drawing by Matthew Looper; (c) Quirigua Zoomorph G:Y1-G'1, after Looper 1995:414. Drawing by Matthew Looper; (d) Bonampak Panel 1, after Schele and Miller 1986:116. Drawing by Peter Mathews; (e) Copán, Papagayo step, after Schele 1990b:12. Drawing by Linda Schele; (f) Copán Stela 49, after Schele 1990b:26. Drawing by Barbara Fash; (g) Yaxchilán Stela 18 text, adapted from Tate 1992:246. Drawing by Peter Mathews.

(besides the augury) in the almanac, supporting the idea of *kab'-ch'een* as an earthy or earthly domain, one among several major realm types.

The glyph's textual contexts on monuments are generally somewhat obscure, and I will not discuss them in detail. The clearest instance and the best support for a "realm or domain" reading is **Toniná Monument 83**, a carved wall panel depicting seated bound captives (Fig. 3.7a): it records Ruler 8's successful war against the Sak Tz'i' site as the "fall"[21] of the *kab'-ch'een* of a Sak Tz'i' lord. Monuments at Quirigua suggest that the location might be used in other kinds of expressions: for example, **Quirigua Monument 26,** an Early Classic schist stela (Fig. 3.7b), probably describes rituals conducted by the fourth king for the dead third king on the former's accession date (Looper 1995:39-41). Looper (1995:41) suggests that the *kab'-ch'een* collocation is the object of the *pas* "to open" glyph, rendering

pas-wan *u-kab'-ch'een* *"Mat Head" ox-tz'ak-bil*
is opened **the *kab'-ch'een* of [the third king]**

If the interpretation of the verb is correct, then we have to countenance the idea that "his earth, his cave" is something that can be opened, as well as something that can "fall" or be conquered. This expression may be related to the other "earth-opening" activities discussed later in this study, particularly the *pas-chab'* "earth-openings" done at Chichén on the occasions of dwelling dedications.

The Late Classic **Quirigua Zoomorph G** (Fig. 3.7c) instance similarly occurs at a juncture between reigns. There the *kab'-ch'een* glyph is embedded in a phrase sandwiched between the mention of K'ak' Tiliw's death and his burial ten days later.[22] While I will not make too much of this poorly understood passage, I will note that the only secure locational referent that precedes the apparent stative construction *u-kab'-u-ch'een* at G'1 is the location connected with the death and "flower-breath" of K'ak' Tiliw: that location is *ti ahk-il tuun-il* (A'1-B'1), some kind of stony locale or object. There is therefore a possible equation between the object (the altar itself? a cave?) and the *kab'-ch'een*. The Quirigua monuments thus hint that the *kab'-ch'een* locations may be associated with death ritual or transformation ritual in general, and with underworld openings.[23]

The expression "his earth, his cave" may therefore be linked with both political and ritual events. It is curious that the term is so strongly linked with women at Yaxchilán: its potential associations with earth opening activities and cave ritual bring to mind the sexual and the procreative associations of caves. Caves have been identified in a number of sources as metaphorical vaginas or wombs, as settings for sexual behavior, as homes of beings with extreme or deviant sexualities, and as places of origin of people and of rain (e.g., Brady 1988; Hunt 1977:107-109; Stone 1995).

The *kab'-ch'een* expression at Yaxchilán is used to refer to a domain that encompasses a woman and her dwelling. In each case, the *kab'-ch'een* is said to belong to Itzamnaaj B'alam. In the case of Lintel 25's front edge (Fig. 3.5a), the woman's title is left out of the expression: on this lintel, we find simply

it is the *kab'-ch'een* of the captor of Aj-"Ajaw,"
Itzamnaaj B'alam, Holy Lord of Yaxchilán

To summarize, the dwelling belongs to the woman, while the woman "belongs to" or is "of" the *kab'-ch'een* as a kind of domain owned by Itzamnaaj B'alam. The juxtaposition of the terms suggests a series of nested and gendered relationships that I discuss in Section III.2.6.

III.2.2.3 Locational references 3: The names of Structure 23

The final set of references to the structure as a location is comprised of the two surviving instances of the structure's name. On the front of Lintel 26 (Fig. 3.8), the *och-k'ak'* verb at H2 is followed directly by the name of the structure at I1. Sadly, the name is eroded, but it contains the elements *k'in*, a possible *ja* sign rendered with the "moon" glyph, and a possible *-nal* element. The other instance, on the underside of Lintel 23 (Fig. 3.9), is much more informative. Here, the *och-k'ak'* verb (N5)[24] is also followed by the name of the structure at M6. It is not readable, but consists of a head sign with *k'in* infix in the eye, a clear "moon" sign, and the *-nal* superfix typical of place names. It thus shares some elements with the first example.

Most interesting is the way Lady Xook's name, as the dwelling owner, is rendered in the glyphs that follow the named dwelling on Lintel 23. The first three glyphs N6b-M7b have not been deciphered, but the passage begins with *Sak K'ak'...* and finishes at M7b with the clear name of the Classic-period Moon Goddess (Taube 1992:64-69). *Sak*, white, is an attribute associated with the moon and the Moon Goddess (Taube 1992a:67-68; see also Tate 1999:88). It is therefore possible that in this dwelling-ownership statement, Lady Xook owns the building as a Moon Goddess impersonator, despite the absence of the "impersonation" collocation. There are other clear examples of royal women impersonating the moon goddess, including Kan B'alam's mother on the Palenque Temple 14 panel, and Ix Wak Chanil Ajaw on Naranjo Stela 24, where the Moon Goddess' name glyph follows the *u-b'aah-il-aan* "impersonation" phrase (Looper 2002:181). The *u-b'aah-il-aan* phrase does not seem to be a necessary component for identifying impersonation: some contexts on Copán stelae lack it where the fact of the impersonation is made clear iconographically.

Following the Moon Goddess' name is the long string of all of Lady Xook's titles (N7-O3), the first of which is the "inverted vessel" title. The latter appears in most of the

[21] That is, *kab'-ch'een* is the subject of the **-Vy** "star-wars" verb, possibly to be glossed "it falls," rendering "it falls, the *kab'-ch'een* of 'Stone-in-Hand' Star Jaguar, Lord of Sak Tz'i'" (name translation after Martin and Grube 2000:188).

[22] Looper discusses this monument in Looper (1995:186-189).

[23] Quirigua Stela C's east side might contain at A9 another mention of the *kab'-ch'een* location, but the compound lacks the vertical line that nearly always bisects the *ch'een* glyph. If it is an instance of the glyph, then it is one of the locations of erection of the creation hearthstones, parallel to Noh/Nah Ho Chan.

[24] The drawing of the *och* in the verb is misdrawn as a *sak* sign, but the photograph clearly shows the snake-rattle segment that is a typical *och* sign.

women's name phrases at Yaxchilán and in other places such as Naranjo, where, in fact, the conjunction of the Moon Goddess' name and the inverted vessel title is repeated on Stela 24. Although the inverted vessel has been connected to the Moon Goddess (e.g., Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:181), it may also or instead be associated with Goddess O, Chak Chel of the codices, one of whose attributes is the inverted vessel with liquid flowing from it (Taube 1992a:100). Goddess O is a powerful deity of both creation and destruction, as well as of childbirth and midwifery; and Taube is careful to differentiate her from the Moon Goddess, Goddess I. Taube's (1992a:100) collection of illustrations of the goddess makes the comparison between the water that flows from her jar and the water that flows from her loins in Madrid 30b (Fig. 3.10), suggesting that the inverted vessel is a metaphorical womb. Interestingly, Allen Christenson notes that the inverted pots that can be seen, for example, on the roofs of traditional Tz'utujil houses, represent wombs and mark the interior of the houses as such (personal communication, November 2003).

The *k'in* sign on the vessel glyph may be explained in this connection as well: Wilson (1995:131-136) notes that modern Q'eqchi' Maya understand fertility as a "hot" quality, and pregnancy as an extremely hot condition, particularly just before giving birth, such that the *k'in* sign may mark the inverted vessel as a "hot" or fertile/pregnant womb. Finally, the jaguar *way* with the *k'in* sign on his belly, who appears on the ceramic vessel Kerr 531, is named there with the *k'in*-marked inverted vase glyph: **[inverted *k'in* vase]-TAN-la [headless jaguar]-? U-WAY-ya.** Grube and Nahm (1994:687) note that, while Kerr 531 is the only

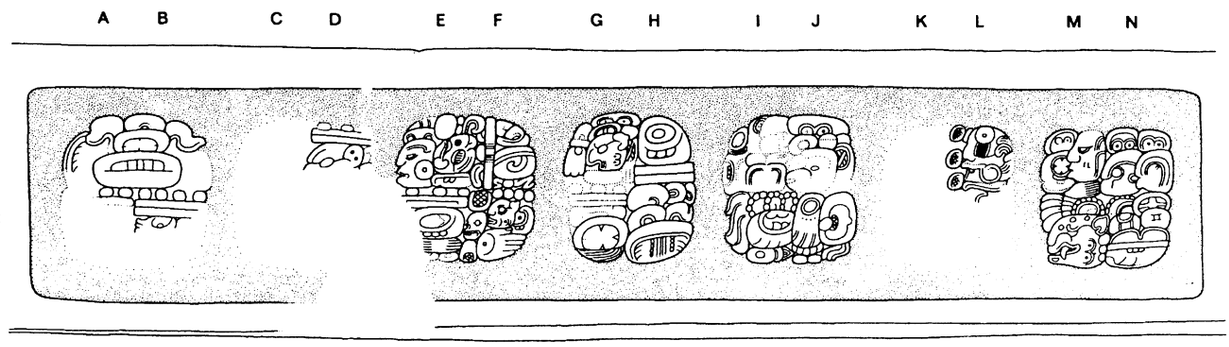

Fig. 3.8 Yaxchilán Lintel 26, front edge (CMHI 3:58). Drawing by Ian Graham.

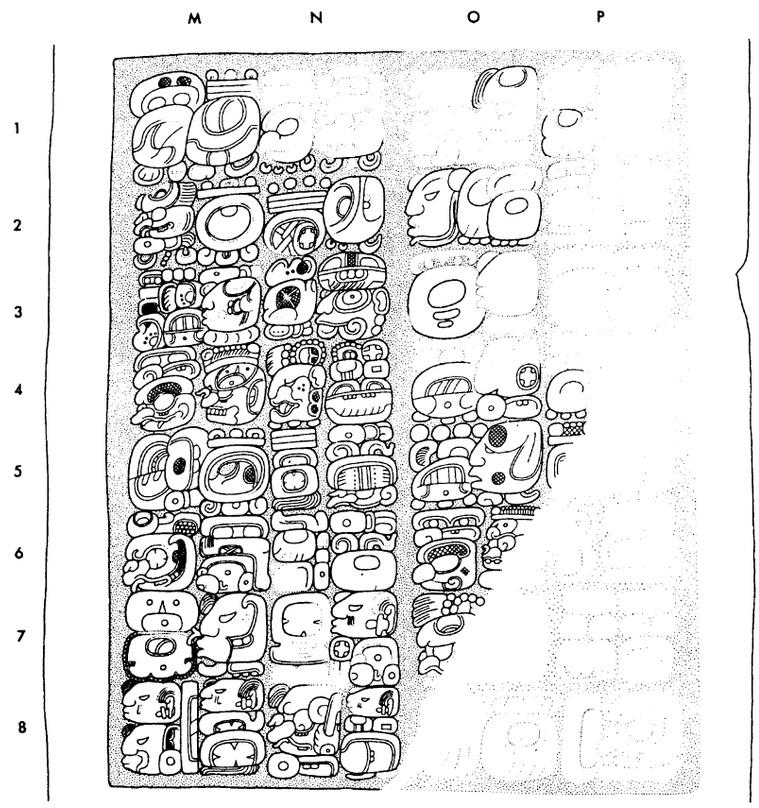

Fig. 3.9 Yaxchilán Lintel 23, underside (CMHI 3:136). Drawing by Ian Graham.

ceramic example of the creature's name, it appears several times in monumental inscriptions; in these latter cases, the inverted vase is replaced with a simple *k'in* sign. They render the name of the *way* as *k'intanal "jaguar,"* or "Sun-stomach Jaguar." The single example of his name that uses the inverted *k'in*-marked vase suggests strongly that the vase is to be understood as a stomach or belly. Some of the examples of the female title are suffixed with **-la**, and I suspect that it may be read *k'in-tan-(al) ixik,* "hot-bellied/fertile woman" (e.g., Lintel 26:M1), or *k'in-tan-al ix k'uh,* "hot-bellied/fertile goddess" (e.g., Lintel 56:I1), as the case may be. This title, so often seen in the names of royal women, may invoke their ideal identity as mature, child-producing women.

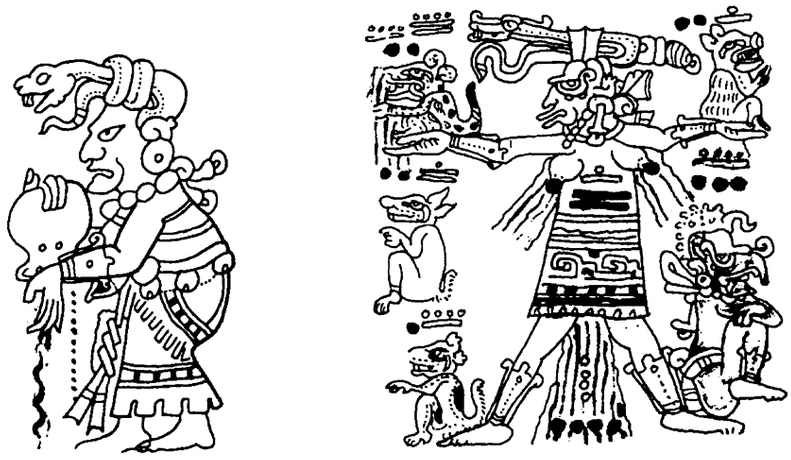

Fig. 3.10 Goddess O: (a) Dresden 39b, after Taube 1992a:100, fig. 50d; (b) Madrid 30b, after Taube 1992a:100, fig. 50g.

In sum, Lady Xook likely "owns" the Structure 23 dwelling as an impersonator of the Moon Goddess, while she also uses the traditional *k'in-tan-al ixik* title. The lunar associations of the building are reinforced by the presence of the moon glyph in the structure's glyphic name. This Moon Goddess impersonation identity is likely to be integral to the nature of the structure. While I can only speculate, the Moon Goddess' associations with weaving (e.g., Prechtel and Carlsen 1988:121; Taube 1992:68) are reflected in the rich woven clothing worn by Lady Xook on the lintels; perhaps the building was a center for royal weaving, especially by the Xook family women. The connection between deity impersonation and dwelling ownership foreshadowed here is made explicit in the texts of Structure 44, discussed in a later section.

III.2.3 The involvement of multiple women with the binding of ritual space in Structure 23

At least two other women were involved with the dedication of the western side-door of Structure 23, as indicated by the text on the front edge of its lintel, the all-glyphic Lintel 23 (Fig. 3.11). The date of the ceremony (A1-B1) is reconstructable as 9.14.12.8.9 10 Muluk 17 Wo – March of AD 724 – and it falls in the middle of the spate of dedicatory activities that take place in Structure 23 between AD 723 and 726 (see Table 3.2). The verb *k'al*, "to bind, fasten, enclose," follows the date at A2: it is inflected in the positional as **K'AL-wa-ni**. The *k'al* verb is commonly used in architectural dedications – particularly in doorways – at Chichén Itzá and Xkalumkin, where it is usually inflected as *k'al-aj*. What is "bound" on Lintel 23 is the door of the dwelling, **U-pa-si-IL yo-OTOT-ti** *u-paas-il y-otoot* (B2-C1) (Stuart 1998a:379).

The *k'al* verb is very important for understanding the nature of architectural ritual in both ancient and modern contexts. It describes a discrete ceremonial episode that produces a protected ritual space by defining a perimeter around it. This "binding" is precisely what Hanks (1990) describes for Yucatecan divination and curing ritual. The first phase of the opening ceremonies of major Yucatecan rituals involves the lowering of guardian spirits from their homes in the corners of the sky to the corners of the altar. The spirits are "stood up"[25] at the altar's corners *through ritual speech*, their names enunciated in a precise order corresponding to their original locations, in a counterclockwise direction moving from east to north to west to south to center. This first phase of lowering the spirits is called *he'ik b'eel*, "opening the road," or *k'a-xik meesa*, "binding the altar"; whereas the second phase, the returning of the saints to their places, is called *wach'ik meesa*, "untie the altar," and is accomplished by reversing the order of performance, moving clockwise from east to south to west to north to center (Hanks 1990:336). Building a house, *k'a-xik nah* or "bind house," is an act of physical binding by lashing vines to create a protected, bounded space, just as *k'a-xik meesa* is the act of securing the altar by binding spirits to absolute locations around it (1990:337). This act of binding creates, Hanks' shaman informant says, "a perimeter of fire around yourself for protection" (1990:340), since loose guardian gods or marauding spirits can be dangerous (1990:337). "Binding the altar" is equated with "opening the road" in Yucatecan ritual practice because the creation of ritual space opens up

[25] The verb root used to render this "standing up" is *wa'*, the same verb used in many stela dedication texts.

the link between earthly and cosmological locations (Hanks 1990:337).

The binding of the southwest door of Structure 23 undoubtedly refers to the rite that "bound" or "framed" it as protected space – possibly as an opening that would be vulnerable to the entry of unwanted spirits – and opened the road for communication with the gods. Doorways and thresholds are, of course, standard locations for protective rituals in many societies (e.g., Lord Raglan 1964:9-10; Knapp 1999; Pavlides and Hesser 1989). Francisco Ximénez recorded of the area around Chichicastenango, Guatemala that

> [W]hen they built new houses they dedicated and consecrated the center to the god of houses whom they called Chahalha, (that is, "the guardian of the house").... They put on the walls the blood which they drew (from their sacrifices) and they stuck feathers all around (rich feathers such as we use for hats and caps), and *in the door of the house they did the same, for with these rites they assured themselves that no evil thing would enter the house*; and when they, cut the wood for their houses they made sacrifices to the god of the house, praying that the house for which they were cutting the wood, might be fortunate and that they might live there for many days in happiness (from *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala,* quoted in Bunzel 1954:39, emphases mine).

Doorway ritual texts are particularly important at Chichén Itzá, as I discuss in Chapter 6: they constitute the most important textual genre at that site.

The lintel over the side door of Yaxchilán Structure 23 both *records* the rite and *embodies* it in its function as an architectural framing element that is part of the creation of the door. Further, the stone text itself as the enduring embodiment of ritual speech gives the words and perhaps their protective function permanent presence, as opposed to the ephemeral prayers that the masons may have been uttering over the architectural elements they were carving. This multi-layered nature of inscribed objects as both the objects and the agents of ritual action is an essential feature of Maya dedicatory inscriptions.

Returning to the Lintel 23 front edge text, we find that the name of the owner of the dwelling (D1) includes the "Xook" sign, preceded by an unread head sign with scrolls emanating from the mouth. This title appears with Lady Xook's core name, Ix K'ab'al Xook, in four other places (Lintel 25:R-S; Lintel 26:L1, preceded by "three"; Lintel 28:W2; and Lintel 59:O-P). Here on Lintel 23's front edge, however, her core name does *not* accompany the title; rather, it occurs at the very end of the text. In order to posit that the *otoot* belongs to Lady Xook, we probably have to accept that this title is hers alone. The unread head at D1a also appears, however, in the title phrases of Itzamnaaj B'alam and his son Bird Jaguar, preceded by the *chan* sign, (e.g., Lintel 21:C7; Lintel 32:A4; Lintel 39:D1-C2), and at other sites as well. Until we know more precisely the meaning of this title, we should leave open other possibilities for the owner(s) of the dwelling; I suggest one below.

The remainder of the text is composed of two **yi-ta-ji** clauses – which themselves contain relationship statements – that indicate the participation of two other women in the rite. This complicated string of relationship glyphs and personal names gave rise to a series of convoluted genealogies for Lady Xook (Bardsley 1987; Jones et al. 1990; Mathews 1988; Schele and Freidel 1990; Tate 1986), and in the process supported speculations about Maya royal marriage customs and the ten-year interregnum that followed Itzamnaaj B'alam's death. The basis of these interpretations was the "sibling" reading of the **yi-ta-ji** glyph (C2 and I2) that was circulated by Stuart in 1988.[26] Most of the publications that treat this lintel were working with the "sibling" reading, and interpreted the two occurrences of the **yi-ta-ji** compound as the kinship term "her sister." Further, previous interpretations of **yi-ta-ji** and the other "relationship" glyphs in the Lintel 23 text ("her child," "his child," "his/her mother") have concluded that all of these statements are anchored to Lady Xook as their primary referent, rendering the front of Lintel 23 an extended genealogy.

MacLeod suggested that the sense of the **yi-ta-ji** glyph is simply "companionship" of a formal kind (1991, cited in Martin and Grube n.d.). This latter insight is reflected in Stuart and others' recent re-analysis of the **yi-ta-ji** collocation as one that is verbally inflected as a dependent transitive, though no consensus exists on its precise meaning.

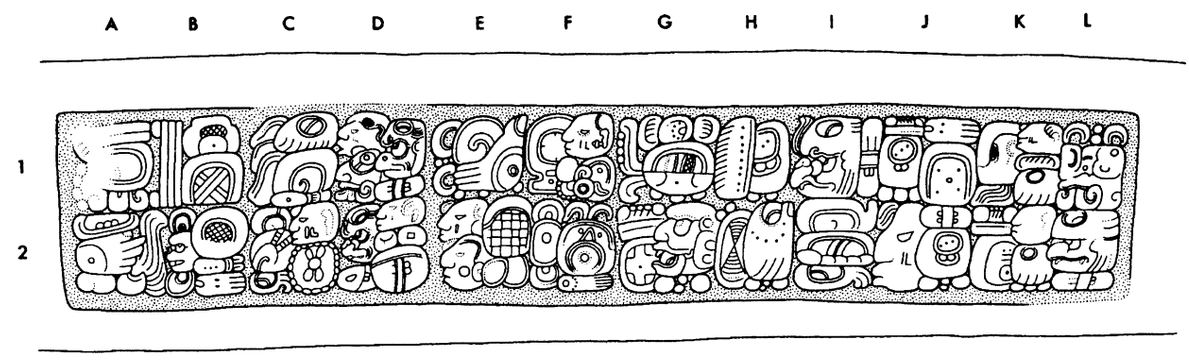

Fig. 3.11 Yaxchilán Lintel 23, front edge (CMHI 3:135). Drawing by Ian Graham.

There is no doubt, though, that the **yi-ta-ji** glyph, like other verbs of this class found in contexts subordinate to main clauses, indicates the involvement or participation of its subject in the action or event of the main clause – here, the ritual binding of the doorway.

The revision of the "sibling" reading transforms what would have been a complex genealogical statement into a simple dedicatory statement with two **yi-ta-ji** "participation" clauses. The woman who is the subject of the first **yi-ta-ji** clause is found nowhere else in the Yaxchilán inscriptions: her name (C2b-D2) is Ix Janahb' Xook. It seems likely that she is a relation of Lady Xook's, and she is identified as an *Ix Ajaw,* a female lord. The parentage statement that immediately follows her name is usually thought to be Lady Xook's; but it is more likely, now that the inscription is cut up into a main verbal phrase and two dependent verbal clauses, that the parentage statement belongs to this *Ix Ajaw.* Neither the mother nor the father is mentioned elsewhere at the site. The mother, at F1-F2, takes the inverted-vessel title and is also an Ix Ajaw, The father is a *sajal* lord whose name, *Aj K'an-teel Nuun K'ab'al Xook Aj-Jam(?)-lib*(?), takes up fully six glyph blocks (G1-J1); he is the third Xook person mentioned in the inscription, and the second *K'ab'al* Xook.

The subject of the second **yi-ta-ji** clause is yet another woman named nowhere else at Yaxchilán, *Ix Tajal ?-ni Ix Kab'* (J2-K1). Another "relationship" statement follows her name at L1. This glyph occurs in texts at Yaxchilán and elsewhere between the names of mothers and sons, as on Lintel 1 of Structure 33, where it connects the names of one of Bird Jaguar's wives and her known son, Itzamnaaj B'alam II: it has thus not unreasonably been glossed as "mother of." Because the original referent of the "mother of" statement has been taken to be Lady Xook, the name that follows at K2 has been interpreted as her son, a possible lost heir and explanation for the long interregnum (e.g., Josserand 2002:123). Because of the **yi-ta-ji** clause, however, the mother referred to by the "mother of" glyph is almost certainly *Ix Tajal ?-ni Ix Kab'.*

The K2 name is also problematic. It is composed of an **AJ** agentive prefix and a numbered element, and it runs directly into the name at L2, where we finally get the core name of Ix K'ab'al Xook. In any other text, we would probably conclude that K2-L2 represents a single name. In fact, although the *aj-* prefix is usually described as a male agentive prefix, other women at Yaxchilán use titles that incorporate it; and indeed, Jackson and Stuart have recently shown that the *aj-* agentive is not necessarily gender-specific (2001:222). One possibility is that *Aj-[numbered element]-Ix-K'ab'al-Xook* is another Ix K'ab'al Xook entirely; a second possibility is that we have a twisted syntax here that renders "She is the mother of Aj-[numbered element], Ix K'ab'al Xook," where Ix K'ab'al Xook is the mother; and yet a third is that the entire name is Ix K'ab'al Xook's with an unfamiliar title, such that she is the daughter.

With regard to the first possibility, there is no problem with having multiple K'ab'al Xook's: the name K'ab'al Xook is already known to appear in the name phrase of at least three different individuals at Yaxchilán, including Lady Xook; Aj K'an Teel Nuun K'ab'al Xook, the father in the Lintel 23 parentage statement; and Aj K'ab'al Xook, from Lintel 10, the grandson of Bird Jaguar. I reject the second possibility because the so-called "mother of" glyph always follows, rather than precedes, the mother's name; the syntax that we would have to accept on Lintel 23 to embrace Ix K'abal Xook as the mother is seen in no other text. I favor the third possibility as the simplest approach to the text: that is, we interpret the syntax straightforwardly, such that the original referent of "mother of" is the woman of the final **yi-ta-ji** clause, *Ix Tajal ..-ni Ix Kab'*, and her child is Ix K'ab'al Xook with an unfamiliar title.

In sum, Lintel 23's front edge records and effects the ritual "binding" of the doorway, and mentions the involvement of two women who are probably related to Lady Xook by blood or marriage: the second woman may be her mother. In this connection, I note that the incorporation of female elders into doorway ritual is a pattern seen also at Chichén Itzá, as discussed in Chapter VI. The only man on Yaxchilán Lintel 23's front, while he is prominent in terms of the amount of space devoted to his name, appears by grace of a parentage statement for a woman.[27] As is typical in dedicatory inscriptions, no single person is recorded as the "conductor" of the ritual, the equivalent of the modern shaman who gathers and arranges the offerings and says the prayers. The consistent lack of *agency* in the recounting of Maya ritual in hieroglyphic texts probably has to do with the fact that rituals were then, as they are now, conducted by ritual specialists for the benefit of other people, their relatives, their inhabited spaces, and their belongings. The two women of the **yi-ta-ji** clauses may have been the sponsors of the event, contributing the offerings that would have been made and perhaps "funding" the artist who created the text of the lintel. The **yi-ta-ji** expression very probably expresses the kind of presence at, funding of, and witnessing of ritual events by concerned family and neighbors that occurs in modern-day curing, divination, and space-making (milpa, house, altar, etc.) rites.

III.2.4 Other "dedications" in Structure 23: The God N verb and the lu-"bat" expression

A similar kind of sponsorship may be recorded in other Structure 23 texts. The "step/God N" verb in its God N variant, probably read *t'ab'*, occurs three times in the texts, each time with the lu-"bat" "carving" expression (Fig. 3.12):

1) **T'AB'-yi** **yu-lu-"bat"** **MO'-CHAAK-ki...**
(Lintel 24:H1-H4)

2) **T'AB'-yi** **yu-lu-"bat"** **K'AWIIL-CHAAK...**
(Lintel 26:O3-R1)

[26] See discussion of and reservations about this reading in Stuart 1993:346-348.

[27] It is notable that the mother of Ix Janahb' Xook does not bear the Xook name; rather, it belongs to the father. This man, probably an important *sajal* during the reign of Itzamnaaj B'alam, may well be a progenitor of the other Xooks mentioned at the site. The other woman, Ix Tajal ...n Ix Kab', does not carry the Xook name either, but is the mother of a Xook. One wonders if these two women are wives of the *sajal*, and if Lady Xook and Ix Janahb' Xook are half-sisters.

3) **T'AB'-yi** **yu-"bat"-IL** **yo-OTOOT-ti**
(Lintel 25:O2-Q1)

Although the *t'ab'* reading has not been confirmed by positive phonetic evidence, the form and graphic history of the "step" version of the glyph, showing a footprint ascending the staircase of a platform, leave little doubt that the motion that it encompasses is that of "going up" or "ascending" (Stuart 1998a:409-417). Stuart relates that movement to Maya artists' depictions of the presentation of tribute, which is typically shown taking place on stairways where the tribute items are literally offered *up* to rulers; and Stuart wonders, with reference to those cases where the verb is followed by *y-otoot*, whether the glyph simply refers to the construction of the house, as in "his house went up" (1998:416). In the first two of the three cases above, an approximate gloss would be "it goes up, the carving of So-and-so"; for the last case, the gloss would be "it goes up, the carving of the dwelling."

constitute an offering in itself, or can embody the contribution of an important person, perhaps to a specific dedication ritual or to the dwellings or "temples" of important gods. The reason that "carving", *woj-il*, *tz'iib*, and dwellings can all be subjects of the God N/step verb may be that "going up" or "ascending' is an inherent quality of both offerings made to gods and *patan* as "tribute" or "service." Stuart's original intuition is that *patan* is something that goes up the stairs of platforms or structures; the making of offerings, in which they are moved from a lower point up to a flat surface like a tabletop altar, constitutes the same kind of motion.

For example, Hanks observes that a Yucatecan shaman's divination and curing ceremonies are conducted at the "foot" of his personal altar (Hanks 1990:337), so that, even though the shaman is typically standing before the altar with his gaze focused DOWN at the offerings on it, the movement of the offerings is still UP from the shaman's location at its foot.

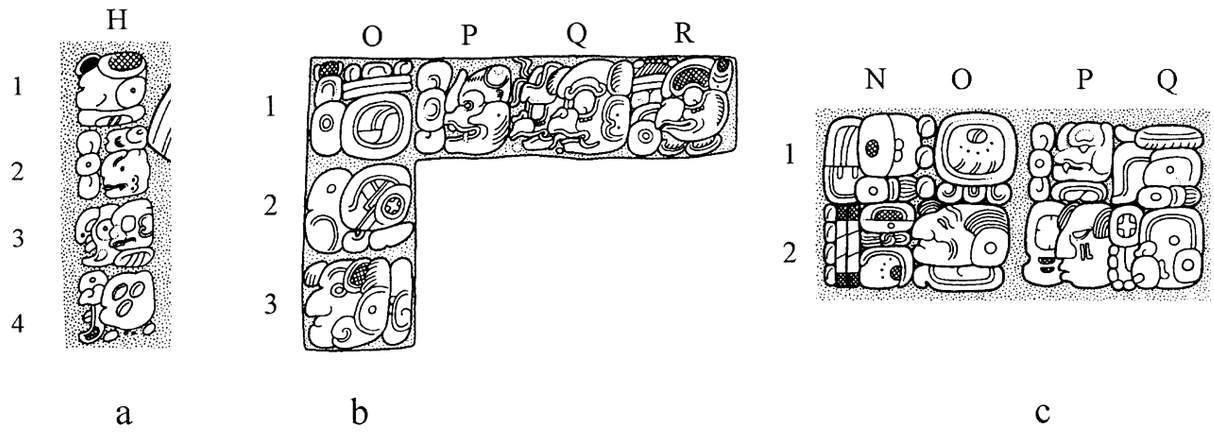

Fig. 3.12 Dedication phrases using the God N verb: (a) Lintel 24:H1-H4; (b) Lintel 26:O3-R1; (c) Lintel 25:O2-Q1 (CMHI 3:53-57). Drawings by Ian Graham.

In the Structure 23 cases, we must explain why the "carving" of someone is "going up," apparently of its own accord, a conclusion we must draw because of the **-Vy** intransitive inflection of the verb. The "carving" glyph has been identified as an artist's signature, after Stuart (1989). Good examples of these signatures can be found on the stelae of Piedras Negras. On Stela 12, at least eight artists' signatures, composed of the **yu-lu-"bat"** collocation plus a personal name, occupy the blank spaces in the carved background to the scene: an approximate gloss for these examples would be "it is the carving of So-and-so." These examples are, unlike those in Structure 23, unaccompanied by any verbal statement.

We might consider that the step/God N verb marks its subject as an offering, whether an offering to the gods, or, as Stuart suggests, a type of *patan* "tribute" or "service" (1998:416). In the cases of the use of the God N verb with *tz'iib*, "writing" on pots, it is difficult to imagine that the writing is being put up or constructed in the same way that a house might be; some other meaning can be considered. My study of the texts of Chichén Itzá has suggested to me that writing, whether carved as *woj-il* "glyphs" or painted as *tz'iib*, can

Further, he notes that the offering of drink to the gods before clearing a milpa is described as *wa'akuntik uk'ul,* "stands up drink," the same expression used to refer to the standing up of the lords, *wa'akuntik yuntsil,* at the five cardinal locations of the milpa – itself the consequence of ritual speech (1990:363). These lords are structurally equivalent to the bakabs of Classic Maya religion, as well as to the corner posts of a house.

I suspect that the key to the use of the God N/step verb with its various subjects is that an offering or an item of tribute is something whose inherent nature is to go up, even if one is bending over to place it on an altar. The God N head may be an appropriate substitution for the step glyph because as the sky-holding bakab, as the corner god who is "stood up" around an altar as a protective boundary during a divination or curing, or as a housepost, his nature also is to raise or to be raised up. Although it may seem counterintuitive that "carving," writing, or dwellings can "go up" by themselves without any assistance from a human agent, the absence of a ritual agent is, as noted above, common in many textual descriptions of offertory acts: a good example is the "burning" recorded on the Tablets of the Cross Group at

Palenque, where the same **-Vy** inflection is used with the verb to give *puluy u-chitinil*, "his oven burns" (see Houston 1996), as if somehow the *chitin* were bursting into flame of its own accord.

The God N-verb dedication statements on Lintels 24 and 26 (Figs. 12a, 12b), like the verb-less **lu-"bat"** statements on other Yaxchilán lintels (e.g., Lintel 46), are lightly incised into the plain background of the figural scene; they are unobtrusive in comparison to the rest of the text. This unobtrusiveness is probably primarily related to the artist's

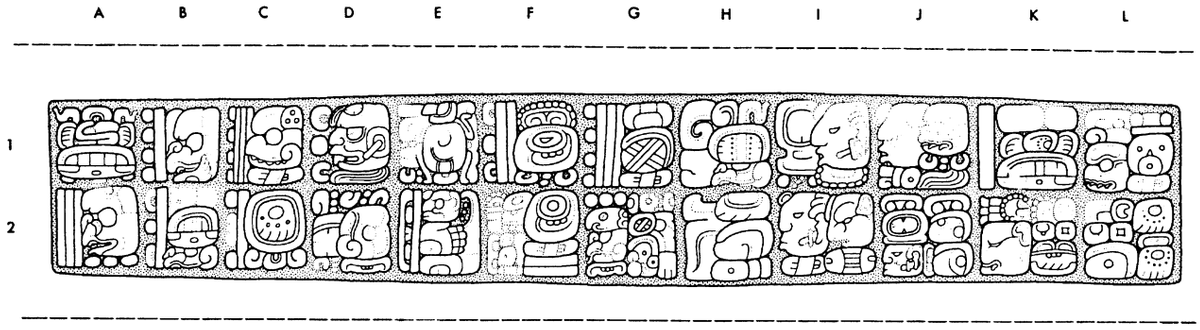

Fig. 3.13 Yaxchilán Lintel 56, front edge (CMHI 3:121). Drawing by Ian Graham.

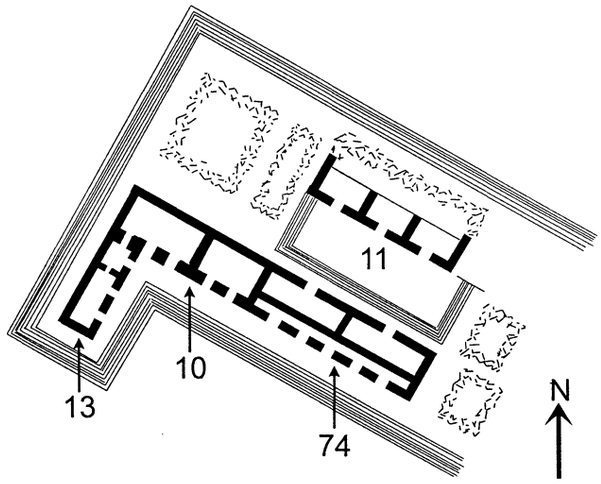

Fig. 3.14 Yaxchilán Structures 11, 74, 10, and 13 (redrawn from Maler 1903:129).

status as a "background" figure. I think it is well to remember, though, that while many artist's signature texts have no verb, many of them, like those in Fig. 12a-b, must be understood as dedications. We might also consider, then, that these statements mark the participation of other Yaxchilán nobles in the production of the lintel, in the dedication ritual, in the construction of the building, or perhaps in court life in general: compare the modern practice of commemorating donations or contributions for parks or buildings with inscribed plaques or engraved bricks. The eight-plus artists' signatures on Piedras Negras Stela 12 might then represent the opportunity to have their names carved, in a prominently displayed stone, of eight nobles who contributed significantly to its production or to the well-being of the king's court in general. This interpretation might partially account for the extremely high status titles in some **yu-lu-"bat"** statements, such as that on Yaxchilán Lintel 46, where the "artist" takes the title *K'uhul Ajaw,* usually reserved for rulers. The point is that the "carving" has a metonymic relationship with the actual offering or service of the noble; and once again, the line between inscription as record and inscription as ritual substance is blurred.

III.2.5 Structure 11, the dwelling of Ix Sak B'iyaan, Ixik Ch'ok

As mentioned above, one other lintel at the site, Lintel 56 from Structure 11, records the "fire-entering" dedication ceremony of an *otoot* belonging to a woman (Fig. 3.13).[28] Structure 11 as it currently stands is a three-chambered building located in a small courtyard behind Structures 10

[28] There is some ambiguity surrounding the architectural association of this lintel. Graham (CMHI 3:121) states that it almost certainly came from Structure 11: the dimensions of a plaster cast made from it (the original was destroyed in Berlin by bombing during World War II) match that of a lintel with a sawn-off face located by Graham between Structures 74 and 11. Graham also notes that Maudslay described Structure 11 (which he called House C) as having two inscribed lintels in place in 1882 (CMHI 3:9). Lintel 56 certainly dates from Itzamnaaj B'alam's reign; but, according to Mathews (1988:336), Garcia Moll places Structure 11 in Bird Jaguar's reign based upon his excavations. For the present purposes, I will treat Lintel 56 as a Structure 11 monument, since the only first-hand account of its placement is Graham's – with the caveat that it may have been re-used or re-set in that structure.

and 74, which face the Main Plaza (Fig. 3.14). The three extant rooms open toward the courtyard, while two or three back rooms once opened toward the river: an ancient modification apparently closed the opening between the two tiers of rooms sometime after its initial construction (see Tate 1992:166-7). Tate suggests that it may have been a royal habitation for part of its history, since it is one of the only structures at the site that has multiple chambers and faces a private courtyard (1992:122).

The woman who "owns" the *otoot,* Ix Sak B'iyaan, is, like Lady Xook, a "?-Woman of the *kab'-ch'een* of Itzamnaaj B'alam." One of the most interesting aspects of Lintel 56 is that Ix Sak B'iyaan's name phrase refers to her as Ixik Ch'ok "young lady": this is an appellation commonly appended to the names of young lords and heirs. It is of note that Ix Sak B'iyaan is the only individual, male or female, to use this title in the inscriptions carved during Itzamnaaj B'alam's lifetime. The fire-entering for Structure 11 took place on 9.15.6.13.1 7 Imix 19 Zip in April of 738, four years before the death of Itzamnaaj B'alam, when he was over ninety years old. The 7 Imix dedication date recalls and probably references the 7 Imix *och-k'ak'* "fire-entering" ceremony into the only *otoot* that Itzamnaaj B'alam himself ever dedicated, Structure 44, in April of 723.

Tate describes Ix Sak B'iyaan as a "woman in the court of Itzamnaaj B'alam" (1992:122): this she certainly is. It is, in fact, difficult to imagine that anyone, male or female, who was not in the immediate royal family would dedicate a dwelling in the royal and ritual epicenter of Itzamnaaj B'alam's architectural court. Ix Sak B'iyaan may have been a late wife, but given the *ch'ok* title, it is not impossible that she was his daughter, nor that she was also Lady Xook's. One wonders why Itzamnaaj B'alam recognized this woman in the years just before his death, and what role she might have played in the ten-year interregnum.

There were evidently several powerful women in the court of Yaxchilán during the reign of Itzamnaaj B'alam and at the time of his death, including Bird Jaguar's mother, with her links to Calakmul. While Tate has noted that Bird Jaguar may have waited until his own mother died in March of AD 751 to accede and begin his monumental programs (1992:123), it is rarely mentioned that Lady Xook, a woman whose stature is demonstrable *during* the reign of Itzamnaaj B'alam, survived seven years into the interregnum and may have acted as a regent or as an impediment to the rise of Bird Jaguar to power.

III.2.6 Women's spaces at Yaxchilán: Summary and comments

A number of points can now be made about Structure 23. The first is that although the texts state that the dwelling unequivocally belonged to Lady Xook, the dwelling owner's appellation on Lintel 23's front edge, with its failure to use Lady Xook's core name, may also identify the building as a dwelling for the Xook women in general, or at least a place in which they had significant personal investment. The structure may well have been something like a queen's quarters or a house for women connected to the Xook bloodline. The texts suggest that royal women were not sequestered in the dwellings of kings, but rather had their own bases of power.

Whether or not Structure 23 was an actual residence cannot be decided until publication of the excavations, but its interior layout is striking, compared with other buildings at Yaxchilán, for the amount of privacy it potentially provided (see Fig. 3.2). The elevation of its platform is around three meters above the plaza floor, and the building is set back on the platform, providing another level of access restriction. The structure contains four benches, none of them situated directly in front of the doors to the building, and all of them placed at the greatest possible distance from the exterior openings. The two doors to the rear chambers are set off from the doors to the front chamber, and their entrances are given a more restricted aspect by the buttresses that jut into the front chamber from the north wall of the building. The benches in the rear rooms are not simple benches, but have a number of levels and small cubby-holes built into them. Finally, the existing maps do not show the arrangement of structures with low walls just behind Structure 23, indicating that there was a complex of buildings here, probably with perishable roof that could have served as living quarters for both royal women and retainers.[29] Structure 11 has an even more private aspect. It is probably the most sequestered building on the first level of the site: it gives the effect of being sunken into the courtyard that surrounds it, is visually blocked off from the main plaza by the platform of Structures 74 and 10, and occupies one of the lowest points of the site core.

The second point to be made is that Structure 23 must be thought of as more than a billboard for the advertisement of Itzamnaaj B'alam's power and connections. Its texts emphasize the woman's *otoot* as a locus of activity. The dwelling itself was the subject of two *och-k'ak'* ceremonies on successive days (perhaps a single extended ceremony); one ceremony involving a ritual binding of its southwest doorway; and three involving the *t'ab'*(?) "ascending"(?) of its "carvings." The focus of the texts on all of the extant lintel fronts is the ritual activation of some part of the dwelling: those events thought worthy of recording on the front doors were those which vitalized or protected this locale as the seat of a powerful woman. In this way, the lintels *serve* the locale rather than being served by it.

These ritual events also, as demonstrated by the front edge of Lintel 23, provided a reason for the gathering or inclusion of women important to the political, social, or ritual well-being of the royal court: the dedication ceremony recorded on that lintel is dominated by women related by blood or marriage to Lady Xook. The relationship statements that accompany their names are opportunities to incorporate extended-family concerns into the permanent legacy of the building. It is possible that Itzamnaaj B'alam's city contained an architectural, political, and social space for the women of this family, and that they had a seat of power in both a physical and a political sense. At the same time, the incorporation of

[29] Miguel Angel Vásquez del Mercado R., who excavated with the INAH Yaxchilán project, commented to me that, based upon the remains associated with Structure 23, he thought it was more likely than any other structure at the site to be residential (personal communication November 2000).

possible older female relatives of Lady Xook into the inscription reminds me of the structure of women's architectural dedications at Chichén Itzá, where I believe contemporary and politically active women dedicated texts and spaces for gods in the name of their older female relatives or female ancestors.

Third, as discussed above, it is unlikely that the figural scenes on Lintels 24, 25, and 26 record episodes that are unrelated to the *otoot* as a woman's place. While we cannot assert with certainty that all of the events depicted and dated on the lintels took place here, it seems probable that Structure 23, or perhaps the complex of buildings in general, was indeed the site of these rituals. From my studies of *otoot* inscriptions in general, I think that dwellings were not necessarily inscribed during their main use period as daily sleeping residences, but that they were recognized as important places either after the death of the residents or by the residents themselves as they aged and became more conscious of the kind of legacy they would leave. The publication of the results of the excavations in and around Structure 23 will contribute greatly to the resolution of issues like this: for example, we cannot otherwise know if Structure 23 was built in front of – or over – a previously existing women's complex.

If the rituals depicted on the lintels do indeed take place at or in the vicinity of Structure 23, then it can be said that Itzamnaaj B'alam enters this women's space to carry them out. The dominant theme of the rituals he participates in is warfare. On Lintel 25, he and Lady Xook conjure powerful war devices; and on Lintel 26, he is dressed in gear associated with warfare and holds a short spear or knife, while Lady Xook carries a small shield and a jaguar-head helmet. These are objects carried and worn by Itzamnaaj B'alam on other monuments at Yaxchilán (e.g., Lintel 4). Schele and Freidel (1990:268) suggest that Lady Xook is helping him dress for battle: the helmet and the shield may be magical war tools or emblems. Lady Xook may have conjured and supplied important war devices as a representative of a family or lineage that provided critical support in wartime – devices that she presents to the king where he visits her in her dwelling. Women at Yaxchilán are very clearly involved in war and war ritual: for example, on Lintels 8 and 41, Bird Jaguar records taking a captive and performing a ritual with the aid of his wives on the same day.

That Structure 23 is a locale for women's residence and ritual performance may be reflected in certain aspects of its texts. The main inscription on the underside of Lintel 25 (see Fig. 3.4) is carved backwards, the glyphs a mirror image of the normal reading order. It is worth noting that the directionality of this inscription is the reverse of the circular direction that dominates the formal composition of each of the three lintels: in each case, Lady Xook is to the viewer's right, Itzamnaaj B'alam is to the viewer's left, and a clockwise directional loop is formed through the scenes by the figures' eyes, hands and pointing fingers, and objects they hold.[30] The lintels over the front doors are all positioned in the structure so that the actors' heads point to the east. The loop therefore runs from east to north to west to south, mimicking the movement of the sun and the direction of the ritual circuits traced out in ceremonies across the Maya area today. In Gary Gossen's (1979) description of processions of male and female saints around the church in Chamula, the male saints move "counter-clockwise" around the church, beginning in the west, and moving from south, to east, to north, and back to west; while the female saints move in the opposite direction. The male saints' movement in modern-day Chamula, as on the Structure 23 lintels, mimics the movement of the sun as it rises in the morning: this is accomplished by flipping the vertical direction over on its side, re-mapping it as north (Gossen 1979:120; Coggins 1980).

In contrast to this solar movement, the text of Lintel 25 runs clockwise, from east to south rather than from east to north; i.e., it may be said to move in a female direction. We might entertain the idea that this reversed text is a way of representing female agency, or perhaps even female speech. Hanks has described different conventions in female speech as opposed to male speech in his linguistic work on the Yucatec Maya: for example, while the head of a household is typically the eldest man, women will usually refer to the *wife* of the senior man as the head of the household. Hanks further notes that entire households can be referred to by the name of the senior man, but that, for example, "Toni refers to the household of her father as *nal inmàamah* 'my mother's place', and Pilar refers to the home of her parents-in-law as *nal inswèegra* 'my mother-in-law's place'. These usages are typical of the indexical pattern according to which women refer to households by way of the senior woman" (1990:99). In this light, it is perhaps not implausible that the attribution of ownership of Structures 23 and 11 to women, as well as the reversed direction of the text on Lintel 25 – both unusual in the corpus of Maya inscriptions – reflect conventions of female speech in the Yaxchilán court. The order inherent in ritual speech, particularly in Hanks' account of the clockwise and counterclockwise binding and unbinding of altars, and standing up of saints as opposed to returning them to their places in the sky, is so critically important that Maya reversed texts deserve more than a casual regard.

Structure 23 may be of a very different character than the non-royal spaces associated with modern or ancient Maya women: differences in scale and elaboration are obvious, and Lady Xook carries out dangerous ritual activities of a seriousness and political significance probably not matched in non-royal or commoner household contexts. It is also, as noted above, unusual that women are recorded as the sole owners of *otoot*s; this may be accounted for, in part, by the observation that this way of referring to the dwelling is an artifact or characteristic of female speech, but it may also be a circumstance unique to a court context, perhaps related to royal marriage customs. We have examples of at least two

[30] On Lintel 24, the loop runs diagonally across the composition through Itzamnaaj B'alam's fiery spear, and continues through Lady Xook's body, following the lines of the fringes of her robe and the rope she pulls through her tongue, which in turn touches the ankle of Itzamnaaj B'alam, closing the loop. On Lintel 26, the loop is a small one created by the circle formed by the forearms of the royal couple around the jaguar helmet, their pointed fingers showing its direction. On the central lintel, Lintel 25, the circle is initiated by the line of Itzamnaaj B'alam's pointed spear and the couple's eye contact. It continues through the right arm of Lady Xook and writhes up through the body of the serpent, contacting the butt of Itzamnaaj B'alam's spear.

dwellings "owned" by women in Itzamnaaj B'alam's domain in his lifetime, and there were probably others not recorded in stone: Bird Jaguar's Calakmul mother may have had her own *otoot* with her own entourage or staff. Indeed, royal women/wives may have been effective heads of their own small households with some degree of independence from their husbands – particularly if they came from other cities. In fact, the "Dallas Altar" in the Dallas Museum of Art, from an unknown site, appears to document the arrivals of three Calakmul women, two of whom are wives of powerful Calakmul rulers, in elaborate war palanquins, suggesting that independent intersite travel with large entourages was a reality for powerful Maya women (Freidel and Guenter 2003).

It is, however, difficult to avoid noting some general similarities to practices in modern household contexts. In modern residential contexts in Yucatan, the *otoot* is the seat of a nuclear family, located within the bounds of larger, extended-family compounds called *solares*. In Oxkutzcab, where Hanks conducted his research, the hearth associated with the female head of a nuclear family is in a separate kitchen adjacent to the *otoot* structure; whereas in the Tzotzil communities studied by Vogt and the Harvard Chiapas project, the hearth occupies an area inside the main living structure itself. The kitchen in Yucatan or the inside of the main dwelling structure in Chiapas is the locus of many activities typically associated with women, such as food preparation, maintaining the hearth fire, and child-rearing. Hanks' discussion of the kitchen as a female space is worth quoting at length:

> Insofar as the men build the domestic enclosures in which women spend most of their productive time, they can be said to be in an encompassing relation to them, perhaps the best symbol of which is the *k'oóben* kitchen encompassed by the *solar* walls and houses. Like the woman of which it is a metonym, the kitchen is private, wet (water is stored here), the locus of domestic fire and food. The man's *k'an če'* "stool" on which he sits when eating is located in the kitchen, just as the placenta that nourishes an unborn child, also called the *k'an če'*, is located in the woman's *hobon* "belly". Eli, a thirty-year-old mother of six, mobilized these associations when she said, recounting her husband's sexual infidelities, *'oól impuúl uk'an če'* "I almost tossed out his stool", meaning, "I almost kicked him out of the house for good" (Hanks 1990:112).

That is, in a modern Yucatecan Maya household, the *solar* of the male head of the extended family encloses the kitchen or kitchens of the female heads of nuclear families, while the kitchens in turn enclose, like wombs, the seats of the men who enter this female-identified space for sustenance.

Similar hierarchies of enclosure are identifiable in the site core of Yaxchilán. Women are possessors of special buildings in the physical epicenter of the architectural court of the king. The *otoots* of Lady Xook and Ix Sak B'iyaan, while unequivocally *theirs*, are enclosed within Itzamnaaj B'alam's court space, his *kab'-ch'een*. Lady Xook's dwelling *is* or is *in* the *ohltahn*, perhaps the heart, literally conceived, of his city. Itzamnaaj B'alam in turn enters Lady Xook's dwelling not for food, but for a kind of political and military empowerment that perhaps only a royal woman can provide.

Further, an *otoot* is a critical locus of personal identity in both modern and ancient contexts, and indeed, the above excerpt brings out some of the metonymical relationships between space, seat, and self, and the ways in which they may be gendered. The modern *otoot* is a place where a person is most at home, or *kulá'an* "seated" (Hanks 1990:109); to ask if someone is at home, one can call out *kula'anech waa*? "are you seated?" (1990:324). Hanks' work on linguistic referential practices and their relationship to culturally-informed perceptions of space provides a great deal of value for the present work, but possibly the most valuable observation that he makes is that "[E]very kind of space... has a *yuumil* 'lord, owner' in Maya culture, to whom it belongs," whether the "maximal expanse of the cosmos," milpa land, or the "field of sensory awareness of an actor, the possession of the one who calls it *tinw iknal* 'my place' (1990:389). Further,

> ...[N]ot only do places have owners, but *agentive forces*, potential owners, *have assigned places*.... [A]ll animates, including spirits and directional winds, occupy relatively fixed positions. They may move habitually from their places – movement may be one of their defining features – yet they remain anchored to them and return there. *Spirits in their cardinal locations, birds in their* k'uh *'nest', a man or woman* y oó'l u meyah *'over his-her work', and* kulá'an *'seated, at home' are examples of this* (Hanks 1990:389, emphases mine).

This idea of *permanent belonging* is an important one for this investigation, and the comparison between a bird in its nest and being home is an especially apt one, since one of the glyphic variants for *otoot* at Chichén is a depiction of a bird in its next.

Structure 23 was a strong locus of Lady Xook's identity, even after her death. Bird Jaguar, the next king though not Lady Xook's son, constructed Structure 24 or a major phase of it at a right angle to Structure 23.[31] The inscriptions on the three lintels of Structure 24 (Lintels 27, 59, and 28) record the deaths of Itzamnaaj B'alam, his mother Ix Pakal, Lady Xook (who takes up the entire central lintel), and Bird Jaguar's mother. The final sentence of the lintel records post-interment activities in the form of an *och-k'ak'* event **tu-MUK-IL** "into the tomb" (Stuart 1998a:397-399) of Lady Xook. The very construction of Structure 24 made reference to Lady Xook's *otoot,* as does the fire-related ceremony that involves her tomb. Mathews briefly recounts the discovery in Structure 23 of several tombs, the most elaborate of which

[31] There is some confusion regarding the date of this structure. Its inscriptions date to Bird Jaguar's reign, and both Mathews (1988:322) and Tate (1992:210) date the erection of the structure to 9.16.5.0.0. Mathews notes, however, that Roberto Garcia Moll, the excavator of Structures 23 and 24, believes that it was erected late in Itzamnaaj B'alam's reign, rather than in his son's (Mathews 1988:322). Part of this confusion may be clarified by Tate's observation that the central niche of this building is a thick-walled structure with a tiered bench, which could have been an original structure later encased by Bird Jaguar's building with its inscribed lintels (Tate 1992:209).

was found in the front right chamber. This last contained a set of nine bones, some of them incised with hieroglyphic texts identifying them as the property of Lady Xook (1988:338-339). While there are examples of tombs containing objects tagged with names which are probably not those of the tomb occupants (Taschek and Ball 1992), it seems more likely that the tomb does contain Lady Xook's remains, given that this burial was the richest found in the building so intimately associated with her. An important part of the woman's identity inhered in the structure in a lasting way, as shown by her burial in it, by the construction of Structure 24 as a reference to it, and by the fire-entering into her tomb conducted during the reign of Bird Jaguar.

III.3 Structure 44, the *otoot* of Itzamnaaj B'alam

III.3.1 Background

Students of the inscriptions and figural carvings of Structure 44 (Brisko 1990; Mathews 1988:158-167; Miller 1983; Tate 1986, 1992; Thompson 1946-48) have generally identified the building as a "war memorial" (Tate 1992:118) in which Itzamnaaj B'alam commemorates his captive-taking episodes; links them to those of past Yaxchilán kings; aggrandizes himself by emphasizing ancestral parallels and repeated parentage statements; and forces users of the building to symbolically re-enact his conquests through the design and distribution of the sculptural program (Miller 1983; Brisko 1990). The interest of the structure for this study turns on its dedication as Itzamnaaj B'alam's *otoot*. The inscriptions of the central treads of its hieroglyphic stairway contain information that bears directly on the nature and function of the structure, linking it thematically to larger issues in Maya cosmology and to other buildings in the Maya area in ways that have not hitherto been treated.

Structure 44 (Fig. 3.15) occupies the central portion of the northern edge of the West Acropolis of the city, the second highest built area at the site, a strenuous climb from the first river terrace. Its door-less rear wall turns its back on both of the small courtyards of this acropolis, while the three doors of its façade look out over a set of narrow terraces and a precipitous slope down to the first river terrace; as Tate notes, the structure would have had a clear view out to the river and beyond in the absence of the modern forest vegetation (1992:252). The interior space of its single room (Fig. 3.16) is subdivided by two partitions projecting from the far east and far west doorjambs, which enclose low benches in either end of the room;[32] this plan resembles that of both Structures 40 and 41 on the higher East Acropolis, also Itzamnaaj B'alam's buildings.

Structure 44's corpus of carvings (Fig. 3.17) includes three lintels and six carved hieroglyphic steps. Morley (1937-8) further reconstructed the placements in front of the structure of a total of six stelae (14, 17, 21, 22, 23, and 29). Since all but Stela 23 were discovered fallen on the slope of the terrace (Stela 23 was on the terrace level itself near the southeastern end of Structure 44), Morley's reconstruction must be considered tentative.

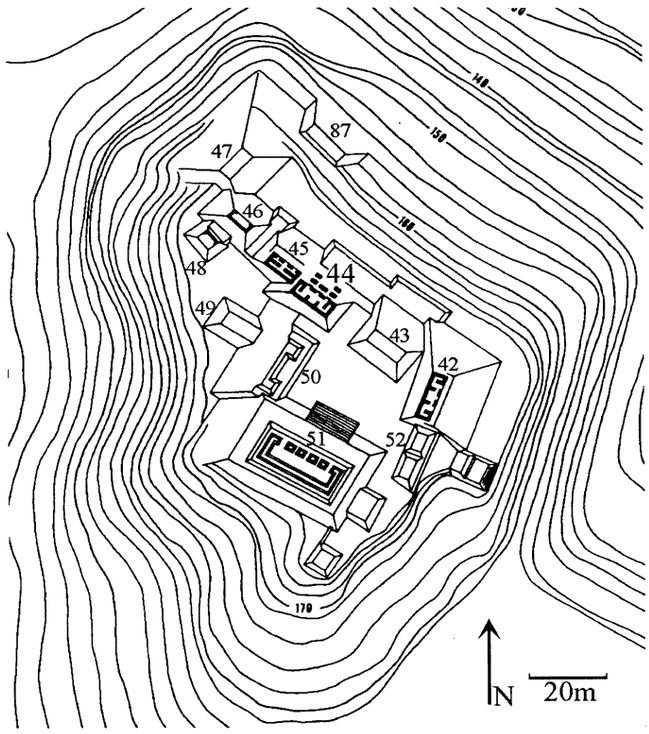

Fig. 3.15 Yaxchilán Structure 44 and environs. Redrawn and adapted from CMHI 3:6-7.

Tate has proposed that the building's sculpture was completed in three stages, beginning with the completion of the lintels around AD 717, continuing with carving of the central two steps (III and IV) in 723, and finishing with the outer steps (I, II, V, VI) in 737 (1992:258). This idea is supported by fairly clear differences in the styles of carving of each of these sets of inscriptions and by the associated

[32] The two partitions that project from the *rear* wall into the interior of the structure, depicted in Fig. 3.18 from the CMHI map, appear to be artifacts of Maler's drawing; if they were ever there, they are no longer.

dates of the monuments; but, as Miller (1983) and Brisko (1990) believe, it is equally possible to see the assemblage as a single, carefully designed statement. The two perspectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive; the whole of the sculptural assemblage was in any case completed under the reign of Itzamnaaj B'alam and exhibits thematic unity in its texts and carvings.

Each of the lintels depicts Itzamnaaj B'alam grasping a captive by the hair and contains a text giving the date of capture and name of the captive. The hieroglyphic steps are arranged as two treads and one riser in front of each door of the structure. Each of the upper treads (I, III, V) depicts a kneeling captive wearing a distinctive headdress. The name of each is inscribed on his loincloth, and he is surrounded by texts that deal with his capture and relate it to ancestral capturing events by previous Yaxchilán kings. Risers I and V record extended titles and parentage statements for Itzamnaaj B'alam. The riser of Step III was seen by Maler but not recorded; lost for several decades, Step III has apparently been rediscovered at the site (Tate, personal comm. 2001). The outer two lower treads (Steps II and VI) are very eroded, but picture kneeling captives and contain texts dealing with captures and parentage statements; whereas the central lower tread (Step IV) records the dwelling dedication, along with another parentage statement and supplementary information about the participants in the dedication ceremony.

only loosely bound, wears an elaborate and distinctive feathered headdress, and holds a long-handled circular fan or standard. His capture is pictured and described on the lintel above the same, central door, where his captor Itzamnaaj B'alam wears a nearly identical headdress. Aj "Ajaw"-**ki** kneels, on Step III, on a basal register that contains a complex iconographic assemblage identified by Stuart and Houston (1989:57-58) as an expanded version of the Yaxchilán Emblem Glyph, together with the preposition *tan*, possibly identifying the scene as taking place *tan* "within" Yaxchilán. As they note, the Emblem Glyph is accompanied by a portrait of the "Cosmic Serpent" or "Starry Deer Caiman"[33] (also known as the Cosmic Monster, the Celestial Monster, the Star Caiman, and the Deer Caiman), whose distinctive features are star markings and deer ears on its forward head, a caiman head and body, deer legs and feet, and the "Quadripartite Badge" pot on its tail. The Starry Deer Caiman carries a cartouche on its back containing a portrait of the roman-nosed, "tau"-toothed, square-eyed sun god wearing an animal skull headdress.

III.3.2.1 The timing of the och-k'ak' ceremony

Step IV, directly below Step III, is the only all-glyphic monument in the structure and records the *och-k'ak'* ceremony for the *otoot*, which occurs on 9.14.11.10.1 7 Imix 14 Zotz on April 23, AD 723, exactly five winals or 100 days before the date on the central lintel of Structure 23. The

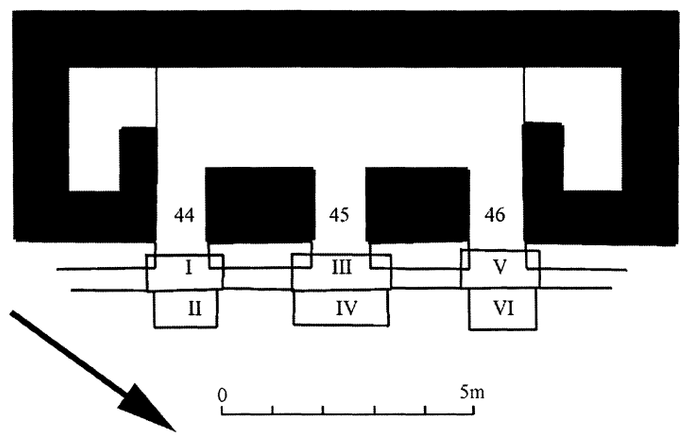

Fig. 3.16 Plan of Yaxchilán Structure 44, with raised benches in either end. Adapted from CMHI 3:165.

III.3.2 The text and iconography of the central treads of Hieroglyphic Stairway 3

The central two treads (Fig. 3.18) are unique in being carved, according to Tate's analysis, by a scribe or scribes different than those that carved the lintels and the other steps (1992:119). Their iconographic and textual content also set them apart from the other treads and lintels. The captive depicted on the upper tread, Step III, is Itzamnaaj B'alam's most oft-cited captive, Aj "Ajaw"-**ki**, the subordinate of a noble named K'ak' Ti' Kuy ("Fire-Mouth Owl") from a site called Maan. Unlike the other captives on the steps, he is

7 Imix dedication date is the first of four clear 7 Imix dates that occur in the inscriptions of Yaxchilán. There is a probable fifth 7 Imix date: Mathews (1988:166) has observed that the most likely position for the first date on Hieroglyphic Stairway 1 is another 7 Imix 14 Zotz, the date

[33] I use the term "Starry Deer Caiman" in this study because it is descriptive, and in order to remain internally consistent. One might also use the terms "alligator" or "crocodile," since the Maya region is home to caimans (*Caiman crocodilus*), which are in the alligator family, and crocodiles (*Crocodylus acutus* and *moreletii*); but since the "caiman" name has been used before, I stick with it.

of the accession of the first king of Yaxchilán on 8.16.18.15.1, precisely the same calendar round position as the dedication of Structure 44. The string of 7 Imix events were in all likelihood purposefully related to one another, creating a calendrical matrix of dedications and events in Itzamnaaj B'alam's life and possibly in his son Bird Jaguar's.

There may in fact be interesting numerological connections among the *otoot* dedication and other dates. For example, the **first 7 Imix date**, the Structure 44 dedication, is separated from the date of the accession of Yaxchilán's first king by precisely 364 vague years of 365 days, and 227.5 times the synodic period of Venus (584 days). It is separated from Itzamnaaj B'alam's own accession by 2.2.2.0. The

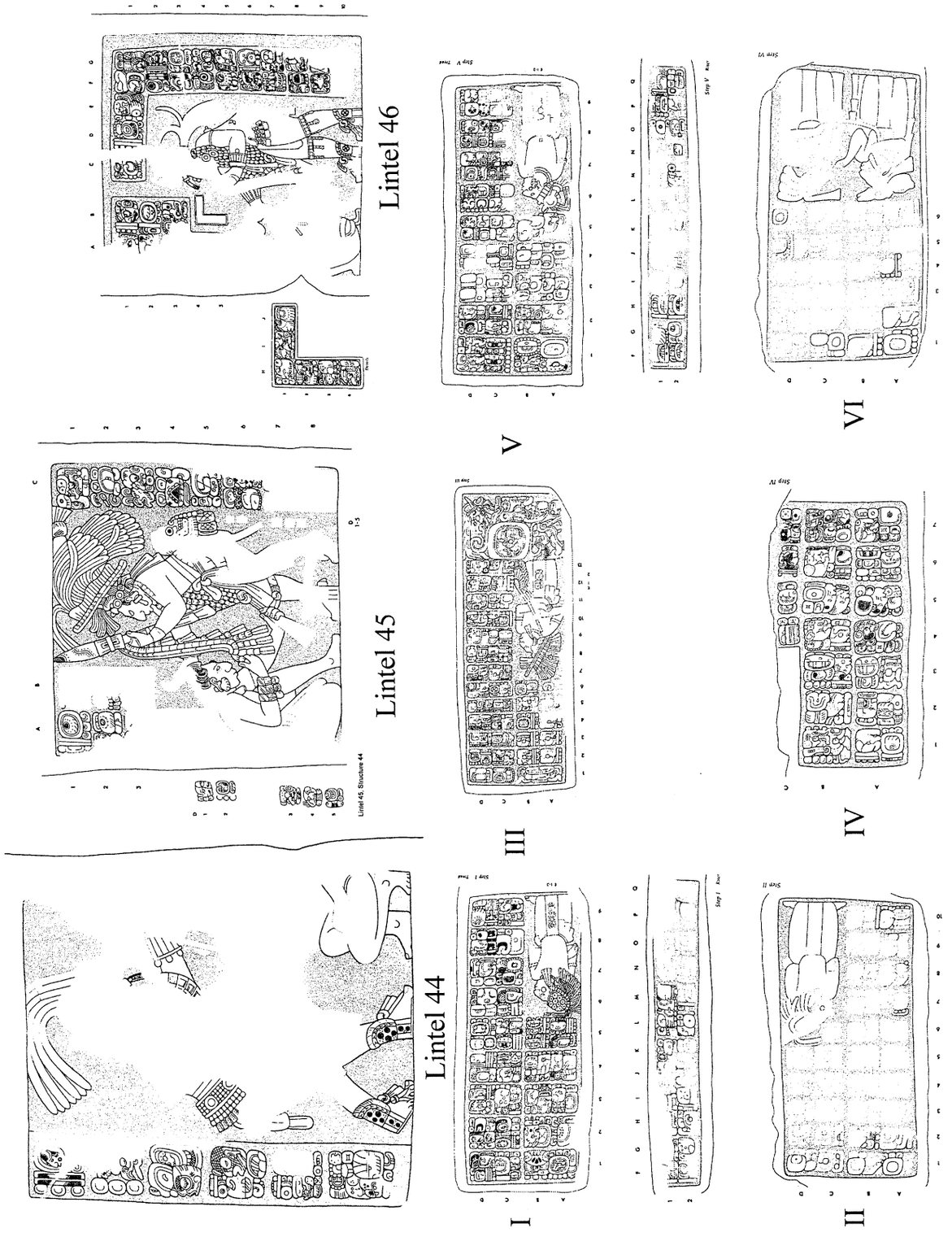

Fig. 3.17 The monuments of Yaxchilán Structure 44. Adapted from CMHI 3:97-101,166-173. Drawings by Ian Graham.

second 7 Imix date, the nine-hotun (45-year) anniversary of Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession recorded in Structure 23, is separated from the first by four 260-day periods, equivalent to 52 periods of 20 days.

The **third 7 Imix date** is the fire-entering dedication of the dwelling (Structure 11) of Ix Sak B'iyaan. This date is twenty-one 260-day cycles after the fire-entering of Itzamnaaj B'alam's dwelling, equivalent to 273 periods of 20 days. 273 is an important solar interval, since it is three quarters of a calculational year of 364 days. These two dates are also separated by seven Mars synodical periods, although this may be coincidence since the 780-day Mars period is a multiple of 260. The **final 7 Imix date** is an event in the reign of Bird Jaguar, a capture by that king recorded on Lintel 8, in AD 755. This date occurs after Itzamnaaj

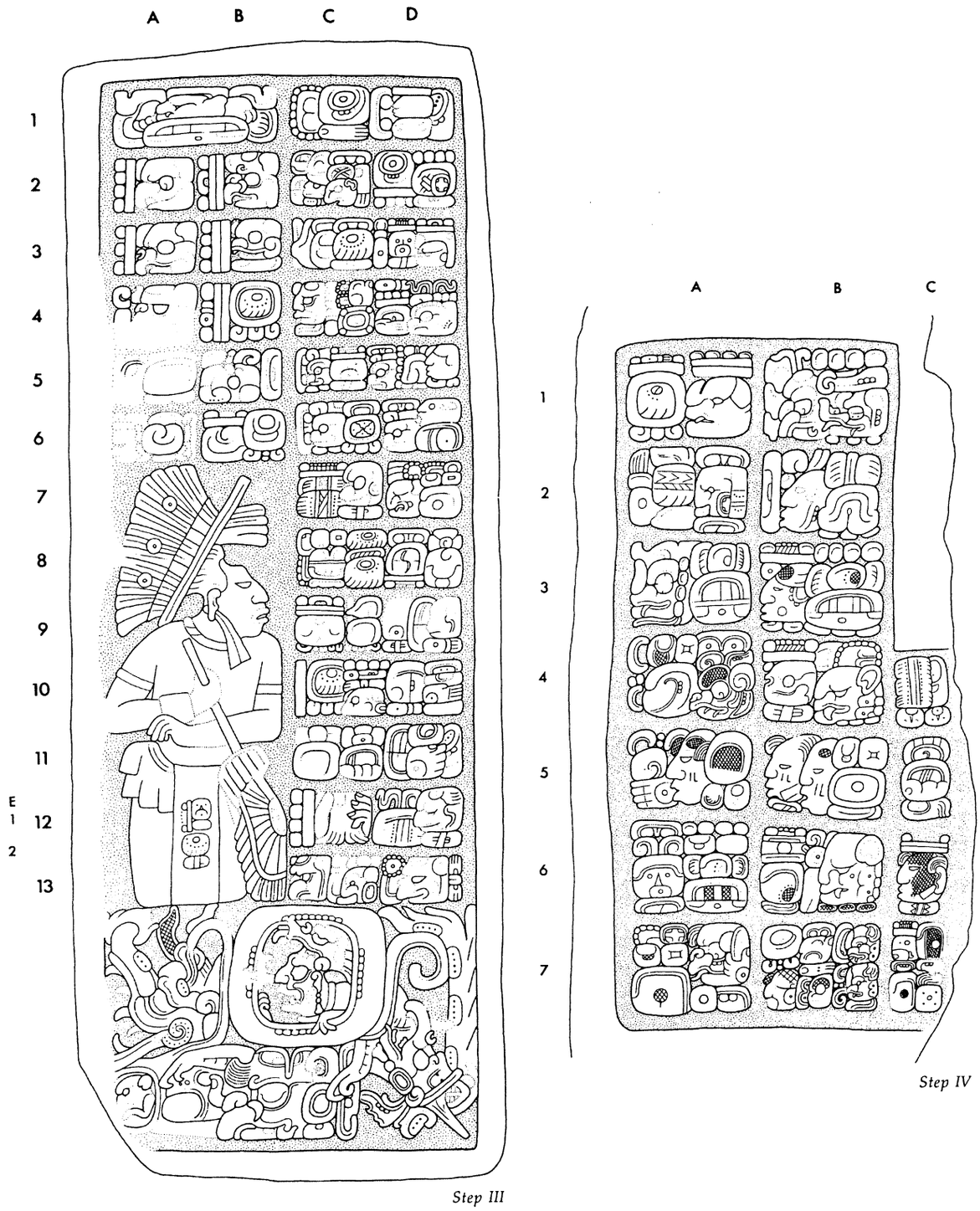

Fig. 3.18 Yaxchilán Structure 44 Hieroglyphic Stairway 3, Steps III and IV. From CMHI 3:169-170. Drawings by Ian Graham.

B'alam's death, but may reference earlier events; besides also occurring on 7 Imix, it is 20 Venus synodic periods plus one 20-day period after the date of Itzamnaaj B'alam's dwelling dedication, also equal to 32 vague years plus one 20-day period. Further, it is 100 times 263 days, the interval of Venus as morning and evening star, after Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession.

Although the role of numerology in structuring Maya calendrical practice is still poorly understood, it does appear that the dedication date of Structure 44 was chosen to commemorate a generative event in the life of the city, that it observed several important solar and planetary intervals in the process, and that it may have itself have become a significant reference point for the choosing of future event dates. The dedication date of Temple 11 as a dwelling at Copán is also clearly timed with relation to important Venus events and intervals.

III.3.2.2 Animate architecture: The "Starry Deer Caiman" name of Structure 44

The dedicatory event on Step IV is an *och-k'ak'* fire-entering (B1a) into a named *otoot*. The name of the *otoot* at B1b is **CHAN/4-"Starry Deer Caiman"-NAL-la**, "Four Starry Deer Caiman Place." I suspect that the Maya were playing with the four/sky homophony, such the name could be translated as *Sky* or *High* "Starry Deer Caiman" place. The being's head glyph in the dwelling name (Step IV:B1a) is identified by the star-marked deer ear (Fig. 3.19). The Starry Deer Caiman is generally accepted to be a celestial, sky-borne being: its body is often shown as a sky band, and it normally occupies the upper zone of monumental scenes as a framing device or the upper span of a doorway, as in Copán's Temple 22 or Palenque's House E.

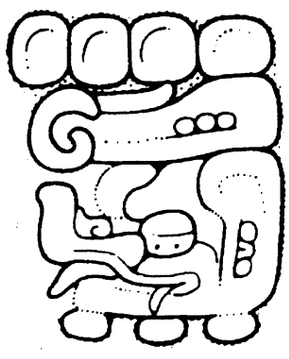

Fig. 3.19

Name of Yaxchilán Structure 44. Adapted from CMHI 3:170. Drawing by Ian Graham.

The relevance of the name of the dwelling to the building's role or use at Yaxchilán can be at least partially addressed.[34] The recognition of this name explains the depiction of the Starry Deer Caiman on the tread above, which almost certainly depicts the *otoot* iconographically. The head variant for the numeral 4 is the sun-god's head, which, as noted above, occupies the cartouche carried on the Starry Deer Caiman's back. The *tan* syllable to the left of the personified Emblem Glyph on Step III surely specifies that this dwelling is the Four Starry Deer Caiman Place *within* Yaxchilán.

The fact that the "cosmic monster" is portrayed on Step III full-figure rather than with a sky-band body, as is more typical; that it occurs underneath the kneeling captive in the *basal* register, where locations are depicted, rather than arching overhead, where the Starry Deer Caiman usually occurs; that it rests on the Yaxchilán Emblem Glyph to which it is connected by the preposition *tan;* and that the name of the structure is given by the Starry Deer Caiman head suggest rather strongly that the Yaxchilán Maya thought of Structure 44 *as* the Starry Deer Caiman. It is old news that the Maya considered buildings to be animate beings: the most obvious examples of Maya buildings as animate monsters are the Chenes structures whose doorways are framed by monstrous jaws, such that entering a building entailed walking into the monster's gullet.

A broad range of evidence shows that the Starry Deer Caiman is often imagined architectonically and that its insides are meant to be occupied; that is, just as buildings are beings, so beings are also locations. Andrea Stone notes in a paper on the Cosmic Monster/"Starry Deer Caiman" zoomorphs of Quirigua that in cases where the monster "enclose[s] a real, habitable space, the human figure is not depicted. Conversely, in all cases where only a fictive space is indicated, the human figure is depicted" (1985:46). Similarly, Gerardo Aldana (n.d.) has argued that the Piedras Negras "niche" stelae and other Starry Deer Caiman monuments are meant to show the royal person inside the body of the monster, and that this location is associated with accession to rulership. The famous interior doorway of Copán's Temple 22 – like Structure 44, the *otoot* of (as we shall see below) a king as the maize god – is a good example of Stone's "habitable space" Starry Deer Caiman; and the niche stelae of Piedras Negras (Stelae 6, 11, 14, 25, 33) illustrate the idea of the being as fictive space, where rulers are framed by the sky-bar body of the Starry Deer Caiman topped by the Principal Bird Deity. In the case of Piedras Negras Stela 25, the inscription probably refers to the Starry Deer Caiman-framed niche as a type of *ch'een*, "cave," and as the locus of ritual action.

That the Starry Deer Caiman's body serves as an architectural space for beings can also be observed on the bench in Structure 9N-82 at Copán (see Fig. 5.42a): the front edge of its inscribed seat is portrayed as the monster, and the animated full-figure glyphs sit on top of its scalloped underbelly as if they were riding along inside it. Human or supernatural figures commonly emerge from the mouths of various kinds of serpents in Maya iconography, and it has long been clear that they serve as conduits between various

[34] One cannot assume, of course, that the functions or roles of a structure are represented directly by names or iconographic motifs. For example, the Yucatecan *nikte-il naah* "flower house" and *popol naah* "mat house" are known from ethnographic and ethnohistoric literature to be community meeting places or council houses. If such a community building were painted or carved with mats or flowers, one would not be justified in concluding that the role of the structure was directly concerned with mats or flowers; rather, the mat or flower motif would point to a set of social and political functions. Similarly, a "Starry Deer Caiman Place" may not literally be about the Starry Deer Caiman, but may instead refer to another set of functions that it represents as if in a shorthand. Nevertheless, the Starry Deer Caiman is not an isolated motif but a supernatural being with a fairly defined set of iconographic and glyphic contexts; in fact, as discussed above, "he" is his own context as an architectural construct.

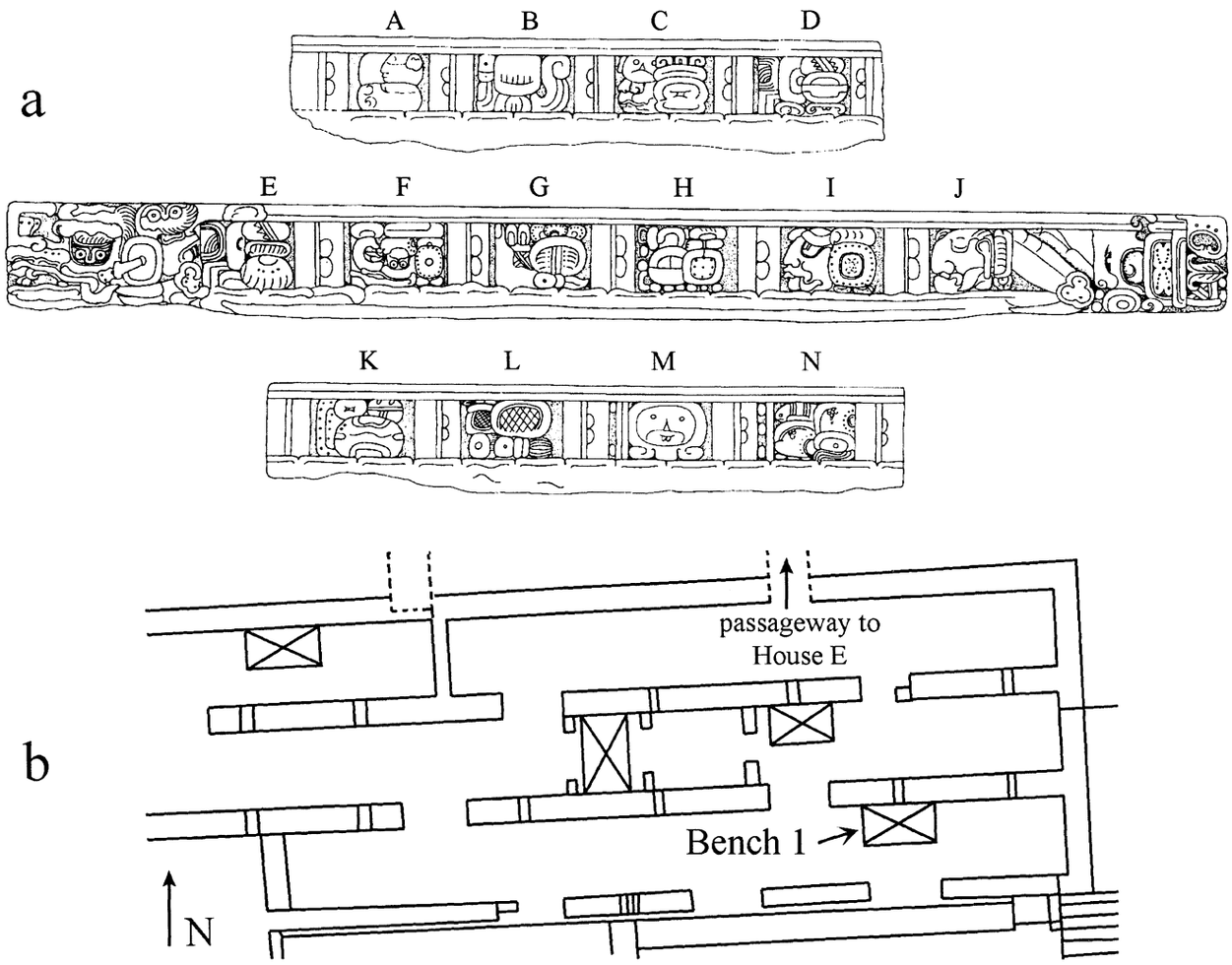

Fig. 3.20 The "Starry Deer Caiman" bench at Palenque: (a) Bench 1 from southern room of Southern Substructure of Palenque palace, after Robertson (1985, Vol. 3:Fig. 423); (b) Plan of Southern Substructure of Palenque palace showing location of Bench 1. Redrawn after Robertson (1985, Vol. 3:Fig. 1).

realms of the indigenous universe, as is common in many Native American cultures (e.g., Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, 1978:1; Wilbert 1997). The Quirigua Starry Deer Caiman zoomorphs and Copán Altar D' (CPN 82) show human beings emerging from their mouths, indicating that the Starry Deer Caiman, like other serpents and monsters in Maya iconography, is probably a mode of supernatural transport and a place of transformation or transition. Given the evidence for the Starry Deer Caiman as a location as well as a being, it seems likely that entering Structure 44 was analogous to entering the body of the Starry Deer Caiman.

In fact, the same structure name[35] shows up at Palenque on the inscription of Bench 1 (Fig. 3.20a) located in the South Subterranean structure of the palace (Fig. 3.20b) in a parallel context. The faces of the seat of the bench are carved as a Starry Deer Caiman and the inscription rides along in its belly, identical to the Starry Deer Caiman benches discussed in the Copán chapter. The verb in the text is unclear, but the glyphs at F-J state

Num-il ta chan *num-il ta kab*
Passage in/to the sky passage in/to the earth

"Starry Deer Caiman"-nal *y-otoot*
Starry Deer Caiman place **is the dwelling of**

cha-"k'atun" mak-noom(?) *K'inich Janaab' Pakal*
two-"k'atun" "closer" (?) **K'inich Janaab' Pakal**

Wisdom defines Ch'orti' *num* plainly as "opening, passage, conduit, lane, flow," giving numerous contexts for it (1950:115); and while I do not presume to understand precisely what the text is saying, it probably refers to the dwelling, as the Starry Deer Caiman, as a passage or opening in or to the celestial and underworld realms, and to Pakal as a "closer" of the opening, an epithet known from other sites. The Calendar Round date at M-N corresponds to 12 Ajaw 8 Keh 9.11.0.0.0, an important and oft-cited date in Palenque's

[35] Although the Yaxchilán example of this name is prefixed by 4, or *chan,* and the Palenque example is not, I suspect that the *chan* can be considered as an adjective meaning "high-up," such that the core meaning of the name is not much altered.

texts (Robertson 1985, Vol. 3:87), which would have been during Pakal's second k'atun of reign, though not of life. Because the subterranean structures are generally thought to be earlier than the upper buildings, the lateness of the date (AD 652) is odd; House E, the earliest structure on the upper palace, is estimated by Robertson to have been built as early as the reign of Pakal's grandmother between AD 583-604. Perhaps the bench was a late addition to the Southern Subterranean structure.

The Tablet of the 96 Glyphs discovered at the south side of the base of the Palenque Tower says that the name of Pakal's dwelling is the *Sak Nuk(?) Naah*, the "White Great (?) House," which is recorded as the site of his accession. Scholars have seen House E as the probable referent of the dwelling name, because of its proximity to the tablet's discovery spot, its early place in the development of the palace complex, and its white exterior painted with stylized flowers; further, the Palace Tablet mounted in its front room shows Pakal accepting a headdress from his mother on his accession date. I think the Starry Deer Caiman Place and the *Sak Nuk Naah* are probably the same location. The "subterranean" passage that runs from the east side of the rear wall of the Southern Subterranean structure leads to a stair that emerges into the southern end of House E. One of the two stuccoed vaults at the base of that stair (the one a person would have seen walking through the passage toward House E) represents a Starry Deer Caiman, notably with a *k'in* sign at its midpoint (Fig. 3.21a), matching the sun god on the Yaxchilán example; and the vault spring around the door that passes from the East Court of the palace into House E is also famous for its beautifully preserved stucco Starry Deer Caiman, with the Principal Bird Deity, perhaps an avatar of the sun, at its midpoint (Fig. 3.21b). Bench 1 may function as an introduction to one's destination – Pakal's Starry Deer Caiman Place – as one passes through the Southern Subterranean structure to the eastern subterranean passageway to House E. The bench may have been installed after the construction of House E.

The parallel inscriptions at Yaxchilán's Structure 44 and Palenque's Southern Subterranean structure suggest that the Starry Deer Caiman place is not a generalized region of a site center, but has a specific building as a referent, and may constitute an emic structure type. The *num-il ta chan, num-il ta kab* epithet supports the idea that kings' dwellings as Starry Deer Caiman places are openings or passages to supernatural realms or states. This possibility is addressed further in the Copán chapter.

III.3.2.3 Dwelling ownership and deity impersonation in Structure 44

The text of Step IV (Fig. 3.18) continues with the name of the owner of the *otoot*, Itzamnaaj B'alam, whose title string and names begin at A2b. The most interesting aspect of the nominal passage is the fact that its first glyph specifies Itzamnaaj B'alam as a god impersonator at A2b with the phrase *u-b'aah-il-aan*; the glyph that follows this expression at B2-A3 then has to be the name of a supernatural character. In this case, the first part of the name of the impersonated deity (B2a) is that of an aspect of the maize god, as I discuss below. The second part (B2b-A3a) is more enigmatic, consisting of a possible "south" glyph and the unread **yo-K'IN-"bat"** collocation. This second part of the name may be another god, or it may be a title for the maize god. This combined impersonation of two gods, if such it is, is not unusual, as I discuss below. There is one other instance of an *otoot* being explicitly "owned" by a human in the guise of a god: the central room of Bonampak Structure 1 contains an *och-k'ak'* dwelling dedication of a named *otoot*, though its appellation sadly is illegible. The name phrase of the owner Chan Muwaan begins, as at Yaxchilán Structure 44, with the impersonation phrase followed by the name of a god, in this case the sun god, K'inich Ajaw.

Itzamnaaj B'alam's impersonation of the maize god is probably a vital facet of his ownership of this structure and of the nature of the *otoot*. Although one might argue that the

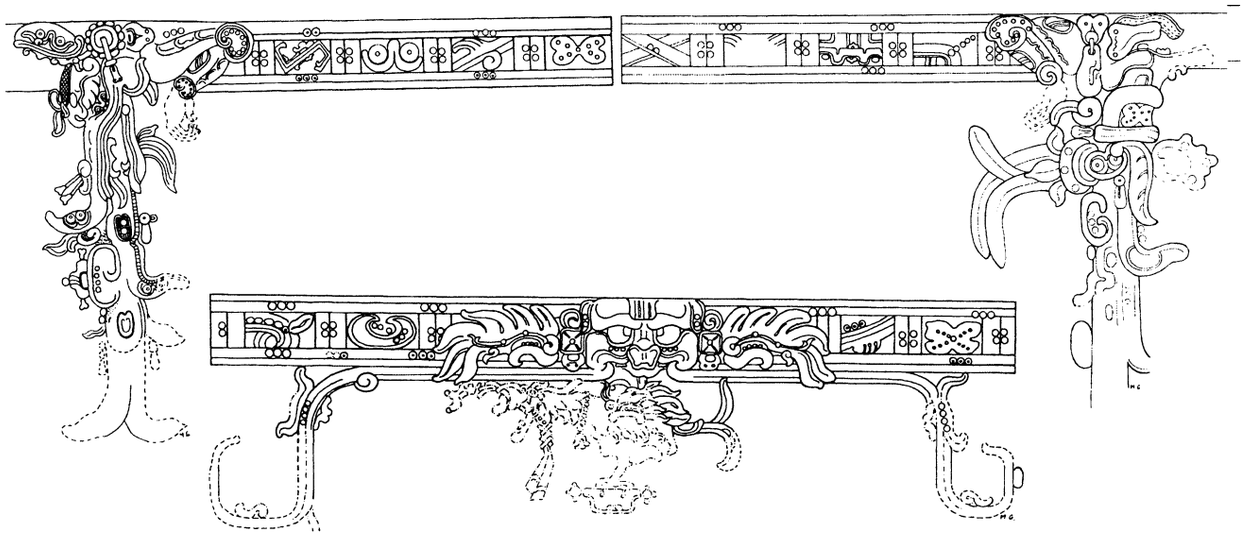

Fig. 3.21 Stuccoed "Starry Deer Caiman" vaults from Palenque: (a) Stuccoed Starry Deer Caiman vault from Eastern Subterranean Vault 1, Palenque palace, after Robertson (1985, Vol. 2:Fig. 109; (b) stuccoed Starry Deer Caiman vault from House E, Palenque palace, after Robertson (1985, Vol. 2:Figs. 81, 83, 85).

impersonation statement is simply part of his titles, the instances of objects that are owned by deity impersonators suggest a more significant connection. Stela A of Copán records a possessive relationship between a *lakamtuun,* "stela," and Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil (Ruler 13), whose name phrase begins with the *u-b'aah-il-aan* impersonation glyph. That glyph is followed by the name of a deity incorporating both the "Yax Chit" hieroglyph, found in the name of the Waterlily Serpent (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:182-84), and a Noh K'uh "great god" appellative. It is probable that the figural carving on the front of the stela represents Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil as the impersonation of the deity, and that the sense of the text is that the stela *is* the king as impersonator (Stuart 1996). Similarly, Step VII of Yaxchilán's Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, the central and largest step, records the dedication of the stair, whose owner is named as *u-b'aah-il-aan Yax Chit Huun ... Noh Kan,* the glyphic name for the Waterlily Serpent, followed by the titles and name of Bird Jaguar. The step portrays Bird Jaguar playing ball in the Yax Chit Huun Waterlily Serpent headdress, as do a number of the other steps in the Hieroglyphic Stair 2 series (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:182).

It is possible, then, that the ownership of architecture or objects by kings in the guise of supernaturals reflects a very particular kind of involvement with the object on the part of the king, and, in an architectural context, indicates something specific about the function or role of the structure. Although the full name of the personage or personages being impersonated is not well understood, I will try to assess what is known about the maize god Itzamnaaj B'alam impersonates and why he appears in the context of Structure 44.

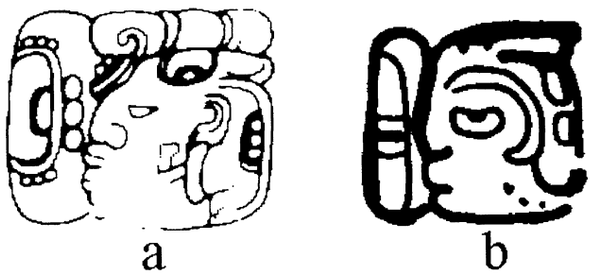

Fig. 3.22 The name glyph of God E: (a) Tikal Temple IV Lintel 3:F5, after Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Fig. 74); (b) Codex Paris 6, after Taube (1992a:Fig. 17a).

The characteristics of this god's name glyph are a "celt" prefix and a young man's head topped by and infixed with foliated elements (Fig. 3.22). This collocation appears primarily in the Postclassic codices as the name of God E, long ago identified by Schellhas as the maize god. Taube (1985, 1992a, 1996) has done a great deal to clarify maize god iconography, identifying two Classic Maya aspects that he labels "tonsured" and "foliated," according to the gods' particular head characteristics. Many depictions and impersonations of the tonsured maize god have been identified in Classic iconography: he has an elongated head, tonsured brow, and distinctive costume, which consists minimally of a netted skirt and "Xook"-shell belt ornament. This maize aspect, widespread in the Classic period and nearly absent in the Postclassic, has, at least explicitly, little to do with warfare iconography in the Classic period, although he is clearly associated with a mythic epic cycle of death, rebirth, and resurrection corresponding to the agricultural cycle of maize (Taube 1992a:48: Quenon and Lefort 1998). Most scholars, including myself, accept Taube's identification of this aspect as the Classic-period equivalent of Hun Hunahpu, the father of the hero twins of the Popol Vuh. His name glyph appears on a number of vessels, and is notably not the God E glyph.

Fig. 3.23 The foliated Maize God, after Taube (1992a:Fig. 19a).

The role of Taube's *foliated* maize god (Fig. 3.23) is less clear epigraphically. The foliated head that occurs in Classic-period iconography, in contrast to the tonsured version, usually does not crop up as an active character in mythological scenes; rather, the head emerges from maize foliage, on a "tree," as on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, or on a literal or conceptual mountain, as on the base of the palanquin depicted on Lintel 3 of Tikal's Temple IV (Fig. 3.24). At times the foliated and tonsured aspects even seem to be conflated (see Taube 1992:fig. 19b,c). In his discussion of the codical God E (1992a:44), Taube equates him with this foliated Classic-period aspect. In Late Classic iconography, however, representations of the foliated maize god are not accompanied by the God E name glyph, unlike the relatively numerous occurrences of the name glyph of the tonsured maize god on vessels. There are, however, a number of good instances of the Classic God E's name; for example, he is impersonated on Tikal Temple IV Lintel 3 at F5, in a "combination" impersonation to be discussed below (Fig 3.25a).[36] Another example occurs in the text of Yaxchilán's Stela 1, which records that a fire is drilled for God E (Fig. 3.25b).[37]

What evidence is available indicates that the Classic God E may have a set of associations distinct from those of the tonsured and foliated aspects. Taube notes (1992a:44) that the Postclassic God E is often affiliated with death and sacrifice, probably relating to the agricultural cycle of maize where planting/burial leads to growth/rebirth and harvest/decapitation of the maize cob head. He cites codical examples of the decapitated head of God E, probably

[36] Although the foliated maize god is depicted in the basal register of Tikal Temple IV Lintel 3, there is no evidence that the glyphic name identifies the god.

[37] There are other examples of the head glyph with occurring with a **-na** suffix, but it is not clear whether the reading and context of these occurrences indicate that the glyph is being used as the name of the maize god or as a sign with a phonetic or logographic function different from that of the glyph in its nominal form.

representing the harvested maize cob, and, interestingly, a depiction of Chaak pulling the bowels out of God E's slashed abdomen on Dresden 42c. Contexts at Yaxchilán, Tikal, and Copan suggest that this glyphically rarer aspect of the maize god may also be associated in the Classic period with death by auto-sacrifice, particularly the kind of auto-sacrifice that is deflected onto a war captive who shares a king's identity.

First, on Tikal Temple IV's Lintel 3 (Fig. 3.25a), the impersonation statement that undoubtedly refers to Yik'in Chan K'awiil (Ruler B) is directly followed by the glyphs for both God E and God A'. God A' is associated with violent death and sacrifice, particularly self-sacrifice by decapitation, and he is earlier in the inscription described as "the god of" the ruler of Yaxha. Yik'in Chan K'awiil's impersonation

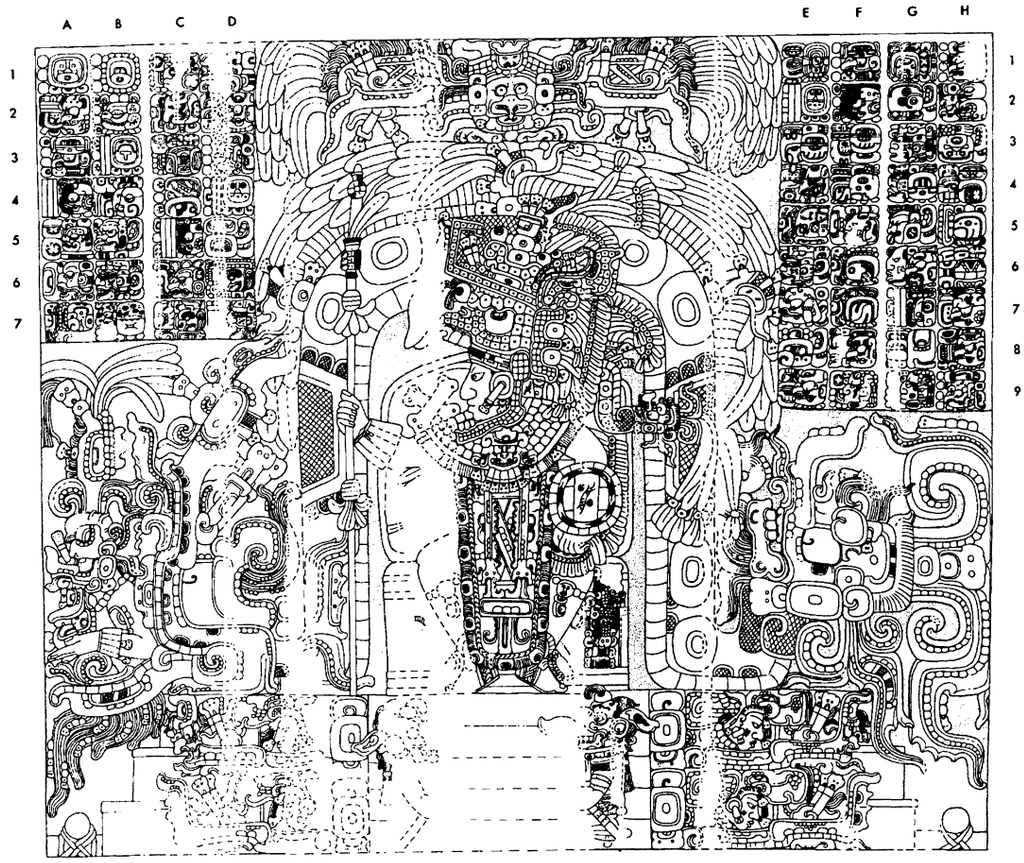

Fig. 3.24 Tikal Lintel 3, Temple IV, after Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Fig. 74).

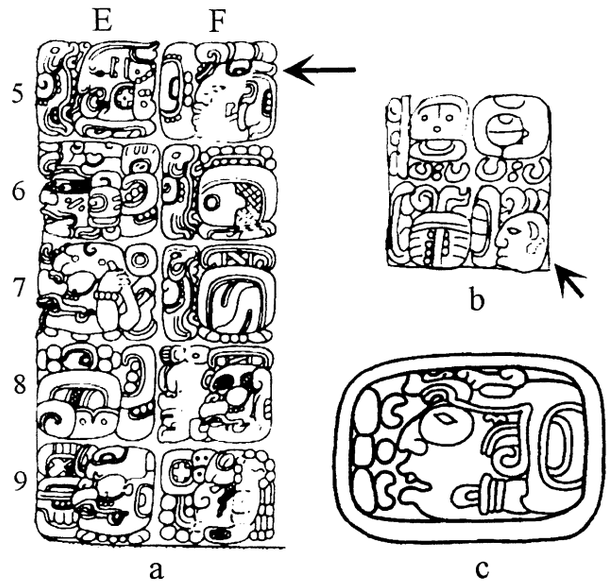

Fig. 3.25

Classic-period name glyphs of God E: (a) Tikal Lintel 3, Temple IV:E5-F9, after Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:Fig. 74); (b) excerpt from Yaxchilán Stela 1, after Tate (1992:Fig. 123). Drawing by Carolyn Tate; (c) Maize god glyph with ring around eye, from Quirigua Zoomorph P, after Looper (2002:Fig. 11.7). Drawing by Matthew Looper.

probably occurs on the occasion of the capture of a Yaxha palanquin. The main scene on the lintel (Fig. 3.24) shows Yik'in Chan K'awiil seated in the captured palanquin wearing a war serpent headdress, the "death-eye" ruff characteristic of Maya death gods, and a wrist shield marked with the "percent-sign" associated with God A'; the back of his seat is marked with crossed bones. Although God E's name glyph occurs in his Yik'in's impersonation phrase, none of his costume is associated with maize. The base of the palanquin, however, is composed of stacked earth monsters from whose eyes emerge foliated maize god heads. A feathered serpent, whose body is marked with *yax* signs, arches over the palanquin: maize foliage grows from the heads at each end of his body, and a jawless god whose head sprouts a huge maize plant and who carries a tamale or corn glyph emerges from the front head of the serpent. Whether Yik'in Chan K'awiil is impersonating two gods at the same time or impersonating a single being who is a combination of God E and God A' is not certain[38]; but he is being shown as the impersonator of the captured God A' sitting inside a captured palanquin whose identity seems bound up with growing maize. In any case, the close association between God E and God A' here is suggestive.

Fig. 3.26 God A'-God E combination impersonation on excavated vessel from Copan (Kerr 4651; author sketch from photo).

Good support for the sacrifice and war associations of God E can be found on a vessel excavated at Copán (Kerr 4651) that depicts a dancing figure carrying a shield and an axe: he wears the death-eye ruff, his loincloth is marked with the "percent" signs of the death gods, and the text, though eroded, indicates that the figure is impersonating God E (Fig. 3.26): that is, just like the Tikal lintel, this vessel conflates the identities of God E and God A'. Some instances of the God E glyph evoke other associations with death and sacrifice: Looper (1991:51) has noted that the God E face can be shown with rings around his eyes and mouth, suggesting that he wears a flayed skin (Fig. 3.25c);[39] and Taube observes that the maize god can be shown with his eyes closed, possibly in death (1992a:44). In short, it is conceivable that the Classic God E aspect of the maize god is specifically associated with captive-taking, warfare, and death by sacrifice, unlike Taube's tonsured maize god.

The appropriateness of the impersonation of this aspect of the maize god by Itzamnaaj B'alam and Yik'in Chan K'awiil in warfare-related contexts may have to do with the use of captives as substitutes for kings in sacrifice, and the flayed skin-wearing iconography associated with the Classic God E may be a direct reference to this identity-switching. There is good evidence from Structure 44 that Itzamnaaj B'alam and Aj-"Ajaw"-**ki** share their identities: as noted above, they wear the same headdress (Itzamnaaj B'alam on Lintel 45, and Aj-"Ajaw"-**ki** on Step III). The other captives depicted on the Struture 44 steps are described as **ye-he-te** *y-eht* "the companion? of" the various kings that are their captors. The **ye-he-te** expression is used early on in Yaxchilán's inscriptions to refer to a special kind of subordinate companion relationship that may well be specific to kings and their noble captives. David Stuart has in fact suggested that the *u-chanul/chanal* "he is the captive of..." expression so common in Maya texts is related to the soul-sharing relationship between humans and animal spirit companions expressed as *chanul* in modern Tzotzil speech and practice (personal comm. 1996).

Yaxchilán's inscriptions also provide evidence for the probable creation of fictive kinship relations between kings and captives. For example, the text on Stela 18 (see Fig. 3.7g), though difficult, has to do with a series of ritual events involving Itzamnaaj B'alam and an important captive from Lakamha' named Aj Popol Chay. On Stela 18, Aj Popol Chay is characterized as *u-b'aak tu ch'ab ti y-ak'ab-il ch'ahoom,* "the captive as/who is the *ch'ab,* the *ak'ab* of the *ch'ahoom,*" who is most likely Itzamnaaj B'alam.[40] The *u-ch'ab-y-ak'ab* expression is often used as a parentage statement between human individuals.[41] Further, in the Ritual of the Bacabs, the couplet is used to refer to the supernatural parentage or creation of various diseases or disease-causing beings. It seems at least in part to refer to the creation of offspring in a metaphorical and/or ritual context.

[38] It may be that gods can in certain circumstances impersonate other gods: Taube gives examples of certain gods wearing characteristic headdresses of other gods or assuming other of their characteristics (e.g., Taube 1992a:76). Perhaps the double impersonation expression on Tikal Temple IV Lintel 3 refers to a God A' aspect of God E/the maize god.

[39] B'alaj Chan K'awiil impersonates a possibly related character on Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 4, also in the context of the conduct of warfare: there, the impersonated god, who also appears at Copán, has the same "celt" prefix, and a *-nal* superfix, but he does not have the foliation in his head that indicates God E. He *does* have a stretchy hand over his eye in the manner of depictions of flayed shields; perhaps this is yet another aspect of the maize god.

[40] The string of names and titles that follow *ch'ahoom* are long and complicated and involve several supernaturals and an impersonation, but they most likely ultimately refer to Itzamnaaj B'alam.

[41] See, for example, the Kuna-Lakamha panel at Dumbarton Oaks, where a son is related to his father by the statement *u-b'aah u-ch'ab y-ak'ab'-il.*

Miller and Samayoa connect the maize god explicitly to captives as *k'ex* "substitute" or "exchange" sacrifices,[42] noting that the only personages that are shown in the reclining "chacmool" posture in Maya iconography are the maize god and captives. They posit that the captor-captive identity "may have always been sustaining the maize theology of Mesoamerica" (1998:66), and point out that Aztec warriors had a father-son relationship with their captives. The Classic God E impersonators at Yaxchilán, Tikal, and perhaps Copán combine the role of maize god as the original and eternal sacrifice with the deflection of the actual act of sacrifice onto a captive, secured by wartime prowess, who shares a fundamental part of the identity of the king. It is interesting that the particular headdress shared by Itzamnaaj B'alam and Aj-"Ajaw"-**ki** in the Structure 44 carvings is otherwise unique to Terminal Classic and Postclassic depictions of Chaak as an armed warrior and sacrificer (see Taube 1992a:figs. 4e-f, 5a-d, 8a). Taube notes that Chaak is closely identified with war and human sacrifice, and points out his role in Dresden 42 as the sacrificer and disembowler of God E. The inscriptions and carvings of Structure 44 concisely present Itzamnaaj B'alam as both archetypal self-sacrifice (the maize god) and archetypal sacrificer (Chaak), with the clear understanding that the king has a special relationship with a number of captives who stand in for him as *k'ex* sacrifices. This is the special identity that resides in Structure 44 as the dwelling of Itzamnaaj B'alam as a deity impersonator.

III.3.3 Supernatural participation in the Structure 44 dedication rite

As in many architectural dedication texts, the final phrase of the Structure 44 Step IV inscription returns to the dedication to charcterize it in a different way or refer to a different part of the building. Small crowded glyphs at the end of the text (B7-C7) record a full Primary Standard Sequence, using the God N verb.

PSSIG	**T'AB'-[yi]**	**u-k'a-IL**
PSSIG	*T'ab'-ay*	*u-k'a-il*
PSSIG	It goes up	the ?? of

U-CHAN[nu?]	**..-[bat] ya-[bat]-ni sa-ja-la**
u-chan(ul?)	*sajal*
the captor of	Sajal

The *k'a-il* expression that is the subject of the God N verb is rare in southern lowland texts, though it occurs once in the inscriptions of Palenque on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross at E7; its use is more common in the texts of Chichén Itzá and Xkalumkin. At Chichén, it refers to a subsection of the space enclosed by a god dwelling, and may signify "room" or "enclosure." The "owner" of the *k'a-il*, the captor of the *sajal,* is probably Itzamnaaj B'alam.

As on Lintel 23 of Structure 23, this final Structure 44 dedication phrase ends with a **yi-ta-ji** clause (C5) marking the participation of another personage: in this case, the personage is almost certainly a god named *12 Pat.* He takes two epithets: the first at C7a is *Aj Tan Ch'een* (He of Within the Cave, or perhaps, less awkwardly, "Cavedweller"), and the second at C7b is Yaxchilán's secondary Emblem Glyph with the suffix *-nib*, an unreadable collocation. An alabaster vase from the La Entrada area of the Copán River valley records that Yax Pasaj dances in the guise of *12 Pat.* On Structure 44's Step IV, as in many **yi-ta-ji** clauses from Chichén Itzá and elsewhere, the participant in the action need not be a contemporary human, but can also be a supernatural or ancestor. It is not, for example, certain that the women in the **yi-ta-ji** clauses of Lintel 23 in Structure 23 are living at the time of the dedication.

III.3.4 Structure 44 summary and implications

In sum, although Structure 44 is described in its texts as the dwelling of Itzamnaaj B'alam, it seems unlikely to be a living residence. Its texts suggest that the Maya conceived of it as a high-up cosmic space, an animate sky-being whose insides were an appropriate setting for activities relating to sacrifice and regeneration.[43] It is surely relevant that Structure 44 is the highest point on the second-highest acropolis of the city. It should be noted that Copán's Temple 22, the *otoot* of a maize god-impersonating king with interior doorway framed by the body of the Starry Deer Caiman, is also a high point of the Copán Acropolis (it probably *was* the highest point at the time of its construction by Ruler 13); and that the Piedras Negras niche stelae depict a cosmic space delineated by the Starry Deer Caiman as a structure – a scaffold, according to Taube – reached by a ladder, also indicating a raised space. That these niches are meant as architectural spaces is supported by the fact that curtains hang from the "ceiling"/sky-band/caiman belly on Stelae 6, 11, and 14. The Piedras Negras niches as Starry Deer Caiman structures are associated with both explicit captive sacrifice (as on Stela 11, where a sacrificed captive lies at the base of the ladder) and auto-sacrifice (as on Stelae 14 and 33, on which a woman hands bloodletting implements to the king sitting in the niche). These "high-up" Starry Deer Caiman structures, both real and depicted, may well correspond to a Maya building category; and it is critical to note that the members of this category probably include entire buildings (Structure 44 and Palenque's House E), a rear room of a building (Copán Structure 10L-22), and a scaffold or raised niche (depicted on the Piedras Negras stelae).

Evidently, an emic Maya notion of a structure type did not depend on uniformity of architectural plan or even upon the

[42] See Carlsen and Prechtel 1991 for an extended discussion of the significance of *k'ex*.

[43] In this context, it needs to be noted that Freidel and Schele (1993) identified the Cosmic Monster/Starry Deer Caiman as the Milky Way, the Crocodile World Tree, and the canoe that carries the Maize God as depicted on one of the Tikal canoe bones and on a number of looted pots. The evidence for this identification is, as is often the case in *Maya Cosmos*, suggestive but not conclusive. I mention it here because if is correct that the Starry Deer Caiman can be equated with this canoe, then the association of Structure 44 as the caiman with Itzamnaaj B'alam as the maize god is more interesting. Quenon and Lefort have shown that the "canoe episodes" in the maize god epic probably take place between his death and subsequent rebirth in a watery underworld, and then between his rebirth and resurrection from the back of a turtle. Structure 44 as a Starry Deer Caiman canoe would be an appropriate dwelling for a maize god inherently in a state of transformation and transport.

structure being a building, blurring the line between architectural space and other spatial realms. The Yaxchilán Maya have provided us with a spatial category that is conceptually somewhat difficult: the present-tense texts indicate that, as the Starry Deer Caiman, it is the permanent dwelling place of an aspect of the identity of the king – a maize deity impersonation – that would seem impermanent. Impersonation, as it has so far been addressed in the literature, is generally thought of as a ritual act that is more or less temporally circumscribed (Townsend 1979, Houston and Stuart 1996) – although our understanding of the phenomenon of impersonation is imperfect. The sense of permanent impermanence is emphasized by the fact that the Starry Deer Caiman as a place of transition, transformation, and possibly transport is concretized as an enduring and more or less immutable masonry building.

That the Classic Maya would build an elaborate stone dwelling for an entity that we think of as a temporary ritual identity makes sense in the context of Maya notions of self. That is, the Maya soul has been ethnographically and epigraphically demonstrated to be a thing of many component and detachable parts, alienable from one another and from the physical body (e.g., Vogt 1976; Houston and Stuart 1989; Gossen 1994). By constructing physical dwellings for diverse aspects of his identity as a king, a ruler could permanently disperse his "self" across the physical landscape of his city. We might wonder if Itzamnaaj B'alam built more than one dwelling like Structure 44; certainly, his Structures 40 and 41 share the same general plan and are similarly sited.

Overall, I suggest that the characterization "war memorial" for Structure 44 is an apt one insofar as it draws attention to the fact that the building was a place where memory and experience of conquest were given constant presence and where the conquests themselves could be relived by treading on the depictions of the captives; but it is an etic and partial characterization. The Maya have provided far more detail on exactly the kind of place they meant this to be. That is, it was an animate space of transformation where Itzamnaaj B'alam could be many things at once, as expressed in his impersonation of a war-associated maize god who represents death and regeneration at the same time. In Structure 44, the Maya make Itzamnaaj B'alam out to be primordial sacrifice, primordial sacrificer, and the agent of both processes as a warrior who obtains the captive souls that will substitute for his in actual death. Structure 44 is the permanent residence of this identity. This sort of transposition of ritual patron, sacrificer, and sacrificed offering is a relatively standard one in traditional cultures (see, for instance, Khambatta 1989:258 for a Hindu example).

III.4 Structure 22, the *otoot* of Ruler 7 and the accession site of Bird Jaguar

Structure 22 is located just to the east of Structure 23 on the elevated first bench of the river terrace (Fig. 3.27). Of its five all-glyphic lintels, four are reset Early Classic monuments (Lintels 18,19, 20, and 22), and one, over the central door, is a Late Classic monument erected by Bird Jaguar (Lintel 21). No good plan of the structure exists, and the one I provide (Fig. 3.28) is a schematic diagram compiled from the descriptions provided by Tate (1992:128-129, 200-202). The structure was briefly described by Maler (1903:149), and Morley (1937-38:387) recorded the observations of Karl Ruppert and Linton Satterthwaite: the latter archaeologist excavated around the building in 1935

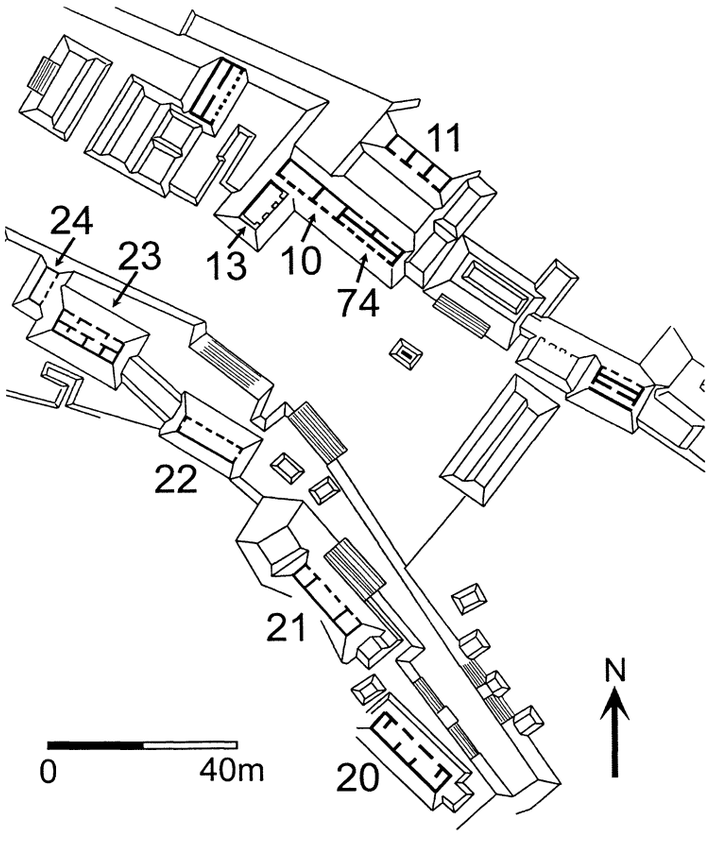

Fig. 3.27

Detail of the center of the main court of Yaxchilán. Adapted from CMHI 3:6-7.

(Tate 1992:200). The structure has been consolidated by INAH, but I do not know if it was further excavated nor the extent of any excavation.

Structure 22 sits between the two principal stair bodies that lead from the main plaza to the first bench; access to its doors is interrupted by a set of three tall steps that give onto a small ledge in front of the building, which itself occupies a one meter-high platform reached by two steps from the ledge (Tate 1992:200). Two phases are apparent in the structure, the first a smaller building of a single vault with three doors in the front façade and a door in each lateral wall. The second phase preserved the first, but 1) partially blocked the northwest door; 2) extended the rear wall six meters to the northwest; 3) built a thick wall from the rear extension to the front wall around two meters beyond the original west wall; and 4) built an extension onto the east wall of the building as well (Tate 1992:200-202). The "extensions" seem to be extra chambers. The content of the building's texts is probably relevant to this architectural chronology.

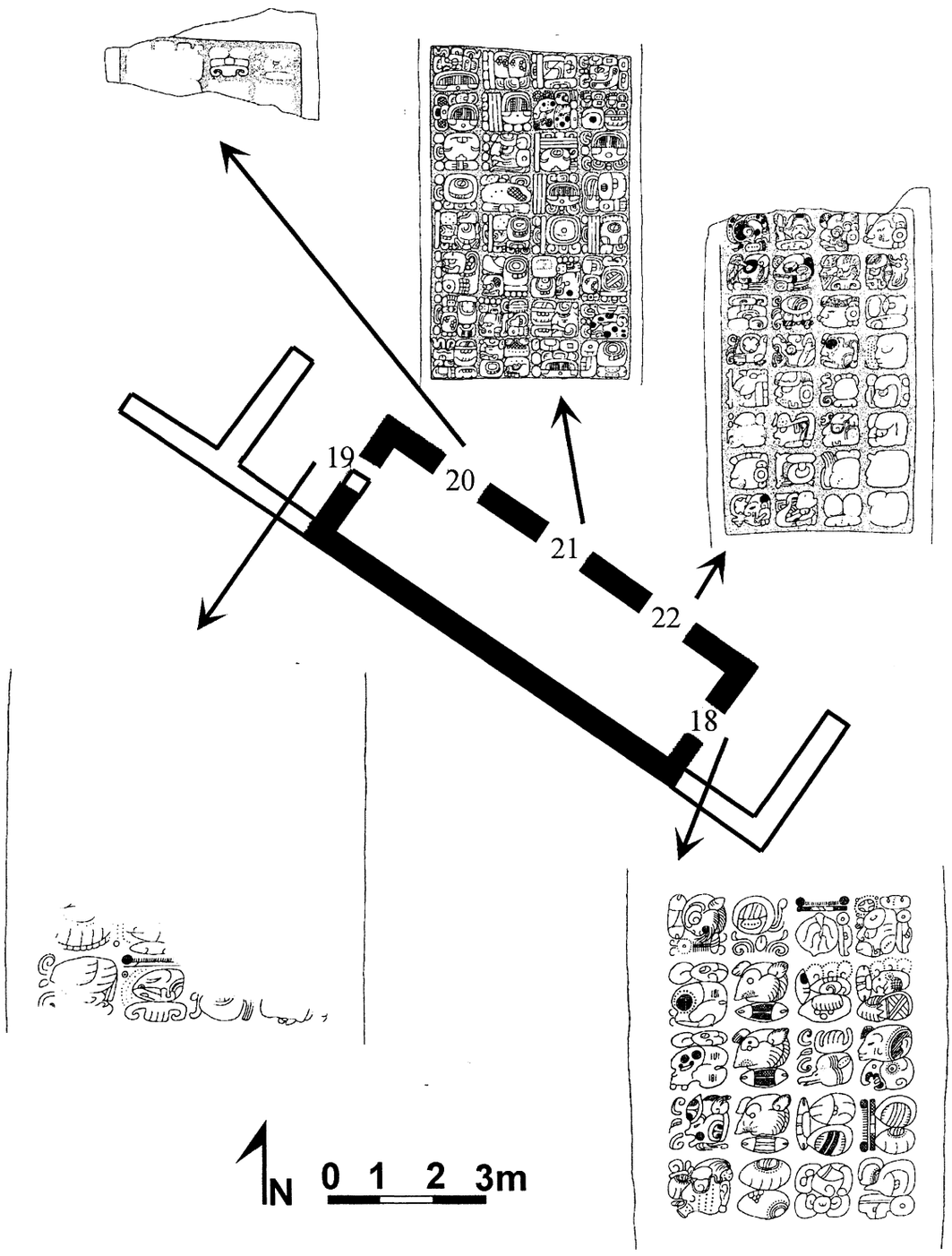

Fig. 3.28 Yaxchilán Structure 22 and its lintels. Schematic plan after description by Tate (1992:200-202). Lintels from CMHI 3:45-51,133. All drawings by Graham except Lintel 21 by Eric von Euw.

The Early Classic Lintels 18 and 19, on one hand, and 20 and 22 on the other, are probably from two separate Early Classic text cycles. Lintels 18 and 19 are delicately and beautifully incised into well-prepared shafts of fine-grained limestone (CMHI 3:45, 3:133); those glyphs that are visible on the almost completely destroyed surface of Lintel 19 indicate that they were virtually identical in style to those on the well-preserved Lintel 18. Lintels 18 and 19 contain no identifiable ruler names but Lintel 18 contains a series of very interesting names and titles, possibly of men and women related to the court of an early king.

Lintels 20 and 22, in contrast, are both are carved using the more typical technique of cutting away the background stone so that the glyphs rise out of it; in both cases, the glyphs are carved in well-separated raised blocks, as if made with a cookie cutter. They probably belong to the same text, though there is no guarantee. Although very little is left of Lintel 20, what remains exhibits an Initial Series Introducing Glyph and part of the Lunar Series. Lintel 22 contains an extended parentage statement with a particularly long name phrase for the mother, though the glyphs in the last third of the inscription are too eroded and obscure to address here. The subject of the parentage statement is Ruler 10, as identifiable from a similar parentage statement on Lintel 47 from Structure 12. Structure 12 also contains a number of probably reset Early Classic lintels; in fact, Mathews (1988:69) notes that the Structure 12 lintels are carved in the same style as Lintels 20 and 22 of Structure 22, and sees four distinct Early Classic lintel sets between these two buildings. The four Early Classic lintels of Structure 22 probably come, then, from at least two earlier buildings, one of them Ruler 10's. Bird Jaguar placed them over the doors of Structure 22 in a way that seems to observe their textual connections: Lintel 20 with its Initial Series date was placed over the door to the viewer's left, while Lintel 22 was placed to the viewer's right: though separated by Lintel 21, they thus maintain a semblance of appropriate reading order. Lintels 18 and 19 were also placed symmetrically at either end of the vault.

The text of Bird Jaguar's central lintel (Fig. 3.29) is relatively straightforward. Its Long Count date, which includes an abbreviated 819-day count reference, records **9.0.19.2.4 2 Kan 2 Yax**, a date in AD 454. The event on this date is an *el-naah* "house-censing" (Stuart 1998a:389-90) fire ritual for a named dwelling of the seventh king of Yaxchilán. The name of the dwelling at B7a, *4 Sutz'(?)-nal*, "Four Bat Place" or "High Bat Place," is structurally parallel to the name of Itzamnaaj B'alam's dwelling, and very similar to that of a dwelling at Oxkintok, called *Sak Sutz'(?)-nal,* "White Bat Place" (Oxkintok Lintel 13:B5). The name and extended titles of the dwelling owner, Ruler 7 or "Moon Skull," run from A8-D2. Bird Jaguar therefore links himself with two earlier rulers, 7 and 10.

A distance number totaling around 302 years connects the date of the dwelling ritual to the date **9.16.1.0.9 7 Muluk 17 Tzek**, a day in AD 752. The verb (C6a) associated with this date is slightly eroded, but takes the positional *-laj* suffix and is almost certainly the *chum* "seating" verb commonly used as an accession expression. The location of the seating event is given at C6b as *4 Sutz'(?)-nal*. The subject of the verb is Bird Jaguar, written with his extended titles from D6-D8. That is, Bird Jaguar is "seated" in the dwelling of the seventh ruler of Yaxchilán, 302 years after its original dedication.

Curiously, the date given for this seating event for Bird Jaguar is nine days after his actual accession date as recorded on many other monuments. This seating event must have been part of an extended series of accession rites, here involving his ancestor's dwelling.

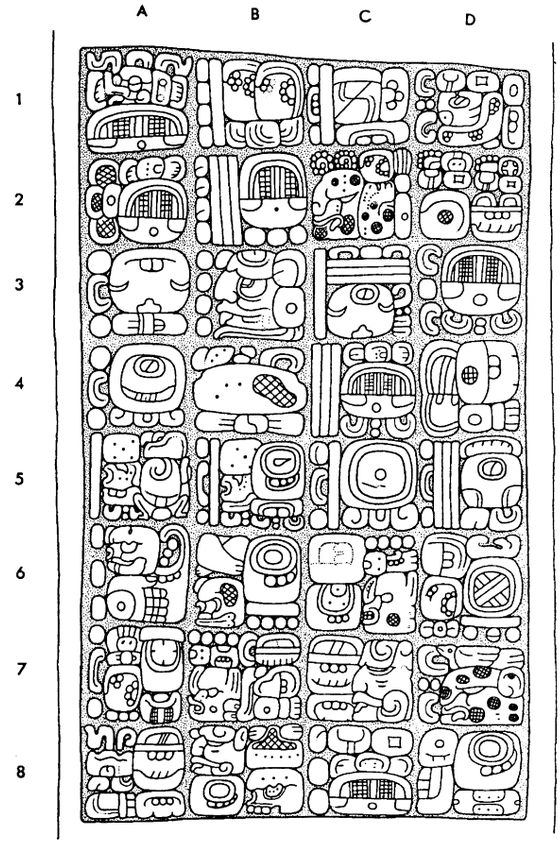

Fig. 3.29 Yaxchilán Lintel 21, from CMHI 3:49. Drawing by Eric von Euw.

The question of precisely how Ruler 7's dwelling was treated by Bird Jaguar cannot be fully resolved: the chronology of the building cannot be unraveled until the publication of the excavations. Nevertheless, Tate was able to observe that the Structure 23 terrace covers all steps to Structure 22 on its northwest side (1992:200), and that the platform of Structure 22's later extensions overlies the platform of Structure 23 (1992:129). This means that at least the platform of Structure 22 is probably before Bird Jaguar's time, and potentially before Itzamnaaj B'alam's reign, since the latter ruler was probably responsible for the Structure 23 terrace. It may be that the early core of Structure 22 was indeed Ruler 7's dwelling and that at the time of the erection of Bird Jaguar's lintel, the doorways of the old building were modified to accommodate the reset Early Classic lintels as well as the new Late Classic one.

The inscription of Lintel 21 is best compared to that of the Palace Tablet at Palenque, the beautiful calligraphic monument that was discovered at the base of the Palace

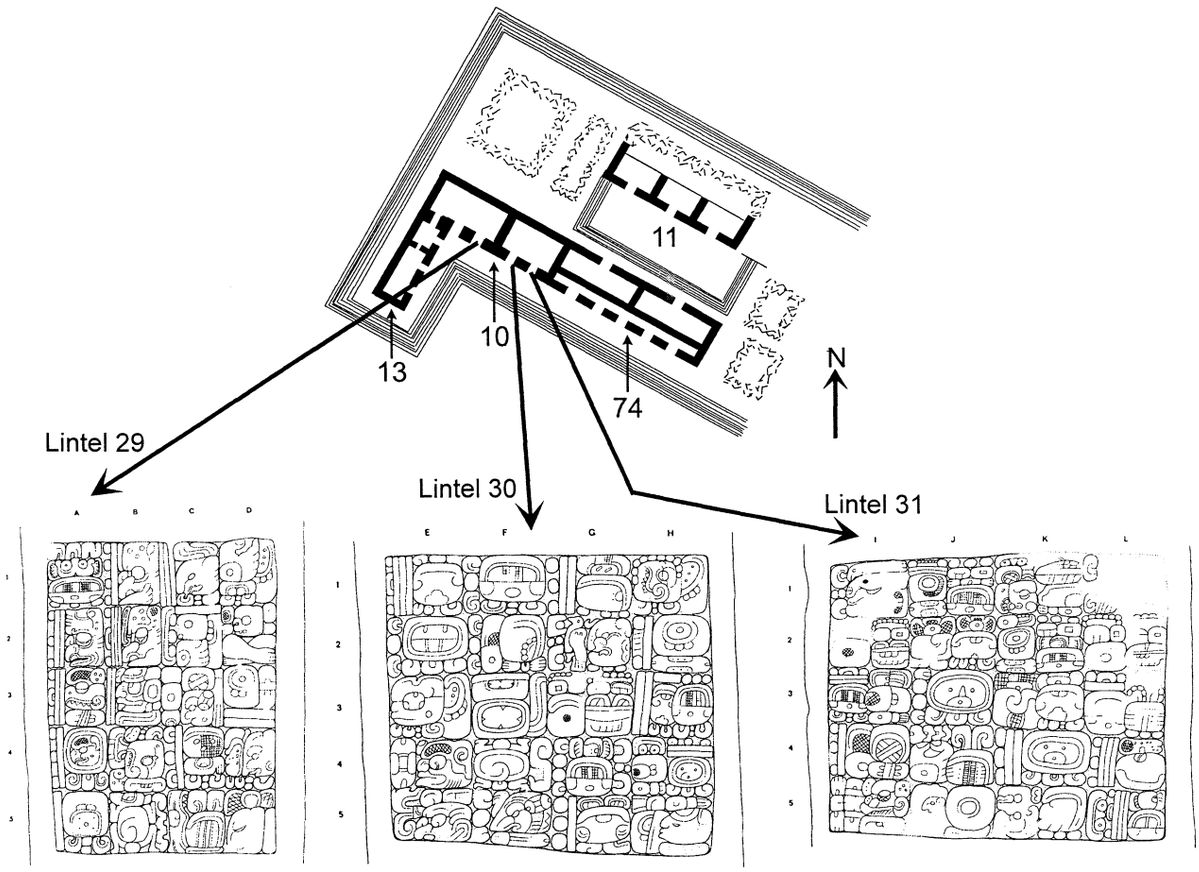

Fig. 3.30 Yaxchilán Structure 10 with its lintels. Structure plan adapted from Maler (1903:129). Lintels from CMHI 3:67-71. All lintel drawings by Ian Graham.

Tower stair and that is possibly associated with House E. That tablet records a *9.11.2.1.11 9 Chuwen 9 Mak* fire-entering rite for a dwelling of Pakal; the name of the structure, as discussed above, is *Sak Nuk Naah*, "White Great(?) House." That fire rite is then connected, as on Yaxchilán Lintel 21, to the seating of not one, but three successive kings, including K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II, K'inich Akhal Mo' Naab III, and K'inich K'uk' B'alam II. The monument itself was carved for the one-k'atun anniversary of K'uk' B'alam's accession near the 9.17.0.0.0 period-ending. In each king's case, the seating takes place at or otherwise involves[44] the *Sak Nuk Naah*. House E, the earliest structure on the main surface of the palace acropolis, was kept intact, though internally modified, throughout the subsequent development of the palace, and enshrined by later constructions. Both Yaxchilán Structure 22 and Palenque House E are good examples of the transformation of what may have been the residential locus of an early and important king into a site for royal ceremony.

III.5 Structure 10, the *otoot* of Bird Jaguar

On 9.16.13.0.0, twelve years after his accession, Bird Jaguar dedicated his own *otoot,* Structure 10, just across the plaza from Structure 22 (see Fig. 3.27). The two-chambered building has five doors, two in the smaller southeastern room and three in the slightly longer northwestern room, a space later modified by the construction of Structure 13 abutting it. The three lintels in the structure cap the three easternmost doorways of Structure 10, spanning the wall that separates its two rooms. The text begins on Lintel 31 and continues across Lintels 32 and 33 (Fig. 3.30).

Structure 10 and, somewhat later, Structure 13 (Maler 1903) were constructed by Bird Jaguar upon an apparently pre-existing platform that already supported Structure 74 and enclosed Structure 11; Structures 10 and 13, however, were raised up on their own platform a meter and a half higher (Tate 1992:164) than the original platform body. Therefore, although Structure 10 abuts Structure 74, its higher elevation foregrounds the former with respect to the latter. Further, unlike Structure 74, neither Structure 10 nor Structure 13 have any doors let into their rear walls, cutting off both access and sight-lines into the courtyard that contains Structure 11. Rather, the two structures together face only into the plaza area whose northwest boundary they form. This plaza area is bounded by other Bird Jaguar monuments, including Structure 22 (Bird Jaguar's monument to himself); Structure 21 (containing Bird Jaguar's lintels showing himself and two wives, and possibly Stela 35, a monument to his mother); Structure 8 (upon which was discovered a panel

[44] The verb (at E6) associated with Ahkal Mo' Naab's accession is not deciphered.

fragment recording his parentage statement (Tate 1992:161)); and Structure 9 (a building of unknown chronological placement). The plaza is also the point of entry for ascent to Bird Jaguar's massive and elaborately decorated Structure 33. According to the dates on the monuments associated with these buildings, the creation of this plaza together with Structure 33 starts with the refurbishment of Structure 22 at around 9.16.2.0.0, and proceeds with Structure 21 probably near 9.16.4.0.0, Structure 33 around 9.16.6.0.0, Structure 10 around 9.16.13.0.0, and Structure 13 somewhat after that: Bird Jaguar is dead by 9.17.1.0.0, eight years after the dedication of Structure 10. This dozen-year span commencing immediately after Bird Jaguar's accession thus sees a significant redefinition of this area of the site.

The text of the three lintels is relatively uncomplicated, although the date passage on Lintels 29 and 30 is extensive, spanning A1-G1, and contains calculations for the 819-day-count station. The Initial Series date is 9.12.17.12.10, the date of Bird Jaguar's birth, and the 819-day-count station is 37 days before it. From the record of Bird Jaguar's birth at H1, a distance number leads to his accession date (H4-G5), and another distance number takes us to the *och-k'ak'* ceremony (J4) for his named dwelling (I5-J5), on 9.16.13.0.0 2 Ajaw 8 Wo. The phrase (J4-L1) is a very standard dwelling dedication:

och-k'ak'	*K'inich Ayiin? ...Peten*	
fire enters	**Great Alligator? Island,**	
u-k'aba	*y-otoot*	*"Bird Jaguar"*
the name of	**the dwelling of**	**Bird Jaguar**

The reading of the dwelling name, Great Alligator?... Island, suggested by Stuart (pers. comm. 2003), is tentative, and of uncertain significance. The text finishes with a "future" reference to the 9.17.0.0.0 period-ending, which has thus not yet occurred at the time of dedication of the structure. In this text, as in many others, the architectural dedication is the narrative focus of the inscription. Although the text is not particularly informative, it is notable that the dwelling is dedicated on a period-ending, which is unusual.

To me the most striking thing about Structure 10 is its location and the relation of that location to the other *otoot* structures on the site. The final section tries to make sense of the spatial and temporal placement of dwellings in the site core of Yaxchilán.

III.6 Spatio-temporal discourses in the Yaxchilán site core

I wish to suggest that Maya dwellings have, at least from an emic standpoint, such a markedly animate presence that they can be considered to participate in the same kind of referential spatial practices as Maya actors. As animate, "bodied" things, and as the places to which the identity (or an aspect thereof) of a person is assigned or anchored, dwellings may be said to possess an *-iknal* as a type of corporeal field that was taken into consideration by the Maya in constructing their inhabited space. Hanks describes the *-iknal* in Yucatecan linguistic and spatial practice as "an inalienably possessed noun stem which denotes the proximal region around the object or individual functioning as possessor" (Hanks 1990:91). Stuart (1997a:10) first documented the presence of the cognate *-ichnal* in the Classic texts as a way of talking about the mutual presence of ancient actors, usually in ritual sequences. For example, a king can perform a scattering rite *y-ichnal* "in the presence of" (more literally, "within the visual field of") a series of gods, registering their presence at his performance (ibid.).

In modern Yucatecan practice, *-iknal* can operate in two ways. When possessed by a human actor, it can be equated with the home or habitual place, such that one can say *ko'ox tin w-iknal*, "let's go to my *iknal*," in order to invite the addressee to one's home. It also, however, operates as a mobile, rather than a static, field of action, "related to an agent the way one's shadow or perceptual field is" (Hanks 1990:91). When a person is physically at home, her *-iknal* encompasses the inner space of the structure, incorporating her field of vision; whereas in the company of another person or persons, the *-iknal* incorporates the other interlocutor as well, such that it denotes a "joint interactive corporeal field containing reciprocal perspectives" (1990:92). Significantly, an *-iknal* can be possessed not just by a human noun but also by an animal, a tree, a well, or a moving vehicle (1990:92). Although Hanks does not note this, these are all things that have associated souls and spirits.[45]

Hanks makes it clear that the egocentric aspect of *-iknal*, which could be said to have a body-centered or "figure-ground" structure, and the sociocentric aspect of *-iknal* that emerges between two or more interlocutors, *join* to create the communicative practice that is deictic reference: they are not thinkable separately. "To engage in referential practice is to locate oneself in the world, to occupy a position, however fleetingly, in one or more sociocultural fields" (1990:514). In the context of buildings as more or less stable entities over time, it seems perhaps more natural to attribute to them the first level of *-iknal* as a body-centered frame space, and less natural to attribute to them the kind of emergent and fleeting level of *-iknal* as a socially defined ground dependent on the position of mobile interlocutors. Houston and Taube have recently made a similar observation in their discussion of the creative power and moral valuation of sight: they call on Hanks' discussion of *-iknal* to posit that Classic Maya buildings constitute props for the creation of meaningful social fields by the *-ichnal* of gods and lords whose sensory apparatus were accorded a special power, and serve to "bind the *-ichnal*" as habitual place "to focal spots on the axes that configured Maya buildings" (2000:289).

Nevertheless, it is the privilege and the advantage of archaeologists over ethnographers to watch the physical configuration of lived spaces change over long periods of time. Maya courtyards by definition create a space of sociocentric interlocution. It is this intuition that allows Julia Hendon (1991), for example, to talk about the "dominant" structure in a courtyard: although there are physical criteria for the identification of such a structure, such as degree of elaboration, quality of masonry, height, etc., the classification is an inherently *social* one. Even as archaeologists, we feel compelled to project a kind of agency onto ancient buildings, to anthropomorphize the ruined

[45] For cars as endowed with soul and agency among the Tzotzil, see Gossen (1994:555).

courtyards; and although it may happen more slowly than it does in the daily life of a person, the space of interlocution in the lived space of a Classic Maya center *is* modified over time, notably by the construction of new buildings. Insofar as the Classic Maya dwellings of Yaxchilán are their own sorts of animate bodies, they possess the first kind of *-iknal*, but they also participate in an ongoing conversation with other buildings like them that changes as the physical layout of the site changes: the quality and shape of the corporeal field will shift over time.

I do not mean to suggest that Classic Maya dwellings are structures with their own volition. I do mean to suggest that as places that are clearly very strongly and purposefully identified with their owners, they become extensions of human bodies on a long-term basis: dwelling studies across the world demonstrate that, next to the body itself, the dwelling is a person's most intimate and proximal daily environment. It is the site of extensive two-way mapping between body and house, and is frequently thought of as one's shell, skin, or garments (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:43). For the Maya, this total mapping of body to house, or body to temple, has been noted by Taube (1998:464-66) and Miller (2003:212); one of the best examples is the Jaina figurine that depicts a house roof as the headdress of the human figure beneath it.

Even beyond death of an owner, dwelling structures can be expected to influence the spatial configuration of a site as semi-permanent interlocutors. The long-term identification of person and place is of course not a new idea; rather, it has long been essential to the understanding of ancestor veneration in the Maya area and elsewhere. Further, beyond their identification with particular persons, certain buildings seem to have identities as specific cosmological beings. While architecture of course provides the frame space for social interaction, the clear attribution of personality to buildings by the ancient Maya very likely influenced the long-term evolution of city spaces.

Finally, I note with Hanks that "All space in Maya is embedded in one or another diachronic process" (1990:390); that is, spaces can be "adapted to the purpose of temporal reckoning insofar as they incorporate sequential relations of order or relative distance on an axis," giving them "temporal as well as spatial contours" (Hanks 1990:391). A good example is milpa space: the word used to refer to it as a place to which one goes or from which one returns changes each year as it moves through the cycle of bush to fallow. *xla-saak'ab,* "old/disheveled cornstalks" describes a field that may still be in use but is past its second harvest and "advanced in the sequence of productive years": here, the physical and qualitative description also situates the milpa in a temporal cycle (1990:361). In a court space such as that at Yaxchilán, which contains the dwellings of known royal people, the *temporality* – the sequentiality – that buildings encode in their *spatiality* emerges from the movement of generations.

What I mean to claim for Yaxchilán is that we have a set of five structures that are not only classified identically in indigenous terminology but also constitute a structure type in which personal identity inheres in a particularly potent and particularly bodily way. They are therefore "actors" that can be compared to one another and that can be seen as engaged in a long-term interlocutive sphere. We should then expect to see social concerns and structuring factors such as gender, generation, and hierarchy played out spatially and temporally by these buildings. The fact that they are also inscribed means that their capacity as interlocutors *persists* over a long period and reinforces the memory of those who build after their owners disappear.

Structures 44 and 23 would have existed at the same time: their *och-k'ak'* ceremonies are only 100 days apart. Notably, Structure 44, Itzamnaaj B'alam's dwelling, is on the second highest point of the city, and its visual sphere would have encompassed nearly the entire site in front of it, as well as the river and the area across the river, now in Guatemala. Inside the building, or embodied *as* the building, the ruler would have had the kind of total and powerful vision that Houston and Taube (2000) discuss as features of a ruler's gaze.

Structure 23, the dwelling of Itzamnaah B'alam's wife, Lady Xook, is within his domain, as described in its texts, but is located far down on the first bench of the site, on the main court: its visual field is independent of that of most other structures on the site (see site map in Fig. 1). There is a paired quality to these structures that is reinforced by their ownership by deity impersonators, by the maize god and the moon goddess respectively. These two gods have recently been described as very closely related entities, differently-gendered doppelgangers with slightly androgynous qualities (Taube 1994a:64-68; Bassie-Sweet 2000).

Some twelve years later in Itzamnaaj B'alam's reign, the dwelling of Ix Sak B'iyaan Ixik Ch'ok was dedicated, built at the lowest point of the site, below the first bench and indeed sunk into a courtyard behind the Structure 74 platform. The difference in elevation between the king's dwelling and the women's dwellings is notable, as is the difference in location and elevation between the dwellings of Lady Xook and Ix Sak B'iyaan as women almost certainly of two different generations and different statuses in the king's court. The location and elevation of the three buildings, Structures 44, 23, and 11, suggest that during Itzamnaaj B'alam's reign, both gender and generation are informing the placement of the buildings.

Upon his accession fourteen years after the dedication of Structure 11, Bird Jaguar very quickly altered the aspect of the main court and the acropoleis. One of his first acts was to "seat" himself in the refurbished dwelling of "Moon Skull," whose *otoot* he must have begun altering long before his accession date, creating a seat of power for himself directly adjacent to the *otoot* of Lady Xook. Within five years, he constructed Structure 42 on the West Acropolis, a building of nearly identical plan to Structure 44 but notably not inscribed as an *otoot*. Rather, the *otoot* that remains to us, Structure 10, was on the much lower main court on the southern edge of the space that he began to reframe with the refurbishment of Structure 22. It may be that at this time, his father, Itzamnaaj B'alam, was recognized as a powerful ancestor, such that the location of his dwelling on a "sky"-high acropolis was particularly appropriate; it may not have been suitable for Bird Jaguar to dedicate a dwelling of his own in the same area. Although this last is speculative,

temporality and generation are at least roughly encoded in the relative vertical and horizontal location of these *otoot* structures.

Bird Jaguar treated the *otoots* of Lady Xook and Ix Sak B'iyaan very differently. Three years after his accession, he constructed or refurbished a small building, Structure 24, at a right angle to Structure 23 and installed lintels in its doors that commemorate a fire-entering ritual into Lady Xook's tomb. The creation of Structure 24 made Structure 23 the "dominant structure" of a small court space, and, while its texts recount the death dates of Itzamnaaj B'alam and Bird Jaguar's mother as well as of Lady Xook, the narrative focus of the text and the spatial placement of the structure clearly constitute an act of respect for Lady Xook's dwelling and physical remains. In contrast, rather than paying homage to Ix Sak B'iyaan's Structure 11 *otoot*, Bird Jaguar built his own, Structure 10, so that it both towered above Structure 11 and turned its back on it, cutting off both physical and visual access from Structure 10 itself and partially sealing off Structure 11 and its small courtyard from the main plaza. Ix Sak B'iyaan, apparently a young woman near the time of Itzamnaaj B'alam's death, was probably still living at this time and may have been of Bird Jaguar's generation. The relative spatial positioning of these two structures may well have had to do with both social and gender concerns. The construction and dedication of Structure 10 might have been a particularly pointed statement if Ix Sak B'iyaan had anything to do with Bird Jaguar's delayed accession to the throne of Yaxchilán.

Complex spatial negotiations also take place within Oxkutzcab *solares,* and, in comparison to the dynamics of the Yaxchilán site core, they are somewhat subtler. For example, elder male household heads divide up their house plots between the nuclear families of their sons, and the boundaries between these spaces are marked both physically and behaviorally (Hanks 1990:295-351). Delineators of boundaries between spaces shared by adjoining nuclear families can include actual physical boundary markers such as piles of stone, as well as the "invisible axes along which the house wall, canal and gardens are aligned." The boundaries can also be created and enforced, however, by ways of greeting other household members at thresholds, or by the aggressive behavior of one's dogs within a single solar (Hanks 1990:325).

In short, as actors with an *-iknal*, and as animates infused with a potent and "person-al" identity, Classic Maya dwellings at Yaxchilán may play out significant spatial and temporal discourses that reflect political, social, and gender dynamics in the court. That Maya structures are involved in complex webs of reference is not a new idea. For example, Peter Harrison has looked at the layout of buildings at Tikal and elsewhere by suggesting that the position of later buildings is related to that of earlier ones through networks of right triangles whose angles are calculated from the axial points of the central doorways of the older buildings (Harrison 1994, 1999:187-88). What is most interesting about this idea to me is that it provides an explanation for the Maya's lack of attention to visible right angles by re-directing *our* attention to an underlying geometry that is both spatial and temporal. Nevertheless, Harrison does not try to situate this kind of geometry as a meaningful practice within the larger body of Maya thought. Hanks account of *-iknal*, on the other hand, provides an analytical framework for thinking about Maya architecture that takes into account peculiarly Maya ways of viewing the world. While there may in the short term be little of immediate value in this framework for explaining the layout of Maya site centers, the continuing refinements in the understanding of Maya texts should in the future provide evidence for alternative organizing principles. For example, there is some indication that the relationship of buildings to one another within the context of a site core may conform to a hierarchy inherent in the human body, as suggested by the term *ohltan* in reference to Lady Xook's *otoot.*

III.7 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have shown that women have dwellings in epicentral Yaxchilán that are characterized as central places within the domain of the king, and that the dwellings play out gendered spatial hierarchies of enclosure that are discernable in ethnographic contexts. Further, women's dwellings were probably loci for their independent action within the Yaxchilán court. Lady Xook's dwelling may be characterized as a literal "heart" of the site, suggesting the possibility of an anatomical organizational logic not only for dwellings, but for entire sites. Maca (2002:289-294) has in fact argued that the site plan of Copán is organized as a representation of the bacab or pawahtun deity, a very important deity at Copán; that particular structure groups represent the head and heart; and that the sacbes function as linking limbs. These hypotheses deserve a great deal more exploration, especially from the epigraphic standpoint.

I have also tried to show that dwellings are the seats of a special kind of identity for royal Mayas, as they are for Maya people today, for whom one idiom for being at home is being "seated." As I note in Chapter 2, the phenomenon of residing (Latin *re-sidere*) as a reflexive kind of "sitting," and dwelling as "staying," are intimately related in our culture as well. I think that the the material from Yaxchian indicates, however, that it is necessary as archaeologists to separate dwelling from residing in the Maya world. We need to use "residence" archaeologically as a way to characterize the locus of everyday subsistence behaviors; whereas "dwelling" can have a separate and long-term meaning apart from the actual locus of a person's residence and beyond the death of the individual. Structure 44 is an important example of the non-residential character of an *otoot* and the possibility of "occupation" by an aspect of the identity of a human personage; it also functions as an explicit instance, along with the Starry Deer Caiman dwelling of Pakal, of a dwelling that is a specific animate being and a passageway or opening into other realms of the cosmos.

Finally, I argue that an understanding of Maya site plans will probably have to involve an understanding of Maya buildings as actors and as possessors of the same corporeal *-iknal* fields that accompany human beings and gods. In those few cases in which sufficient textual material is present, as at Yaxchilán, we may be able to elucidate some of the organizational principles, such as gender and generation, that informed the layout of Maya cities.

CHAPTER IV: OXKINTOK AND THE EARLY CLASSIC TEXTS OF GRUPO AH CANUL

IV.1 Introduction

The architectural inscriptions from the site of Oxkintok are laconic, and the substantive information they provide about specific people, places, and rituals is limited by brevity, erosion, and re-use of early monuments in later contexts. Nevertheless, they are of particular interest because of their late fifth-century dates: the Oxkintok *otoot* dedication lintels are the earliest examples of a tradition of formulaic architectural inscription that persists for at least four centuries. Further, the extensive and well-published archaeological work at the site provides contextual information that is unmatched at any other site, and allows for the development of a series of archaeologically testable hypotheses.

Oxkintok (Fig. 4.1) occupies a low plain in the midst of the Puuc hills of northwest Yucatan, about fifty kilometers south of Mérida near the town of Maxcanú. The city plan evolved over several centuries, beginning with a probable Late Formative settlement that was covered over and almost obliterated by later construction. The sizable city that blossomed in the Early Classic and all of its subsequent versions are striking in lacking a single central or paired set of main plazas. Instead, four large platforms (Grupos Dzib, May, Ah Canul, and Millet) support complexes of buildings, including vaulted and pyramidal structures; and each of these four groups has a very different character. A north-south axis of sorts was formed by two other large groups situated to the north and south of the central cluster at a distance of several hundred meters. An unusual feature at Oxkintok is one of only two labyrinths known from the Maya area, the "Satunsat," an Early Classic structure located between Grupo May and Grupo Dzib.

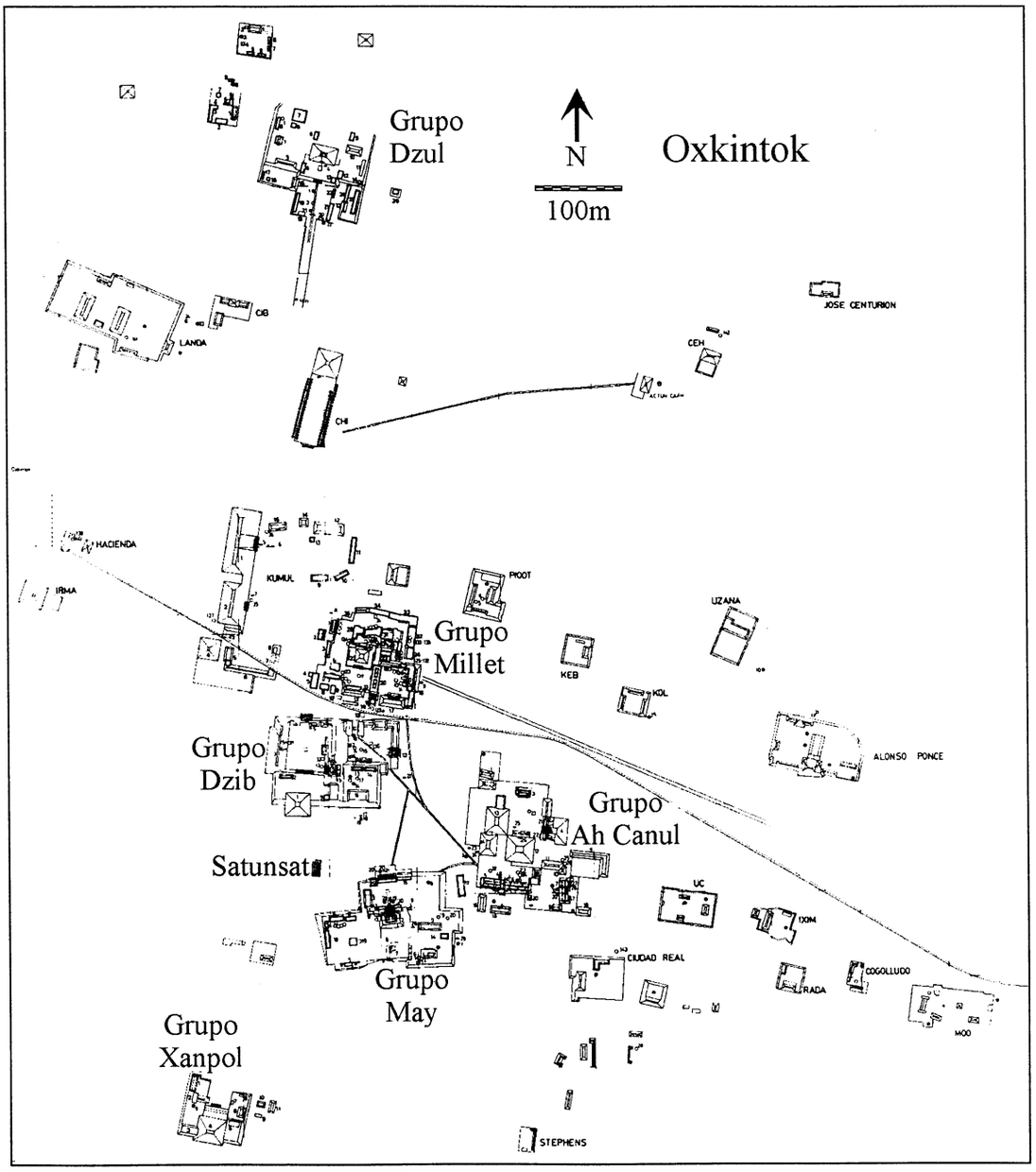

Fig. 4.1 Map of Oxkintok. Adapted from Rivera Dorado (1996).

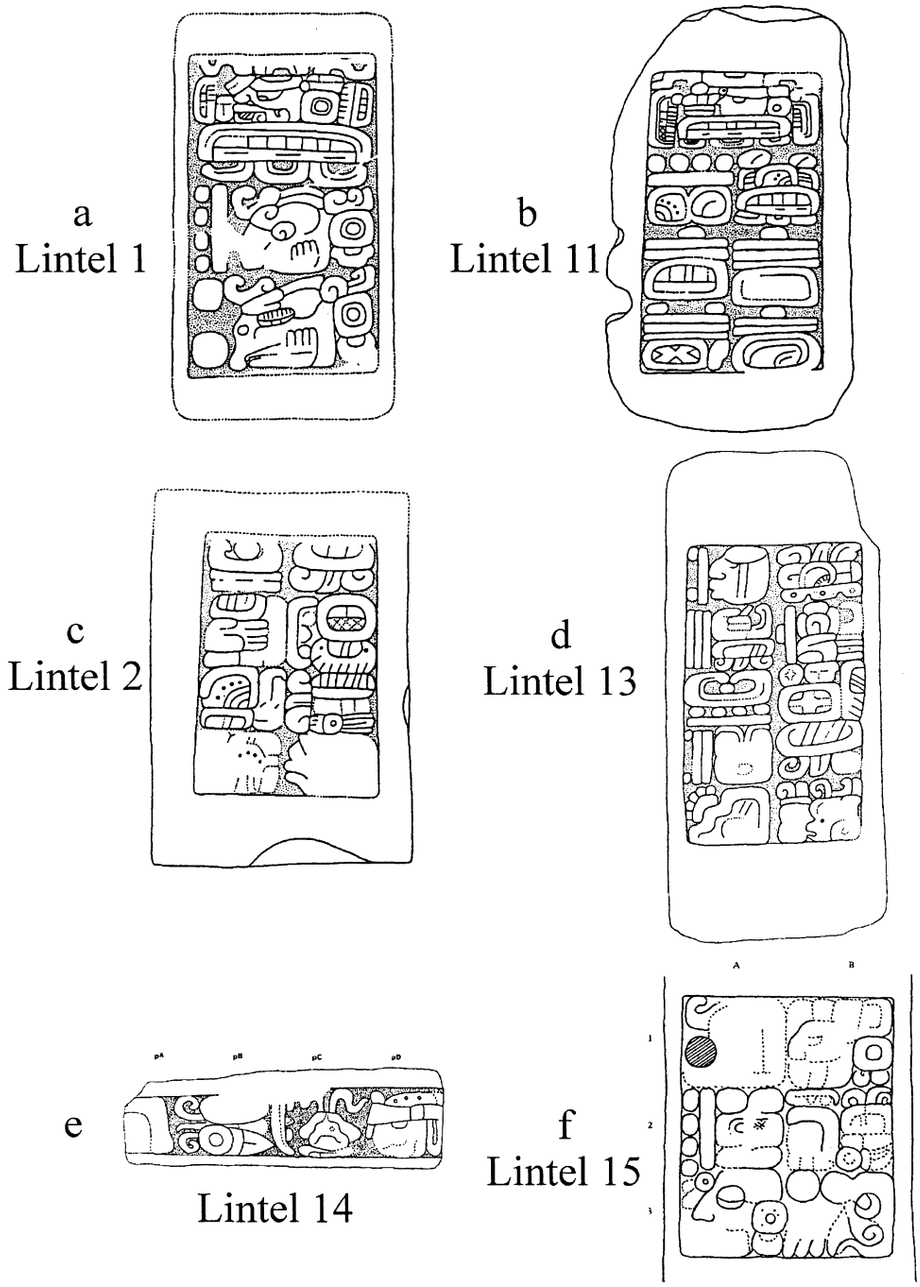

Fig. 4.2 The six Early Classic lintels of Grupo Ah Canul, Oxkintok: (a) Lintel 1; (b) Lintel 11; (c) Lintel 2; (d) Lintel 13; (e) Lintel 14; (f) Lintel 15. Drawings by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

Bursts of construction took place at the transition from the Early Classic to the Middle Classic, and again from the Late Classic Proto-Puuc period to the Terminal Classic Puuc period. During this last episode of building, sacbes were constructed that both connected all of the core groups and radiated north, south, east, and west from this center. Although building activity ceased in the Terminal Classic, Postclassic habitation and ritual activity is documented in several of the central platforms; and the site remains a part of the political, economic, and religious life of the Maya people who inhabit the modern towns that surround it.

The site was mentioned in the work of Fray Antonio Real (1873), and was visited by John Lloyd Stephens, who provides an entertaining account of his encounter with the Satunsat labyrinth (1963, Vol. 1:124-129). Shook (1940) explored, mapped, and conducted some excavation at the site under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution; and Pollock (1980) published extensive notes on the site's architecture and sculpture in his volume on the Puuc region. The archaeology and architecture of the site have further been addressed by Andrews IV in his *Handbook of Middle American Indians* article (1965) and by G.F. Andrews' book on Puuc architectural styles (1986). The inscriptions and sculpture have been treated by Morley (1937-38), Proskouriakoff (1950), and Coggins (1972); and Brainerd's 1958 work on Yucatecan ceramics dealt with its pottery. The major scientific investigation of the city and the most

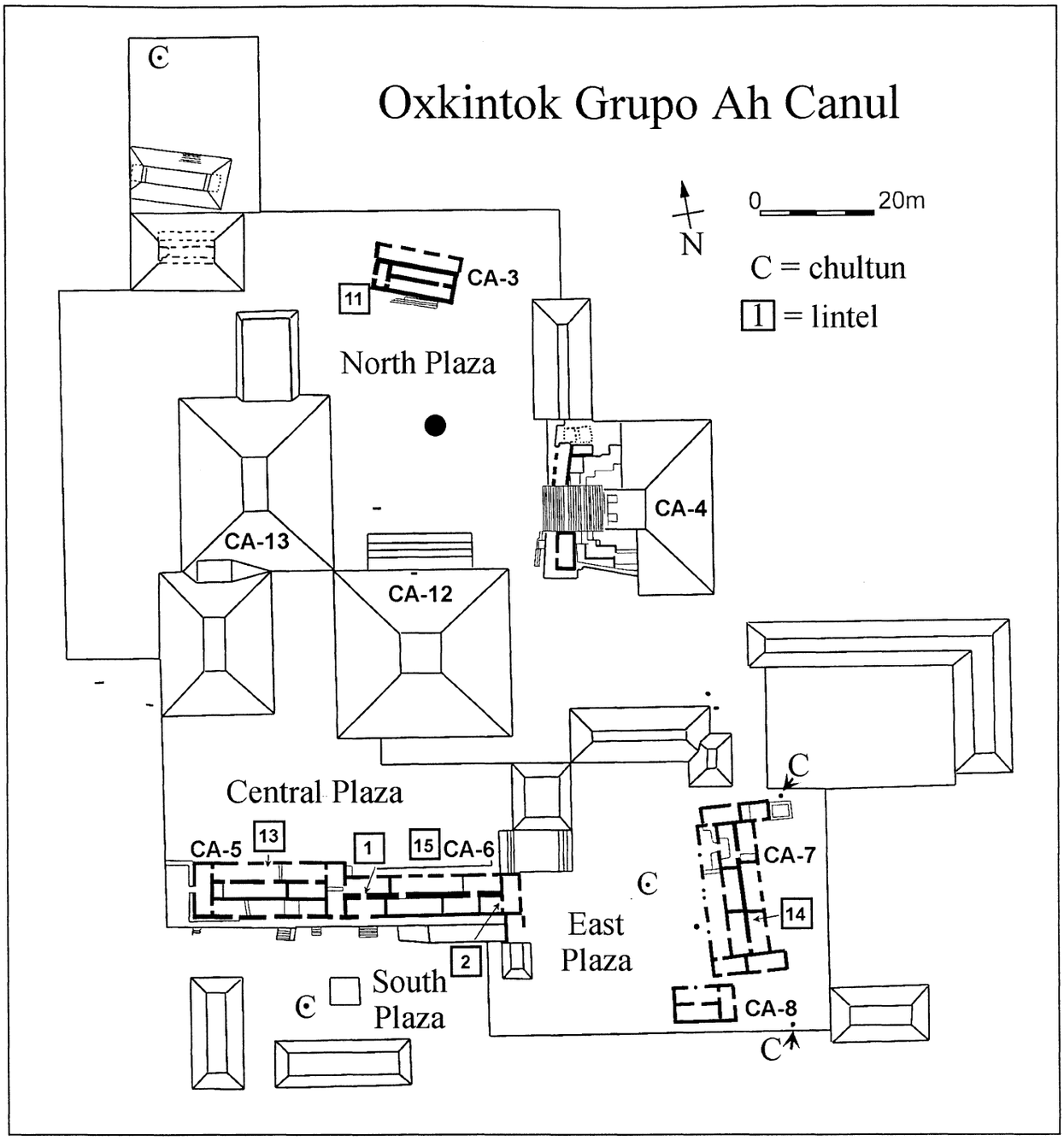

Fig. 4.3 Grupo Ah Canul, Oxkintok, showing the locations of the main buildings and inscribed monuments. Redrawn from Vidal L. (1999:14).

important source for this chapter is the four-volume publication of the five seasons of work (1986-1991) undertaken by the Misión Arqueológica de España en México (MAEM) under the direction of Miguel Rivera Dorado.

The carved monuments at the site include fifteen lintels, thirty stelae, a hieroglyphic stairway on Structure 2B11, a carved entryway on Structure 3C10, stucco glyphs from Grupo May, and a number of miscellaneous pieces from both Early and Late Classic contexts. Many of the stelae – all Late Classic but one – are plain or contain no texts. Only five preserve legible portions of texts, and none of these are relevant for the current study. Neither the hieroglyphic stair, the carved entryway, nor the stucco fragments (all apparently Late Classic) contain legible architectural information; and the content of the nine Late Classic lintels is either purely iconographic or confined to short captions that give the personal names of persons portrayed on the lintel undersides.

This chapter focuses instead on six of the seven Early Classic texts that have been discovered at the site.[46] These six monuments (Fig. 4.2) come from Grupo Ah Canul (Fig. 4.3),

[46] The Early Classic text I do not include is Miscellaneous 18, a fragment of a Long Count date from Str. DZ-7, Grupo Dzib. The date may be 9.2.10.0.0, AD 487, consonant with the other Early Classic glyphic dates (García C. and Lacadena 1987:93).

one of the site's major platform groups. All of the texts are carved on stone door lintels datable to the k'atun between AD 475 and 495, and all are related to house dedications. Like many Yucatecan sites, door texts are an extremely important genre at Oxkintok. Five of the texts appear on the undersides of the monuments, while Lintel 14 preserves text only on the front edge. The interpretation of these lintels is at once complicated and enriched by the fact that none of them were discovered in their original Early Classic contexts, but instead had been re-used or re-deposited in contexts relating to later periods. García C. and Lacadena address in a 1990 paper the inscriptions of the four lintels that had been discovered at that time, including Lintels 1, 2, 11, and 13, and they evaluate the possible interconnections of the inscriptions on each. Their paper will be a basic reference point for this chapter. Since they wrote their evaluation, two more Early Classic inscribed lintels have been discovered, Lintels 14 and 15; García C. has provided a brief (1994) update incorporating those inscriptions and revisions of some of the interpretations in the earlier publication.

In what follows, I first describe the epigraphic content and interpretation of each monument. I then present the texts in their archaeological contexts, and make a case for the initial placement of the lintels as well as for the possible rationales, or lack thereof, for their re-use in later contexts. I argue that all the lintels are likely to come from the North Plaza of Grupo Ah Canul, its Early Classic core, and that at least some of them were originally in Structure CA-3, an ancestral residence. I then suggest that these lintels were re-used in later residential, rather than ceremonial, contexts, as protective talismans for the later inhabitants, who probably understood their textual content and original provenance.

IV.2 The texts of six Early Classic lintels from Grupo Ah Canul

Of the six lintels, two (1 and 11) begin with the Initial Series Introductory Glyph and present the first part of a Long Count date (Fig. 4.2a,b); two others (2 and 13) begin at different points in the Lunar Series and proceed through a dedicatory phrase (Fig. 4.2c,d); and two more (14 and 15) present partial or whole dedicatory phrases with no accompanying calendrical information (Fig. 4.2e,f). That is, none of the lintels forms a complete text in itself, but instead represents a portion of a text spread over two or more monuments.

The question naturally arises whether any of the lintel texts are designed to be read together. García C. and Lacadena (1990) evaluated this question for Lintels 1, 2, 11, and 13, the monuments that were discovered at that time, and concluded that none of the possible "joins" were provable. They suggested, however, that Lintels 1 and 2 form part of a single (though discontinuous) text, while Lintels 11 and 13 form part of another single, continuous text. The discovery of Lintels 14 and 15 sheds no further light upon the question of textual interconnections: both of these lintels must for the moment be considered "stand-alone" monuments, since their texts contain no calendrical information to connect them to the others, and since both contain dedicatory phrases that are already presented on Lintels 2 and 13.

IV.2.1 Lintel 1

Lintel 1 (Fig. 4.4) was documented by H.E.D. Pollock and E.M. Shook in 1940 *in situ* over an interior doorway (Door 7) of Structure CA-6 (Shook 1940:166; Pollock 1980:xxiv,301). The text is composed of three large glyphs that record the beginning of an early Initial Series date using bar-and-dot numerals with head-variants for the time periods. The introductory glyph for the Initial Series contains the month patron Pax, and is followed by 9.2., a date initially thought by Shook, Morley, and Mathews to correspond to the k'atun ending 9.2.0.0.0 4 Ajaw 13 Wo (García C. and Lacadena 1990:160). This hypothesis has had to be rejected because the month patron in the ISIG corresponds not to the month Wo, but to Pax (García C. and Lacadena 1990:161). The lintel cannot record a period-ending date, because no period-endings in k'atun 9.2 fall in the month Pax. That leaves the possibility that Lintel 1 could be the beginning of a text that crosses an undiscovered lintel and then picks up on either Lintel 2 or Lintel 13. In any case, Lintel 1's date must fall between the first and last occurrences of the month Pax in k'atun 9.2 – between 9.2.0.13.7 11 Manik 0 Pax and 9.2.19.0.16 9 Cib 19 Pax (García C. and Lacadena 1990:162).

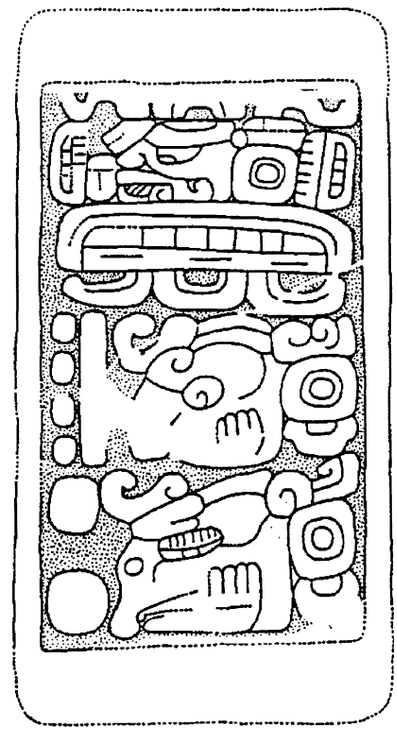

Fig. 4.4 Oxkintok Lintel 1. Drawing by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

IV.2.2 Lintel 2

Lintel 2 (Fig. 4.5) was documented along with Lintel 1 *in situ* over another interior doorway (Door 10) of Structure CA-6. Its text begins with Glyph A, the last glyph in the Lunar Series and the indicator of the length of the lunar month, here given as thirty days. The inscription continues at B1 with the introductory glyph of the Primary Standard Series followed by a standard dedicatory phrase. The verb of

the phrase (A2) is *k'al*. Unfortunately, the condition of the monument does not permit us to determine whether the verbal suffix is **-la-ja** *-laj* or **-wa-ni** *-wan*. Better preservation would have provided interesting data for Hruby and Child, whose (2004) work suggests that the intransitive positional *-wan* suffix is a relatively late Chontal import into the language of the script.

PSSIG **K'AL-wa/la-ni/ja** **U-pa-b'a-TUN-IL**
PSSIG *k'al-wan/-laj* *u-pab'?-tuun-il*
[Intro] is bound(?) the [lintel?] of

ya-OTOT-ti ?-pu-?
y-atoot ..-pu ...
the dwelling of [Somebody]"

Three aspects of this text warrant extra comment. First, one expects the dedicated object to be the lintel of the dwelling, as so commonly occurs in the texts of Chichén Itzá, where "lintel" is rendered as *pakab'-tuun-il* or *pakab'-ti'-il;* here on Lintel 2, however, the expression at B2-A3 seems to be rendered *pab'-tuun-il*. I doubt that a scribal error would be made in a context this simple; rather, erosion may have effaced a **-ka** syllable, orthe collocation may represent an instance of underspelling. Second, the spelling of the *otoot* glyph at B3 as **ya-OTOT-ti** is an archaic spelling giving *y-atoot,* reflecting the proto-Mayan *atyooty* (Kaufman and Norman 1984:378). This spelling, like the *atoot* on the walls of the Early Classic Rio Azul tombs, is consistent with the early date of these lintels, and is repeated on Lintels 14 and 15. Third, the name of the dwelling owner is given at A4-B4; it is effaced, but includes a **-pu** syllable and a head sign.

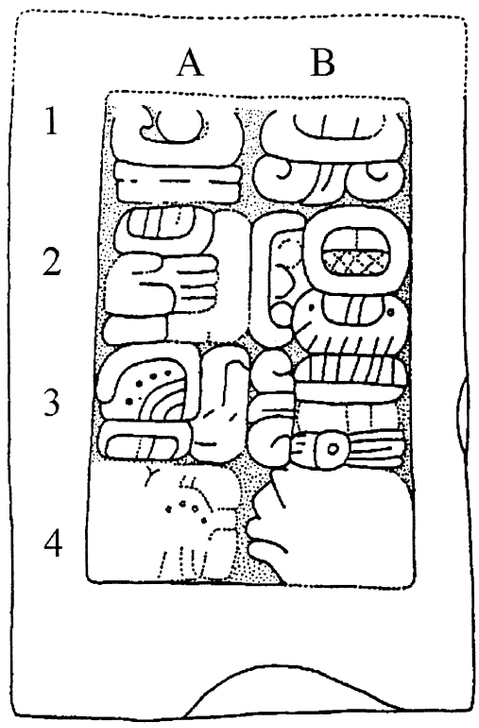

Fig. 4.5 Oxkintok Lintel 2. Drawing by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

The text immediately preceding this lintel would have had to include the rest of the Lunar Series up to Glyph X,[47] but no extant lintel fits that description. The final glyph on Lintel 2 could conceivably represent the end of the text, since it is a personal name and implies no necessary continuation.

IV.2.3 Lintel 11

Lintel 11 (Fig. 4.6) was discovered in 1987 near the southwest corner of Structure CA-3, in the surface layer of the rubble around the building (Ligorred P. 1989:9; Vidal L. 1999:25): it thus has no architectural context except for its spatial association with that structure. The reading of the lintel is unproblematic. It gives another Initial Series date, beginning with the ISIG and continuing with the date 9.2.11.16.17 (February 17, 487), rendered in bar-and-dot numerals with standard logographic glyphs for the time periods. It ends with the tz'olkin date 11 Kaban, the appropriate position for this Long Count date; 15 Pax would be the expected haab position for the same Long Count. That this lintel is the beginning of a longer text is almost certain, since it includes neither a Lunar Series nor verbal glyphs.

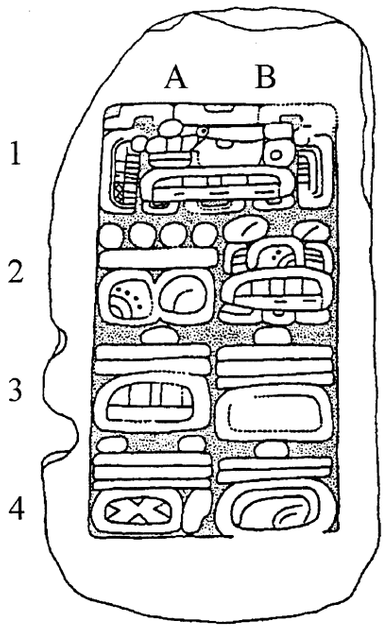

Fig. 4.6 Oxkintok Lintel 11. Drawing by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

IV.2.4 Lintel 13

Lintel 13 (Fig. 4.7) was discovered in 1989 where it had fallen into the central doorway of Structure CA-5, nearly 100 meters south of Structure CA-3 at the opposite end of the Ah Canul platform (Vidal L. 1999:50). Structurally, the text of Lintel 13 begins where it should if it were a direct continuation of the text of Lintel 11, the hypothesis supported by García C. and Lacadena (1990).

[47] Some Early Classic Lunar Series dates (e.g., Rio Azul Tomb 1) omit Glyphs X and B, such that the preceding text might end with Glyph C (David Stuart, personal communication, 2002).

Lintel 13 begins with Glyphs G and F of the Lunar Series at A1-B1: these glyphs give the correct corresponding "lord of the night," G4, for the Initial Series on Lintel 11 (García C. and Lacadena 1990:165). The rest of the lunar information on Lintel 13 presents some problems, however, both internally and with respect to the information on Lintel 11. First, glyphs A2-B2 give Glyphs D and C of the Lunar Series, and indicate that 15 days have passed since the beginning of the sixth lunation; and glyph A3, which is Glyph X of the Lunar Series, gives a lunar month length of 29 days. While the information at A2-A3 (Glyphs D, C, and X of the Lunar Series) is internally consistent – i.e., the sixth lunar month does indeed have 29 days – it is not consistent with the Long Count date on Lintel 11 (García C. and Lacadena 1990:165). García C. and Lacadena see this as a small problem given that the dates of these lintels fall outside Teeple's "Period of Uniformity" for lunar calculations, 9.12.15.0.0 - 9.16.5.0.0 (ibid.). Second, the coefficient of the haab position, given at A4 as 12 Pax, should be 15 Pax if it corresponds to the Lintel 11 Long Count date. García C. and Lacadena hypothesize that the Early Classic Oxkintok region used a different Calendar Round correlation than that established in the southern lowlands, and note that it is also possible that the drop of one coefficient in the haab notations of the Puuc region during the Late and Terminal Classic might have an antecedent in the Early Classic (1990:166). Unfortunately, neither of these reasonable hypotheses can be tested against evidence, since there are no other Early Classic inscriptions in northwest Yucatan that contain appropriate Long Count and lunar information.

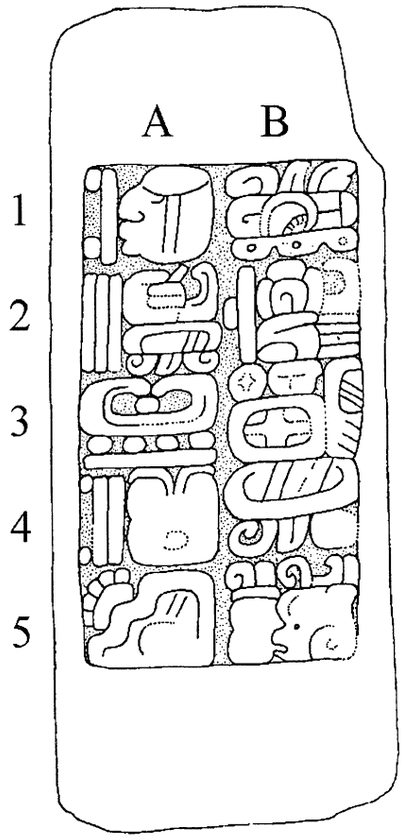

Fig. 4.7 Oxkintok Lintel 13. Drawing by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

The idea that Lintel 13 is a continuation of Lintel 11 is a reasonable one; the discovery of new Early Classic texts may someday clarify the matter. Groups of dedication texts from other sites show that the dedication of a building or group of buildings can involve events spread out over several days or months, a possibility conceivably reflected in the Oxkintok lintels. As García C. and Lacadena note (1990:161), two dates occur in between 9.2.0.0.0 and 9.3.0.0.0 that would be consistent with Glyph G4 and a haab of 12 Pax as given on Lintel 13: these are 9.2.8.15.19 and 9.2.18.0.4. However, the possibility that Lintel 1 is the beginning of the Lintel 13 text remains open: the missing lintel that connected them would include four calendrical glyphs citing the *tuun*, winal, and *k'in* positions and the *tzolk'in* date (ibid.), a viable hypothesis, especially if the glyphs were the same size as those on Lintel 1.

The remaining three glyphs of Lintel 13 are the beginnings of a standard dedicatory phrase, beginning with the ISIG at B4. A5 is the *t'ab'* verb in its God N variant, followed at B5 by the name of the object of the dedication, **SAK SUUTZ'(?)-NAL** *Sak Suutz'(?)-nal*, or "White Bat(?) Place." Since three of the other five lintels refer to dwelling dedications, it is most likely that *Sak Suutz'(?)-nal* is the name of a building, and it recalls the *4/Chan Suutz'-nal* name of Moon Jaguar's Early Classic *otoot* on Lintel 21 at Yaxchilán (Fig. 4.8a). Color designations such as the *sak* "white" that modifies *Suutz'(?)-nal* are found in other dwelling names, such as that of the *otoot* in the Tablet of 96 Glyphs at Palenque (Fig. 4.8b).

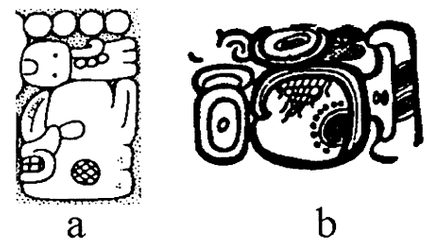

Fig. 4.8 Dwelling names: (a) *4 Suutz'(?)-nal* (Yaxchilán Lintel 23); (b) *Sak Nuk Naah* (Palenque, Tablet of the 96 Glyphs).

The structure of the Oxkintok Lintel 13 phrase follows the formula *[PSSIG]- [dedicatory verb] - [dwelling name]- u-k'aba y-otoot* found at many other sites, and shows the very early establishment of this tradition of formulaic architectural dedicatory texts. If there is a text that follows Lintel 13, its first glyph would probably have been either *u-k'aba* "its name," or *y-otoot* "his/her dwelling."

IV.2.5 Lintel 14

Lintel 14 (Fig. 4.9) is a fragmentary text carved on the edge of a much damaged stone that was discovered in 1988, set into a bench in Room 9 of Structure CA-7 (Valiente C. 1989:38). The hieroglyphs are Early Classic, and the stone appears to have been a lintel which was, at some point after its initial use, broken at each end and hollowed out on its inferior surface to serve as a *haltun*[48] or *metate* (Vidal L.

[48] *Haltun* is the name given to blocks of stone in which troughs have been hollowed out. It is thought that they were made to hold rainwater, but their function and significance are not clearly

1999:110). According to García C. and Lacadena (1989:129), the underside still preserves the remains of carved relief. The text fairly clearly begins **[U]-K'ABA ya-OTOT-ti** *u-k'aba y-atoot* "the name of the dwelling." This expression is followed by the name of the "owner" of the house recorded as a parentage statement, using the "helmeted *ajaw*" child-of-father glyph. The father's name is represented by only its initial glyph, and it is not readable. This is the only instance of which I am aware in which a *y-otoot* phrase is followed directly by a parentage statement. It will be noted that Lintel 14's text is an appropriate continuation of Lintel 13's. That Lintel 14 truly belongs to the Lintel 13 inscription is doubtful: it would be unusual for the text to jump from the underside of one lintel to the front edge of another.

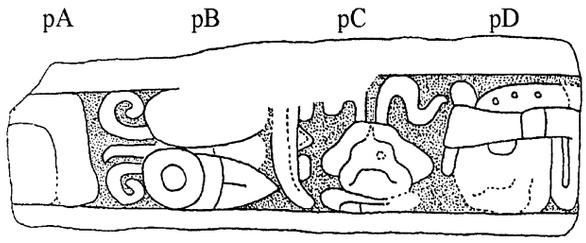

Fig. 4.9 Oxkintok Lintel 14. Drawing by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

IV.2.6 Lintel 15

Lintel 15 (Fig. 4.10) was discovered in 1988, buried in front of the central door of Structure CA-6; it lay just underneath the stucco floor covering the platform that extends to the north of the building (Vidal L. 1989:22-23). Although it contains no calendrical information, the archaic **ya-** prefix in its *otoot* glyph (B2b) and the style of its head glyphs identify it as Early Classic (García and Lacadena 1989:131). Its six glyphs record a standard dedicatory phrase. The first glyph at A1 is very eroded, but its photograph together with the drawing of the text suggest that it is probably the God N head variant of the *t'ab'* verb, with protruding chin and "forelock" – the same forelock shape can be found on the baktun and k'atun head variants on Lintel 1. B1 and A2 contain the names of the structure: lengthy or double house names are known from other *otoot* inscriptions. B2 follows with *u-k'aba y-atoot* "is the name of his/her dwelling" and A3-B3 record the name of the dwelling owner. The inscription thus conforms to the usual formula:

t'ab'[ay?]	*..-.. b'olon-..-.. u-k'aba*
[verb]	**[dwelling name] u-k'aba**
y-atoot	*..-..-k'uk'?*
-y-otoot	**[name of owner]**

The name of the dwelling includes a numeral, 9, which is another common feature of Maya dwelling names at Palenque, Yaxchilán, and Copán. The name of the dwelling owner may terminate in *k'uk'*, but is basically illegible.

understood (Vidal L. 1999:191). They are found principally in the Puuc region.

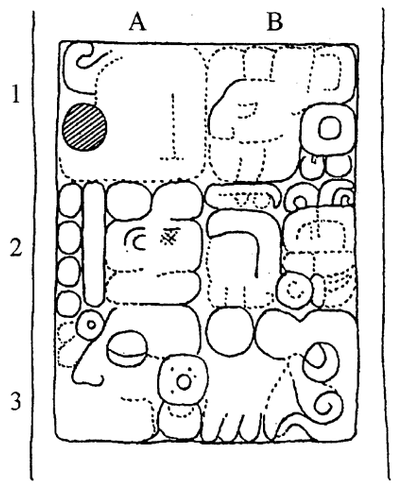

Fig. 4.10 Oxkintok Lintel 15. Drawing by J.M. Garcia C. and A. Lacadena.

IV.2.7 Summary of the content of the six texts

At least two and possibly all of the Early Classic inscriptions of Grupo Ah Canul at Oxkintok date to the last quarter of the fifth century. They record the names of two dwellings (Lintels 13 and 15) with a third implied (Lintel 14); and of three personages (Lintels 2, 14, and 15), at least one of whom is almost certainly human given that he is named by a typical "child-of-father" parentage statement. There are probably four separate house dedications occurring on the six lintels. One is on Lintel 2; the second is on Lintel 13, though I am surmising that the named object is a dwelling; the third is on Lintel 14, where I am assuming that the text does not represent a continuation of that on Lintel 13; and the fourth is on Lintel 15, a "stand-alone" text, given its lack of calendar information. The Early Classic lintels at Oxkintok demonstrate the early establishment of a tradition of dwelling dedication recorded on door lintels by a text of standard format – a format and medium that remain constant for the next four centuries.

IV.3 The question of the original architectural context of the Early Classic lintels

As noted above, none of the Early Classic inscriptions were found in Early Classic buildings, with the consequence that their precise original context is impossible to establish. Nevertheless, the archaeological and architectural dynamics of Grupo Ah Canul from the Early to the Terminal Classic periods provide some clues as to the possible early character of the group and the general early context of the lintels.

It cannot be proven that all of these lintels originally came from Grupo Ah Canul, since they could have been moved from other platform groups into their present contexts. However, because all of the Early Classic lintels (and six of the seven Early Classic inscriptions in general) come from this group; because the textual content of the lintels is thematically unified; and because there is demonstrably Early Classic range-structure architecture in Ah Canul, it seems most likely that this area was the original provenance of the monuments. I will work with this as a basic

assumption in what follows. In any case, the assumption is assessable archaeologically: a single discovery of an Early Classic lintel *in situ* in an Early Classic building, with textual connections to one of the other six, would be helpful, and I will suggest that such structures are very likely to underlie later architecture in the North Plaza of Grupo Ah Canul. In particular, Structure CA-3 seems a likely source for the Early Classic monuments.

IV.3.1 The Early Classic character of Structure CA-3 ("Palacio Pop") in Grupo Ah Canul

Structure CA-3 sits near the center of the north end of the North Plaza of Grupo Ah Canul (see Fig. 4.3). Outwardly one of the least ostentatious buildings on the platform, the isolated Structure CA-3 is the most important structure for understanding both the epigraphy and the development of the rest of the group in an archaeological and architectural sense. Its exploration by the MAEM project between 1988 and 1991 was spurred by the discovery of Lintel 11: though the lintel apparently was not part of the collapse debris of the building, having been unearthed in the surface layer several meters from its southwest corner, the possibility that it might have come from CA-3, together with its AD 487 Initial Series, suggested an early date for CA-3's construction and made its excavation a priority (Ligorred P. 1989:9).

Plaza soundings in this and the other principal platform bodies of the group have indeed shown that the North Plaza is the sole Early Classic platform: the ceramics from its fill date to the Late Formative "But" and Early Classic "Ichpa" archaeological phases (Vidal L. 1999:137-38) (see Table 4.1). Structure CA-3 also proved to be Early Classic, as indicated by the ceramics in its floors, its architectural style, and its construction techniques. It may well cover a Late Formative building: Late Formative pottery was discovered in its earliest levels, along with fragmentary alignments of ashlar masonry near bedrock (Ligorred P. 1989:16). Its locale thus has a deep history. The other structures of the North Plaza – the large pyramidal structures CA-4, CA-12, and CA-13 – are Middle Classic (AD 550-650) in date, while the other plazas are even later: the Central Plaza and Structures CA-5 and CA-6 are Late Classic; and the East and South plazas and Structures CA-7 and CA-8 are Terminal Classic, with the South Plaza and its buildings probably being the final addition to the group (Vidal L. 1999:136-46).

Structure CA-3 is thus the only structure from the Early Classic nucleus of Grupo Ah Canul that remains visible. In its original Early Classic form (Fig. 4.11), it was composed of two ranged longitudinal chambers flanked on the west by a single transverse chamber. There are no surviving doorways in either the north or south facades, leaving the only access to the building in the west façade through the transverse room. At some later time, but still within the Early Classic, a third longitudinal chamber with three north-facing doors was added to the north façade. That façade in fact still exhibits the plinth that would have at one time been on the outside of the building.

IV.3.2 Middle and Late Classic changes to Structure CA-3

In the Middle Classic (AD 550-650), the structure underwent a series of modifications that changed its character entirely (Fig. 4.12). First, three roughly circular cist tombs were sunk into the floor of the central chamber. Tomb 5, the central

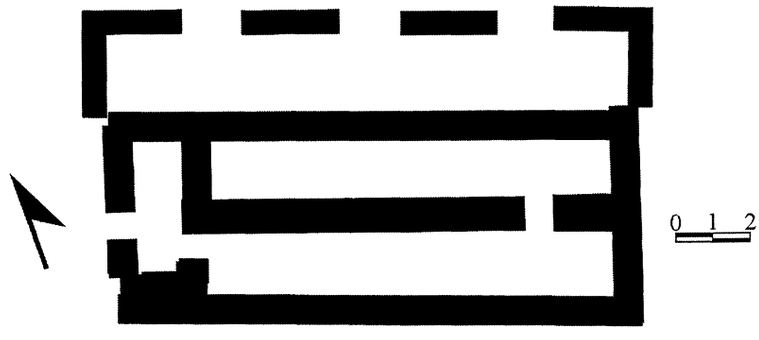

Fig. 4.11

Oxkintok Structure CA-3 in the Early Classic. Redrawn and adapted from Vidal L.(1999:27).

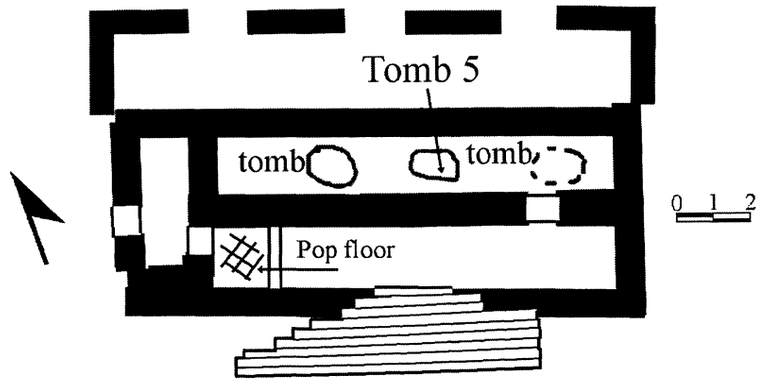

Fig. 4.12

Oxkintok Structure CA-3 in the Middle Classic. Redrawn and adapted from Vidal L. (1999:27). Tomb placements are approximate and derived from textual description in Vidal L. (1999).

TABLE 4.1: OXKINTOK ARCHAEOLOGICAL PHASES, DATES, AND CERAMIC ASSOCIATIONS, FROM VIDAL L. (1999:136-143).*			
Archaeological phase	**Larger regional phase**	**Ceramic association**	**Date**
Sihil		Mamom	500 - 300 BC
But		Chicanel	300 BC - AD 300
Ichpá	Oxkintok Temprano	Cochuah	AD 300 - 550
Noheb I	Proto-Puuc	Oxkintok Regional	AD 550 - 650
Noheb II		Motul	AD 650 - 710
Ukmul	Classic Puuc	Cehpech	AD 710 - 850
Nak		Cehpech	AD 850 - 1000
Tokoy		Postclassic Yucatecan ceramics	AD 1000 – 1500

* Varela T. (1998:46-47) presents a somewhat different account of the relationship between archaeological and ceramic phases; I use Vidal L.'s presentation because her work is the main source on the archaeology of Grupo Ah Canul.

tomb, is the second richest at the site, a fact that puzzles the excavators given its somewhat humble context; other Middle Classic tombs have been discovered, for example, in Structure 1 of Grupo May in small, vaulted-roof chambers within a monumental pyramidal structure, but they were accompanied by only "spartan" offerings (Rivera Dorado 1996:22). Tomb 5, a cist covered with two stone slabs, contained an individual secondary burial of a mature[49] man, missing, interestingly, the long bones of the legs; his funerary offerings included a jade and shell mosaic mask with obsidian pupils, a black-slipped bowl, jade and shell beads, and a worked stingray spine. The date of the tomb as well as the jade mask link this grave closely to the richest tomb at the site, Tomb 1 from Room 6 of the Satunsat labyrinth, which also contained a single individual with Middle Classic ceramics and a jade mask.

Two tombs flank Tomb 5, both unfortunately sacked. To the west, a simple cist, probably also covered with stone slabs, contained the remains of at least three individuals, including a young adult male, an adolescent female, and an infant: the looters missed 273 shell beads, three jade beads, stingray spine fragments, and 5 clear gray obsidian blades. Significantly, the skeletal materials from the young woman and the infant are nearly complete, while those of the male are sparse. This disparity suggests that the male may have been a secondary burial, while the others were primary, or at least much less curated than the first. To the east, another cist contained the very incomplete remains of an adult, probably male, and an infant, accompanied by 51 ceramic beads, three shell pendants, and twenty perforated animal phalanges (Varela T. 1998:198-201).

At some time after the tombs were introduced, a layer of cultural material 15 centimeters thick was deposited over the floor. It included more than one thousand ceramic fragments, many decorated, as well as a number of lithic and bone objects. Subsequent to this deposit, the only door into the central chamber was walled up. Two so-called "psychoduct" openings connected this tomb-packed room with a rectangular niche in the interior wall of the south chamber (Vidal L. 1999:29). The best-known psychoduct is the one that leads from the burial chamber of Pakal at Palenque into the Temple of the Inscriptions far above. The function of pyschoducts has been thought to concern the movement of a dead person's soul out of a tomb (e.g., Schele and Freidel 1990:232; Schele and Mathews 1998:109). A similar practice surrounding an individual's death was documented by Redfield and Villa Rojas in Chan Kom:

> To assure the soul's safe passage to Gloria, it is customary to make a round opening in the thatch above the hammock of the dying man, kept open with a ring of twisted vine. The old people, seeing now the construction of houses of masonry, advise that a small window for the same purpose be put in one end near the ceiling (1962[1934]:199).

The south room of Structure CA-3 also underwent a series of modifications. The door into the west chamber was blocked up and plastered from the inside, and a slim wall was inserted near the west end of the southern room, thereby isolating a small chamber. The floor of this chamber was painted with a mat *pop* design (giving the nickname "Palacio Pop" to the structure), and the small space was filled in with large stones cemented with kancab. To the east of the little wall, the south room was filled with large uncemented rubble. After the entire room had been filled, stairs with a markedly different directional orientation than that of the structure itself were constructed against the building's south side. The stairs were supported by the intentional fill of the south room, and they demolished CA-3's front wall and leaned on the rear wall of the south room. The stairs presumably gave onto a second level: this level may have supported a structure, but no evidence for it has been found. At some undetermined time, perhaps coincident with the filling of the south room and the building of the stair over it, the final access to the structure – the door through the west façade into the transverse west chamber – was blocked, rendering the west, south, and central chambers completely inaccessible (Ligorred P. 1989:12; Vidal L. 1999:28).

IV.3.3 The function and role of Structure CA-3

The building thus took on a radically different aspect in later periods, and seems to have become a small platform, such that whatever functional character it had in the Early Classic was modified. In discussing its function, Ligorred P. notes that the absence of domestic ceramics or debris from stone-

[49] As shown by alveolar resorption and osteophytic borders on the hand and foot bones.

working suggests that the building never had a residential function[50] (1989:16). Vidal L. also observes that no manos or grindstones were discovered in the Early Classic North Plaza of Ah Canul, accentuating, she suggests, its politico-ceremonial character during the construction phase that includes CA-3 (1999:186). The excavators believe that the presence of the tombs, the similarity of Tomb 5 to the tomb in the Satunsat labyrinth (a patently "ceremonial" structure), the possible "termination" deposit covering the floor above the graves, and the *pop* pavement indicate that CA-3 must have had a "commemorative" function (Vidal L. 1999:35). Vidal L. further surmises that this function would have been hidden by the later stairway that turned the building into a platform (ibid.).

Two points can be noted with regard to the determination of the early function of the building. First, the various publications of the Ah Canul excavations do not mention encountering the kind of contemporary debris – i.e., garbage deposits – that might lend itself to functional analysis. The great majority of the MAEM excavations were in and around buildings: the only *basurero* mentioned by Varela T. in her work on the Middle Classic and its ceramics was excavated by Pollock, Shook and Brainerd in 1940 in the northeast crook of the Grupo May platform (Varela T. 1998:162; Brainerd 1958:13-14).

Second, CA-3 is the sole Early Classic building of which any portion remains exposed, such that it would have been a part of the life of the Ah Canul complex for several hundred years. The building must have remained partially open after the Middle Classic tombs were placed in the central chamber: the deposit over the floor covering the tombs contained Ukmul I and II- phase ceramics that date from the period 710-850 (Vidal L. 1999:29), probably well after the tombs were interred. The south chamber may also have remained at least temporarily open after the closing off of the small *pop*-floored chamber, since the blocking of the door into the west room from the south room was plastered over from the inside, and the only remaining egress for the plasterer would have been in the now-destroyed south wall of the room. There is no reason to expect debris from CA-3's original use to survive into these later contexts if the building was used at all in later periods, after the introduction of the tombs and the sealing of one or more doors, especially if it was considered a ceremonial precinct.

In sum, with the exception of the general character of the building's architecture, there is a lack of contemporary Early Classic evidence to support one function over another. Rather, the excavators rely on evidence from a time when the building's use was shifting, or had already shifted, to adduce its Early Classic function.

The original character of the Early Classic North Plaza is unknown. However, its east, west, and south sides are occupied by the large Middle Classic[51] (550-650) pyramidal structures CA-4, CA-12, and CA-13 (see Fig. 4.3). While CA-4 has been excavated, neither that structure nor the others have been penetrated deeply enough to determine whether Early Classic structures lie underneath (Vidal L. 1999:43-44). It may well be that these Middle Classic structures cover early range structures like CA-3. In spite of the tremendous amount of construction activity in this group over the next 300-400 years and the construction of the odd stair on CA-3's south side, the structure was left isolated and exposed in a plaza in which every other structure is a monumental pyramid. I suggest that the stair on CA-3 was part of the ongoing *creation* of a "commemorative" function for the structure rather than a disguising of it: it could at any time have been completely hidden by an overlying structure, rather than being modified but left still recognizable.

Structure CA-3 is the origin point of an important spatial axis in the group: the axis is created (or observed?) by Middle Classic construction, and may continue to be referenced into the Early Postclassic. It originates in the center of the façade of CA-3 (or perhaps in Tomb 5) and passes through the center of CA-12, a Middle Classic pyramid. The same line passes through the central door of the Late Classic Structure CA-6, in front of which Lintel 15 is buried, and then through Tomb 6, the major excavated burial of CA-6. Finally, a small "adoratorio" in the central plaza lies along the axis, which contains a cache of a jade necklace in an Early Postclassic Tokoy-phase three-footed vase (Vidal L. 1999:162-3; and see her Fig. 2.98 on p. 120).

If the North Plaza, as the Early Classic nucleus of Grupo Ah Canul, is the most likely original context of the Early Classic lintels, and if the dwelling dedications on those monuments refer, as is hypothesized, to the dwellings of human personages, then it might be supposed that Early Classic Ah Canul was an elite residential complex, with Structure CA-3 as at least one of the original contexts of the lintels. Vidal L. speculates some of them may have come from the doors of the slightly later northern chamber: this chamber was built perhaps in the second half of the fifth century, when the lintels were dedicated (Vidal L. 1999:186).[52] Taken together, the dates of the lintels and the tombs of CA-3 are suggestive: the dates of at least some of the lintels fall in between 9.2.0.0.0 and 9.3.0.0.0 (AD 475-495), while the dates of the tombs of CA-3 are Middle Classic, between AD 550 and 650. That is, the individuals buried in the CA-3 tombs could have been living at the time of the erection of the lintels.

The fact that the tombs are secondary burials provides some chronological leeway between the death dates and the interment dates of these individuals, such that the actual dates of death might be pushed back in time from the Middle Classic dates given by the tomb ceramics. The bones of the Tomb 5 individual in particular seem to have been selectively handled: not only is the burial secondary, with the skeletal material deposited in a pile in the cist, but the bones of the legs are missing (though the toe bones are

[50] It is unclear to which contexts Ligorred P. is referring when he says that no domestic ceramics were present: for example, he notes domestic ceramics in Level I (the uppermost floor level) of the south chamber of CA-3 (1989:14).

[51] CA-4 has been excavated and is demonstrably Middle Classic; CA-12 and CA-13 have not been excavated, but Vidal L. (1999:43) believes that they were constructed near the same time as CA-4.

[52] García C. and Lacadena have since indicated that the lintel cannot come from any of the doors of CA-3, though they do not say why (1990:160). If the lintels do not or cannot all pertain to CA-3, then they must have been mounted in other structures, most likely in range structures that are now interred under the large Middle Classic mounds in the group.

present). Further, the pronounced differences in representation of body parts between the three individuals discovered in the looted tomb to the west of Tomb 5 suggest that the sparse material from the young adult man may have been extensively curated, while the nearly complete skeletons of the adolescent female and the infant may have been added at a later time (whether in primary or secondary condition cannot be established). There is also some possibility that the red pigment covering the jade mask in Tomb 5 (Varela Torrecilla 1989:120) derives from a tomb revisiting episode: these episodes have been documented epigraphically and archaeologically sites such as Copán, Piedras Negras, and Tikal (on Altar 5) (e.g., Stuart 1998:398-99; Coe 1959:127; Sharer *et al.* 1999:11).

IV.3.4 Summary considerations about the Early Classic placement of the lintels

I would like to suggest, then, that the occupants of the CA-3 tombs may be the inhabitants of an Early Classic residential complex in the North Plaza, that they are buried in their former dwellings, and that we may have eroded versions of some of their names on the lintels that record a string of dwelling dedications in K'atun 9.2. A parallel can be found in Yaxchilán's Structure 23, a dwelling belonging to Lady Xook, with its accompanying dwelling dedication lintels and the burial of Lady Xook in one of its chambers. The apparent contradiction of the relative shabbiness of Structure CA-3 compared with the richness of Tomb 5 might be explained by the significance of this building as the residence of an important Early Classic leader or leaders, perhaps a lineage founder or particularly successful ruler. Architecturally, a similar situation is found in Tikal's Central Acropolis, where the Early Classic dwelling (Structure 5D-46) attributed to Jaguar Paw (e.g., Schele and Mathews 1998:78) is preserved intact – though "enshrined" by subsequent construction of rooms around the original core structure – at the east end of the acropolis. Like CA-3, 5D-46 is the sole exposed Early Classic construction in its group. Schele and Mathews (1998) and Harrison (1999:76) both support the idea that it is a "founder's house,"[53] and Harrison (1994:246) has proposed that the axes of Structure 5D-46 are the fundamental generative points for the locations and orientations of later buildings, much as the main north-south axis of Ah Canul originates in the center of the façade of CA-3.

Structure CA-3 would then certainly have had a "commemorative" function beginning at least by the time of the thick deposit on the floor of its central chamber and the sealing of the door, and possibly as early as the time of the placing of the Middle Classic tombs. By "commemorative," I mean that the original function of the building as a residence of an important person was recognized and observed by the physical alterations to the structure, including the placement of the tombs, the walling up and filling of rooms, and the addition of the stair, perhaps leading to a small, now perished temple. The importance of the building was also observed by the preservation and isolation of the small structure at the north end of a plaza that later included large pyramidal mounds on all of its other sides; and by the recognition through the placement of later structures of the axis that it generated.

I favor Vidal L.'s idea that some Early Classic Ah Canul lintels may have been placed in the north chamber of Structure CA-3, which, as noted above, was constructed later than the main body of the building but still in the Early Classic. Examination of the epigraphy and archaeology of *otoot* examples at other sites suggests that these structures were rarely contemporary living residences but rather were considered to be permanent dwelling places for the core identity of an important ruler or noble as a future god or deified ancestor. In the case of CA-3, the annexation of the north chamber would have served to give the building a façade that faced outward toward the long eastern sacbe in addition to the pre-existing southern façade that looked inward toward the North Plaza. At this point, the lintels that self-consciously referred to the building as the person's dwelling could have been inserted, helping to initiate the change in state of the building, whether before or after the death of the dwelling owners.

These hypotheses – that the North Plaza is an Early Classic residential complex that housed both Ah Canul's founders and the Early Classic lintels – can be tested by appropriately designed excavations. These excavations would 1) penetrate deeply enough into Structures CA-4, CA-12, and CA-13 to identify the presence of earlier structures – which could, of course, have been constructed of perishable materials; 2) test, if logistically and architecturally possible, for Early or Middle Classic burials, especially in the rear rooms of these structures; and 3) test off-mound and along platform edges – particularly the southern edge of the North Plaza, which should have been preserved by the construction of the Central Plaza against it – for the presence of Early Classic midden materials or other cultural debris that could speak to the Early Classic character of the plaza. If combining the epigraphic information with the archaeological and architectural information has resulted in a correct idea about early function, then we should 1) expect the remains of Early Classic range structures underneath the Middle Classic pyramids; 2) expect other Early or Middle Classic burials in the floors of those buildings; 3) expect series of modifications in the interior and exterior architecture of those structures as the result of protracted habitation; 4) hope for Early Classic living debris in primary contexts; and 5) hope for Early Classic lintels with dwelling dedication-related texts *in situ* in Early Classic structures.

We should also consider the possibility that, as at Chichén Itzá, the owners of the dwellings are deities rather than humans, which would shift the understanding of the early character of the group significantly. Maintaining the assumption that the lintels do originally come from the North Plaza of Ah Canul, we would have to entertain the idea that the entire complex may have been constructed as a series of deity or ancestor shrines at a very early time, and that Early Classic Grupo Ah Canul would have been a distinct

[53] Whether or not Jaguar Paw (Chak Tok Ich'aak(?)) is a "founder" or not is debatable, since he was not the first king of the Tikal dynasty. Rather, he was the last king to rule before the Teotihuacan entrada, and he dies on the day of "arrival" of that entrada's best-known character, Siyaj K'ak' or "Smoking Frog." His dwelling, if it is such, may have been enshrined in subsequent Central Acropolis construction as both homage to Jaguar Paw and reminder that his era is past.

ceremonial precinct of the site. I think that the "child-of-father" statement on Lintel 14 is probably a good indication that the dwelling owners were, at least initially, local human nobles. At this time we have no epigraphic evidence to suggest that the Oxkintok personages were divine, whereas good evidence for dwelling owners' divinity is present at Chichén. As noted above, I think that the lintels were mounted in Early Classic structures with their posthumous use in mind; that is, they helped to transform probable living residences into places of ancestral origins and inhabitation. The "psychoduct" connecting the sealed, tomb-filled central chamber of CA-3 with the south chamber suggests that communication with this chamber and its occupants remained important, at least until the Late Classic construction of the stair across the south façade. As I suggest for the Copán *otoot*s, these buildings might have constituted oracles of sorts where the dead could be asked for counsel and prophecy.

IV.4 Selective re-use of *otoot* dedication lintels in late archaeological contexts

Although we have lost the original settings of the monuments, their later placements have the potential to inform about Late Classic attitudes toward early monuments and their uses. In this section I look at the archaeological evidence for the nature of the later contexts of the monuments, and at the way the Late Classic inhabitants of Grupo Ah Canul engaged in the long-term preservation or destruction of the written history of the group and its early inhabitants. In addition, I consider the question of whether the later inhabitants considered the actual meaningful content of the texts in their re-use of the lintels in new architectural contexts.

If CA-3 and the North Plaza as a whole were later recognized as a locus of ancestral residence, then perhaps the lintels that identified the dwellings of those residents retained some commemorative significance as demonstrated by special or reverential treatment in their later settings. Late veneration or recognition of the potency of earlier monuments is established as a Maya practice (e.g., Hammond and Bobo 1994) and is a Mesoamerican tradition of some antiquity (e.g., Grove 1981). Did Late and Terminal Classic Ah Canul residents attach significance to the textual content of the lintels, or to their politico-religious expressiveness in general, lifting them from significant original contexts (perhaps from now-buried Early Classic range structures) in order to place them in other buildings; or can the re-use of the monuments be ascribed to purely functional architectural considerations? It is probably impossible to separate these two considerations from one another: ancient residents probably did not sharply distinguish ritual from functional purposes, such that an inscribed lintel re-used in a new doorway may have been "useful" for what it provided to a structure in both an architectonic and a ritual sense, whether or not its specific original content was appreciated.

In fact, Late Classic Ah Canul people treated the Early Classic lintels in a variety of ways. The distribution of the lintels in Late Classic structures is not random, as one might expect if their architectural re-use was simply functional. At the same time, it is apparent that the use-life of an Early Classic lintel did not necessarily entail a series of smooth transitions from one significant architectural context to the next, and that Late Classic attitudes toward the monuments were not uncomplicated. Rivera Dorado (1996:80-81) has concluded that the Middle and Late Classic people who re-used the lintels did not renounce the prestige of the Early Classic inhabitants that made them, but that their concern was with the general context of their origin rather than the precise character and grammar of their texts. While I think he is correct, I also believe that it is worthwhile to evaluate more specifically the nature of the buildings that contain early lintels, since there is evidence from other sites, namely Yaxchilán, that early and late functions may be related in more specific ways. Overall, I argue that, rather than being enshrined in ceremonial contexts – like the early stelae that have been found in buried structures under great temples at Copán and Tikal – the early lintels of Oxkintok are reused in true residences and may have been used as protective talismans in "threshold" contexts.

IV.4.1 Lintel 13 and Structure CA-5 ("Palacio de la Serie Lunar" or "Palace of the Lunar Series")

Lintel 13, which contains a full Lunar Series and the first part of a dwelling dedication, was mounted over the central door of Structure CA-5 (Fig. 4.13). The carved underside faced downward, and all of the glyphs remained visible within the boundaries of the new doorjamb. No other inscribed lintels were found in the building, so that it seems certain that the people who reset the lintel had little concern for the preservation of the integrity of the full text. It is interesting, though, that this "dwelling" lintel was probably reset in a building that may also have been residential. Its developmental trajectory is in fact similar to that of Structure CA-3.

Initially, Structure CA-5 was interpreted as an Early Classic building because of the presence of Lintel 13 over the central door of its north façade (Pollock 1980:588; G. Andrews 1986:11). This interpretation was advanced with some consternation because of CA-5's seemingly later construction techniques; but the excavation of the building by the MAEM has resolved that chronological problem by showing that the structure was built at the beginning of the late Classic, and in active use into the Terminal Classic (Vidal L. 1990:20). Unlike some of the other structures in this group, it was only minimally looted, and excavation revealed that it was full of undisturbed burials dating to at least two different periods.

Structure CA-5 has five vaults: three are longitudinal and oriented east-west, and two are transversal, oriented north-south at each end of the building. These five vaults originally housed a total of six rooms; but the building underwent substantial alteration throughout its use history. As a result of subsequent wall additions, the building eventually had nine chambers; and two, three, and four plaster floor resurfacings were observed in the excavations of the floors of its rooms (Vidal L. 1999:52-65). At least three of its doors were walled up; and Room 5, at the western end, was partially filled with rubble as part of the construction of a small precinct on the west facade of the building during which the width of the west wall was doubled. A series of three roughly-constructed stairs on the south facade, leading into the south plaza of the group, were later constructions. The building appears to have been fairly simply decorated on

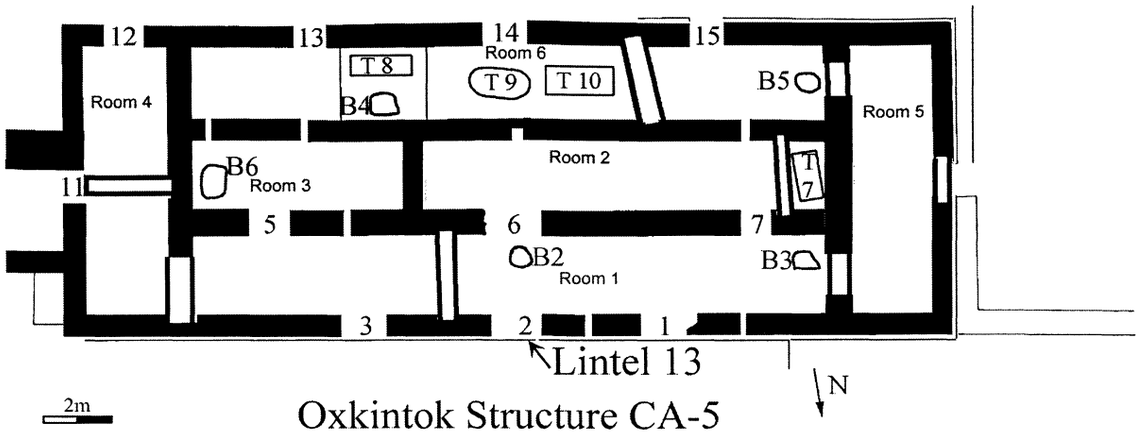

Fig. 4.13 Oxkintok Structure CA-5. B=Burial; T=Tomb. Redrawn and adapted from Vidal L. (1999:49). Burial and tomb placements are approximate and derived from textual description in Vidal L. (1999).

the outside: it was stuccoed and decorated with geometric bands.

A total of four tombs, five burials, and an offering have been documented in the building, described fully in Vidal L. (1999:148-170).[54] The remains can generally be placed into two different chronological brackets. The first group of burials, ceramically dated to the Noheb II period (AD 650-710) includes Burials 2, 3, and 6 and Tomb 7. A second round of burials and tombs were placed in the later part of the Late Classic, between AD 710 and 850.

The first group of burials was discovered in the northern sector of the building as it faced the plaza, in the rooms in the north and central vaults of the building. The interments may have been placed in conjunction with some remodeling of the structure, including the placement of a wall in the middle of Room 1 and the walling up of the doorways that connected it to the transversal chambers. Burials 2, 3, and 6 incorporated the secondary burials of a total of three adults and three children, with no grave goods, whereas Tomb 7 was walled up in its own chamber and contained the secondary burial of a young woman and a child 6-7 years of age, along with seven vessels and jade and shell goods.

The excavators feel that from the time of the interment of the first burials, the structure was devoted entirely to funerary concerns, and that the construction of the neighboring Structure CA-6 may have been spurred by the abandonment of CA-5 (Vidal L. 1990:34; 1999:66-67). There seems to be no way to tell exactly what was happening in the building between the placements of the two groups of burials. Whether the building was entirely a funerary monument or not, it is in any case evident that the structure continued to be an active part of the life of Grupo Ah Canul after the placement of the burials in the first part of the late Classic: none of the primary accesses to the building were walled up, and only Room 5 became inaccessible from the outside.

In contrast to the first group of burials, all of the later burials were placed in the south vault of the building. Tombs 8, 9, and 10 belong to the same stratigraphic layer and they contain very similar vessels of the same time period. Tombs 8 and 10 each contain extended primary burials of young men around 20 years of age, and Tomb 9 contained a pubescent child. At some point after the introduction of these features, more alterations took place in Structure CA-5, including the construction of a transversal wall in Room 6 and the walling up of its doors to the transverse chambers. All of the doors in the south façade, however, were left unblocked, and at some point, stairs of masonry rougher than that of Structures CA-5 and CA-6 were added to the rear or south side of the platform, giving onto a courtyard known as the South Plaza (Vidal L. 1999:50).

Like Structure CA-3, then, CA-5 has a long and complex use history involving the progressive filling of the building with burials and tombs, the partitioning of rooms, and the sealing of doors. The placement of the Early Classic lintel in a "threshold" context over its central door indicates recognition by the inhabitants of CA-5 of some desirable quality in the stone beyond its architectural function. The inscription was probably legible to Late Classic users of the structure, and the use of a dwelling dedication lintel over the central door of a possible later dwelling suggests that the Late Classic builders may have appreciated the significance of the text.

IV.4.2 Lintels 1, 2, and 15 and Structure CA-6 ("Palacio de la Serie Inicial")

Structure CA-6 (Fig. 4.14) was built against the east façade of CA-5 slightly later in the Late Classic: almost no ceramics from before the seventh century appear in its foundations (Vidal L. 1999:83). This structure presents a clearer case of the selective re-use of early lintels than Structure CA-5. Its eight rooms were constructed in two ranges with a single transverse chamber at the east end. Like CA-5 and CA-3, it contains interments – a tomb and a burial

[54] The distinction between tombs and burials is one made by the MAEM excavators of Oxkintok, and I maintain it here. Tombs in their terminology are funerary constructions consisting either of cavities excavated in the ground that are covered by stone slabs, or of simple stone-walled chambers with vaulted roofs: tombs usually include offerings. Burials by contrast are defined as human remains deposited into the floors of structures with no associated offerings (Vidal L. 1999:147-8).

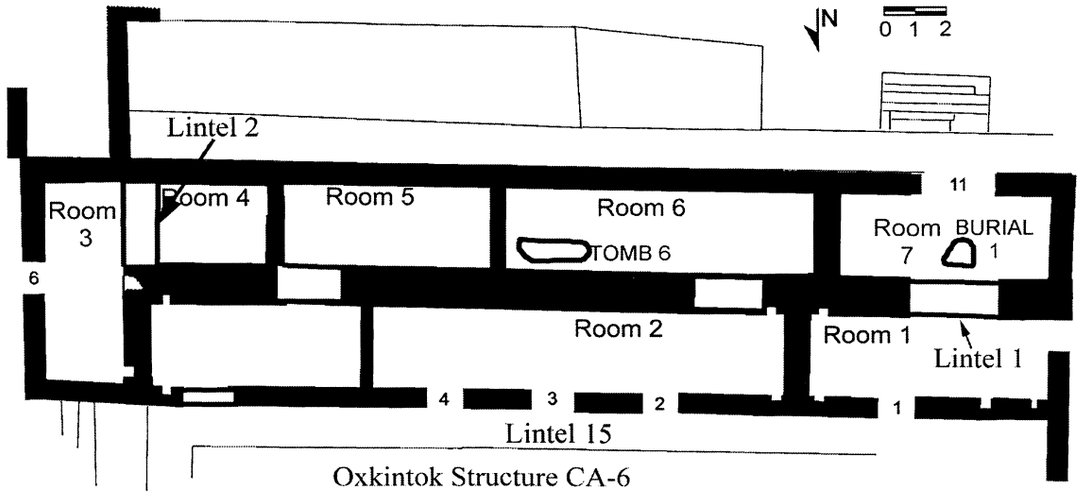

Fig. 4.14 Oxkintok Structure CA-6. Redrawn and adapted from Vidal L. (1999:68). Burial and tomb placements are approximate and derived from textual description in Vidal L. (1999).

– and five of its doorways were blocked up at some time after its original construction. The floors in its various rooms had been resurfaced between two and four times. The building was probably spectacularly decorated, to judge from the many elaborately formed polychrome stucco fragments found in its rubble (Vidal L. 1999:81). It probably had a sacred character for Maya people through the Late Postclassic: many Tokoy III-phase (AD 1300-1450) censers were deposited in and around the structure (Vidal L. 1999:83). Unlike CA-5, it suffered intense looting, which has probably affected the number of burials recovered. The single burial that remained to be excavated is a cist grave, reminiscent of those in CA-5, that also dates from the early Late Classic (Noheb II AD 650-710), and contains a secondary burial of an adult and child. The tomb (Tomb 6) is a secondary individual burial located on the north-south axis of the building, and is contemporary with the later tombs of CA-5.

Lintels 1 and 2 were placed over interior doors 7 and 10 respectively, at opposite ends of the building. These were the only inscribed lintels mounted in the building. Interestingly, the doorjambs were thickened after their original construction to accommodate the smaller Early Classic lintels. The excavators discovered the probable original lintels of doors 7 and 10 in the rubble of the structure, the dimensions of which match those still mounted in the other doors and conform to the original dimensions of doors 7 and 10 (Vidal L. 1999:69). It seems likely, then, that the insertion of the Early Classic lintels into the building after its initial construction had been completed involved more than purely structural architectonic considerations. The timing of the insertion of the early lintels into the late structure may have coincided with the destruction or burial of the lintels' previous context. The construction of CA-6 has been dated to between AD 650 and 710, according to the ceramics in the fill of its floors. Lintels 1 and 2 may thus have been taken directly from Early Classic contexts as those contexts were destroyed, buried, or enshrined by later construction sometime near the end of the Middle Classic, or they may have been curated in an intermediate context before being inserted into CA-6.

Lintel 15, in contrast to Lintels 1 and 2, was re-used as part of a flagstone pavement that extended in front of the north façade of the building (Vidal L. 1989:22). It was set face-up directly in front of the central door of the structure on the north-south axis that incorporates the center of the CA-3 façade, the center of CA-12, the central door of CA-6, and Tomb 6 in the rear chamber of CA-6. The entire pavement was covered with a stucco floor that coincided with the construction of the building. The excavators are not entirely clear on the point, but available evidence suggests that the lintel was never visible (Vidal L. 1989:22).

While the lintel was certainly a functional part of the pavement, its placement in front of the central door on the main north-south axis of the site suggests that its function may have been as much ritual as architectonic. A similar circumstance can be noted in Copán's Structure 9N-82, where two blocks carved with hieroglyphs are re-used as part of the stairway, mounted, one of them upside-down, on its central axis and probably covered with stucco.[55] These re-used monuments may have functioned as offerings; they may have been part of the "ensouling" of the building; they may have had a protective function for the future inhabitants of the structure; or all of the above may have applied. It is difficult to find an account of dwelling construction in a non-industrial culture that does not indicate that house-building is inconceivable without the incorporation of a protracted series of ritual observances designed to ensure the health and happiness of the bodies and souls of the house and its inhabitants.

[55] I thank David Stuart for drawing my attention to this example of monument re-use. Although monument fragments are re-used in a number of other contexts at Copán and elsewhere, they appear in many kinds of contexts, from use in structure fill to incorporation into structure walls, and we should distinguish between the careful placement of old monuments in axial contexts from the use of old blocks in construction fill. This is not to say that the latter practice may not have been meaningful.

IV.4.3 Comments on the functions of Structures CA-5 and CA-6

What then was the functional context of the buildings in which early monuments were re-used? The excavators of CA-5 and CA-6 have not offered in print any conjecture about their uses, with the exception of some brief observations in the conclusions to Vidal L.'s volume on Grupo Ah Canul. Vidal L. notes that the two structures are definitively associated with activities of a residential character: first, numerous domestic utensils such as manos and metates were excavated; and second, the buildings were not abandoned or closed after the introduction of the tombs (1999:186). However, the domestic utensils were found in rubble layers, and their contexts include mixed ceramics from many time periods, from the Middle-to-early-Late-Classic Noheb to Postclassic Tokoy phase vessels. For example, in Room 4 of CA-5, a large ceramic concentration contained Noheb, Ukmul, and Tokoy II-phase fragments with a low fragmentation and erosion index. In the northern part of the same room, a Postclassic ceramic figurine of a bird was associated with a grey obsidian blade, a grey flint knife, a brown flint projectile point, manos, and animal bones (Vidal L. 1999:47-83).

The discovery of domestic utensils in the rubble above the floors of the rooms cannot be construed as evidence for residential function during the late Middle Classic and Late Classic periods if the archaeological contexts include Postclassic ceramics and if the building remained open through the Terminal Classic and into the Postclassic. With regard to the inhabitants' failure to seal CA-5 and CA-6 after burials and tombs were placed in them, it can be noted that if the understanding of the chronological placement of the site's ceramics is basically correct, then it seems certain that CA-3's central tomb-rich chamber also must have remained open for some time, since the ceramics deposited in earth over the floor of the chamber dated to the Ukmul I and II phases.

I agree, however, that CA-5 and CA-6 were probably residences during the period after their initial construction in the early part of the Late Classic. The evidence for this use comes less from the artifactual material found in the rubble of the buildings than from the long series of alterations to each, including the construction of additional interior walls, the blocking of doors to change access patterns, and the construction of rear platforms and stairs, together with the progressive filling of the structures (especially CA-5) with burials and tombs. Most of these patterns are in fact shared with CA-3. That is, there is good evidence for the re-use of early *otoot* monuments in later residential contexts.

IV.4.4 Lintel 14 and Structure CA-7 (Palacio Ch'ich)

Structure CA-7 (Fig. 4.15) is a multi-phase building whose orientation differs markedly from that of the other structures in Ah Canul. The platform of the East Plaza upon which it rests is later than that of the Central Plaza (Vidal L. 1999:139). CA-7's first phase is Late Classic, and incorporates two ranges of rooms capped at each end by double transverse chambers; while the second, Terminal Classic phase comprises the long western room with its three-door façade and four anthropomorphic carved columns in full Puuc style. Rooms 2, 3, 4, 7, and 9 contain benches. The structure suffered intense looting, but was, like the others, packed with at least six burials, all sacked; it may well have contained more. Interestingly, unlike Structures CA-3, -5, and -6, no interior modifications, such as added walls or blocked doorways, have been observed (Valiente C. 1987; Vidal L. 1999:87-113).

All of the building's *in situ* lintels are Late to Terminal Classic in date. The sole Early Classic monument in the building is the nearly-destroyed Lintel 14. This lintel seems to have undergone a long process of curation. At some point after its initial use as a lintel, it was hollowed out and used as a *haltun* or *metate*. It was later re-used structurally as a step up to a bench in Room 9 of CA-7. The excavators believe

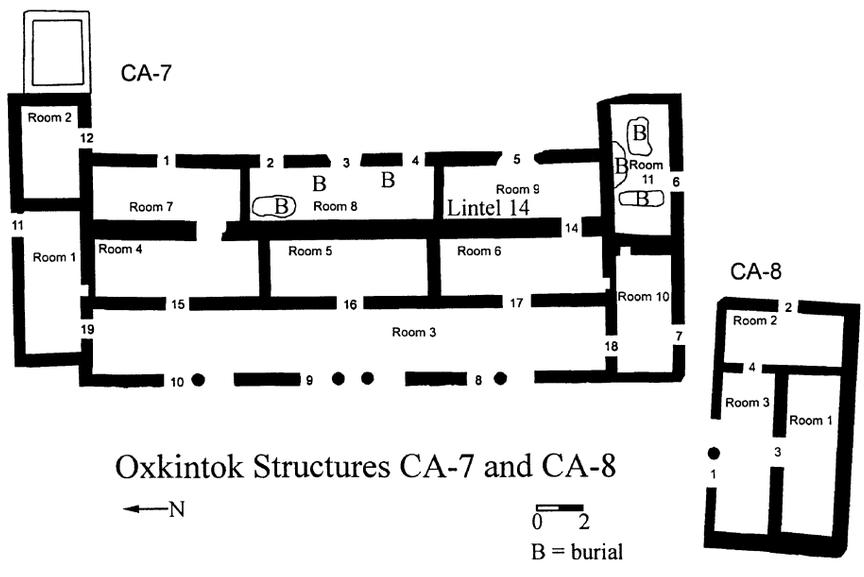

Fig. 4.15 Oxkintok Structures CA-7 and CA-8. Redrawn and adapted from Vidal L. (1999:88).

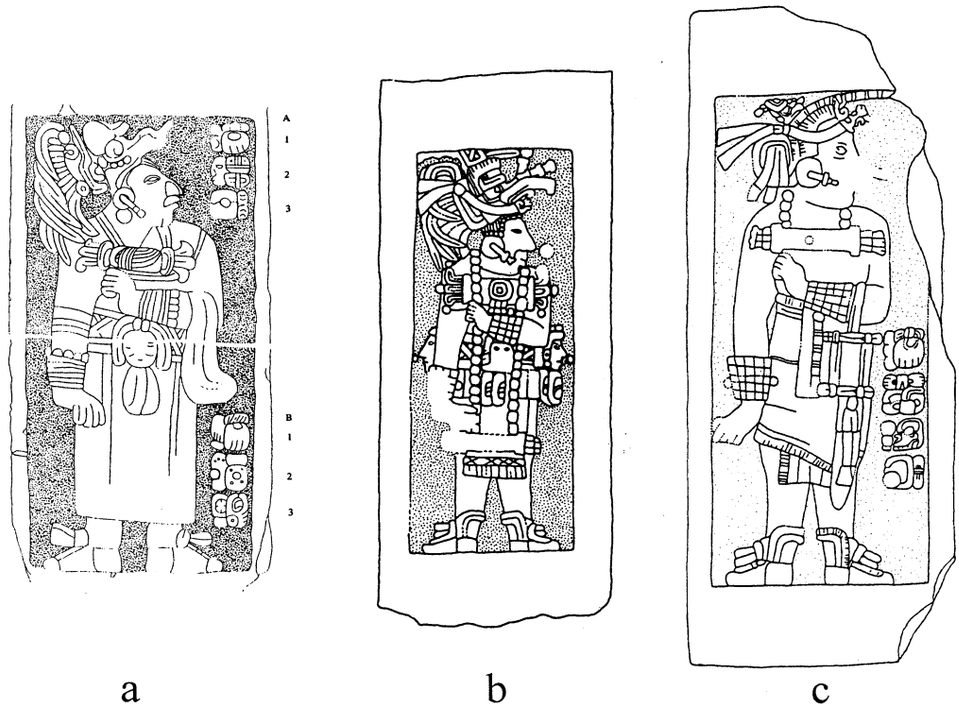

Fig. 4.16 "Stela"-style lintels from Oxkintok Structure CA-7: (a) Panel from the Museo Nacional de Antropología, probably from Structure CA-7. From Garcia C. and Lacadena (1987:102); (b) Lintel 3, Structure CA-7, from Pollock (1980:Fig. 323a); (c) Lintel 8, Structure CA-7. Drawing by A. Lacadena.

that it must have been covered by the same layer of stucco that forms the latest floor of the building, though it is not clear from the report whether this covering was observed or inferred (Vidal L. 1989:38). If it was indeed covered, the inscription would not have been visible as part of the bench. In the case of this lintel, it seems much more likely that its original context was not relevant to CA-7's builders, who were active some three centuries after the probable approximate date of the lintel's dedication.

While the excavators do not explicitly discuss the function of CA-7, they seem to imply its residential use, since it is consistently described as a "palace" (e.g., Valiente C. 1989; Vidal L 1989): Rivera Dorado notes that it is the most "palatial" structure at the site (1996:70). It is interesting that, unlike CA-3, CA-5, and CA-6, its rooms are never altered with later walls and its doors are never sealed, even after the introduction of tombs into the floors of its rooms. The only modifications to the structure are the Classic Puuc colonnaded western façade and a roughly-constructed Postclassic room off the northeast end of the building. Perhaps the use-period of the building and the time of the placement of the tombs were too near the end of the demise of the site as a major center to warrant or allow time for the transformation of the function of the building through internal architectural alterations; that is, the abandonment of Ah Canul as a residential area may have occurred before CA-7 became a locale potent enough to require ritual sealing for the benefit of later inhabitants of the group. Still, the addition of the Puuc façade must signal a role change, or at least a contemporary reflection upon the accumulating importance of the structure.

IV.4.5 Further notes on the re-use of Oxkintok's Early Classic lintels

In 1997, David Stuart, in pursuing work for the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions Project, noticed that several of the Early Classic lintels exhibited a lip of plaster that encircled only one end of the monument, indicating that at some point in their use-history, they were erected upright and sealed by a plaster floor. That is, these lintels demonstrably went through an intermediate stage of curation after their initial removal from their original contexts: their veneration as upright monuments – stelae, in effect – preceded their use in later dwellings. Further, Stuart's (1996) work on stone stelae as literal representations of the *b'aah*, "bodies" or images," of kings suggests that we might consider that, detached from their original architectural contexts, the upright lintels may have functioned as stand-ins for either the buildings they came from or for their owners.[56] In fact, there

[56] Evidence for the trans-generational curation of lintels and other house parts may persist into the colonial period. Restall notes that house doors and frames were "standard items" in eighteenth century Yucatec Maya wills, and that they were bequeathed "in lieu of houses themselves partly because doors, frames, and beams were understood to represent houses, and partly because such items were prized as the manufactured product of a carpenter's skills..." (1998:147).

are Late Classic lintels and vault keys from Structure CA-7 that would look much like stelae if they were upright, carrying standing portraits of Late Classic noble figures complete with the accompanying *u-b'aah* "the image of" identification phrases (Fig. 4.16).

Lintels have a peculiar prominence in dwelling dedicatory texts: at Chichén Itzá, they, rather than the dwelling itself, are most often the objects of the dedicatory verbs. They may have been understood as particularly "soulful" parts of buildings. There is some suggestive epigraphic evidence from Chichén (discussed in §VI.3.2) that lintels may have been considered "door lords"; perhaps, like the stelae as kings' bodies that Stuart (1996) describes, lintels could also be infused with this animate presence – the *u-b'aah* lintels of Structure CA-7 might show this explicitly.

Lintels often announce on their front edges, as at Yaxchilán, Chichén, and Oxkintok, important qualities of the structure or of the rituals that surrounded their dedications. As I write in the chapter on Chichén Itzá, there is reasonable evidence that some of the lintels at that site record divinations or auguries of good fortune for the structures dedicated or the gods they were dedicated for; and I think that door lintels and door jambs as the framers of the transitional space of the doorway were particularly appropriate places to record these rituals. The door of a structure is its *ti'*, "mouth," is a vulnerable opening where protective ritual would be particularly important; the door as a "mouth" might also have been an appropriate location for ritual speech. The lintel as the subject of so many dedications may have been seen as an active force in maintaining the well-being of the structure and its inhabitants.

Evidence for the trans-generational curation of lintels and other house parts persists into the colonial period. Restall notes that house doors and frames were "standard items" in eighteenth century Yucatec Maya wills, and that they were bequeathed "in lieu of houses themselves partly because doors, frames, and beams were understood to represent houses, and partly because such items were prized as the manufactured product of a carpenter's skills..." (1998:147).

IV.5 Conclusions

The history of Grupo Ah Canul is almost undoubtedly that of a series of southward-shifting residential plazas. As the floors of the buildings surrounding the ancestral northern courtyard were filled with burials and tombs, the locus of residential activity moved south to the Central Plaza, to Structure CA-5 and eventually to Structure CA-6, built slightly later. The North Plaza meanwhile was transformed into a ceremonial precinct where Structure CA-3 – and possibly the other hypothesized early structures – remained at least partially accessible for a period of unknown duration. CA-5 and CA-6 were in turn filled with human remains: CA-5 hosted a particularly protracted series of mortuary activities, deriving from at least two periods. The main residential focus then shifted into the East Plaza and spilled off of the end of the platform into the South Plaza. The pattern recalls that of the Acropolis of Copán, where Early Classic royal residential buildings were filled with tombs and buried under a series of temples, and the residential area of the latest Copán kings (Group 10L-2) was built up against the southern end of the Acropolis platform.

The monuments from the structures of the north plaza were cycled through a residential landscape in a variety of contexts for more than three hundred years. As the excavators note, the Middle, Late, and Terminal Classic people who inhabited the platform complex may have been local, or they may represent an influx of new people: Rivera Dorado believes that the builders of CA-7 and its later Classic Puuc façade would certainly have been foreigners to the early political tradition (1996). With regard to the Middle Classic, Rivera Dorado suggests that the architectural change and monument re-use in Grupo Ah Canul indicates that around AD 550, an important transformation took place in the ideology that sustained the political and social order of the city (1996:80-81). While this may well be the case, it is also possible that we are dealing with another example of Haviland's (1988) "musical hammocks," on a larger scale. That is, rather than constituting a major ideological change, the Middle Classic changes in Grupo Ah Canul may have conformed to a pattern of growth of residential groups and sacralization of ancestral residential locales that was already very old (see McAnany 1995). New techniques in DNA studies of ancient skeletal material in the Maya area may someday have the potential to elucidate the genetic relationships between the burials in the series of structures in Grupo Ah Canul.

Respecting the question of whether the reuse of monuments in Grupo Ah Canul reflected an appreciation for the specific nature and importance of the original residential associations of the lintels, it is notable that the re-used texts record only two kinds of information – namely, calendrical information in the form of Initial and Lunar Series positions, and dwelling dedication texts. There is no doubt that the Classic Maya recognized the site of a previous ruler's dwelling as a powerful place: for example, we know from contexts at Palenque and Yaxchilán that these locales were considered an appropriate place for accession rituals. At Palenque, the Tablet of 96 Glyphs records the seating of three successive kings in the *otoot* of Pakal; and Bird Jaguar IV of Yaxchilán records his own seating in the dwelling of the seventh Yaxchilán king, "Moon Jaguar," on Lintel 21 of Structure 22. Bird Jaguar also reset Early Classic lintels over four other doors of that structure. While it is not certain that these lintels came from an early version of Structure 22, and while their texts mention neither "Moon Jaguar" nor dwelling dedications, it is nevertheless plain that the early function of this building as Moon Jaguar's dwelling (in the minds of the Late Classic inhabitants if not in reality) is integral to its later and very different function – a function notably not residential, at least as recorded by the text. It would be interesting to know if Moon Jaguar was buried in an early phase of the building.

Rivera Dorado believes that while the re-use of the early monuments at Oxkintok by the Proto-Puuc and Puuc inhabitants may indicate that they regarded them as worthy of being forgotten and destroyed, they may also have been imbued with a certain power that could guarantee the special quality of later construction (1996:71). I agree with the latter proposal, but suggest further that the recognition of the

lintels' early context as the dwelling places of dynastic or city founders may have been an important part of their long-term curation. The Middle and Late Classic Ah Canuleños could probably have read the inscriptions on the early monuments, and they may have known precisely who the dwelling owners were. The way that lintels are curated at Oxkintok is reminiscent of the differential treatment of the bones of the human body in the mortuary process: as with Tomb 5, the Middle Classic CA-3 burial with the missing femora, select parts of Early Classic dwelling structures may have been extracted before final burial of the "body" to be curated and venerated in various contexts as representatives or containers of particular aspects of the identity of those locales. It is particularly interesting that the Early Classic lintels are re-used not in rarefied ceremonial contexts, but in residential ones, in threshold contexts in every case except that of Lintel 14, leading me to believe that they were considered to be architectural talismans, devices for the warding off of harm to dwellings and their inhabitants.

In sum, this chapter has combined epigraphic and excavated data to re-interpret the archaeology of Early Classic Grupo Ah Canul, outlining a series of archaeologically testable hypotheses; it offers a rationale for the subsequent development of the group; and it re-examines and enriches the interpretation of Middle to Late Classic re-use of Early Classic monuments.

CHAPTER V: ROYAL, NOBLE, AND DEITY DWELLINGS AT COPAN

V.1 Introduction

The *otoot* glyph occurs in at least eight contexts at Copán, in a wide range of settings (Table 5.1). Five of these are in the Principal Group in Structures 10L-2, 10L-11, 10L-11-sub, 10L-18, and 10L-22 (Fig. 5.1); and three of them are in the area of the valley to the east and north known as "Las Sepulturas," in Structures 9N-82, 9M-146 (Fig. 5.2) and 8L-74 (Group 8L-10) (Fig. 5.3).[57] All contexts except for Structure 11-sub are Late Classic, encompassing the reigns of the twelfth through the sixteenth kings.

The discussion falls naturally into two thematic blocks, one dealing with the Principal Group structures and the other with the Sepulturas structures, but they are also critically linked. In this chapter I show that the Acropolis *otoots,* Structures 11, 22, and 18, share a number of features, though owned in different instances by gods and a human as a probable god impersonator. In particular, they contain central carved benches or platforms that are probably conceptually indistinguishable from the monuments we call "altars"; and there is architectural, epigraphic, and iconographic evidence that architectural space is equated with other built and non-built forms that would not normally be treated as architecture by archaeologists. Each structure links the contemporary ruler to the patron gods of Copán; each can be said to be a divine dwelling, either of gods or of the ruler in the guise of a god; and each involves references to passage to the underworld and to transformational states, including deity impersonation and entering or exiting the underworld through the mouth of a cosmic serpent-like being, reflecting themes already discussed in the chapters on Yaxchilán and Oxkintok. Structure 2, at the north end of the Main Plaza, is not on the Acropolis, and its characteristics render it an outlier with regard to the other *otoot*s discussed in the chapter; but it does share features with Oxkintok Structure CA-3.

In general, for the Acropolis *otoot*s, I emphasize that although the text of Structure 22 identifies it as the dwelling of Ruler 13, Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil, the architecture of the Acropolis of Copán in the reigns of the 13th-16th rulers was overwhelmingly dedicated to reproducing underworld geography, and there is no compelling evidence that the area was residential in any traditional sense of the word. None of the structures whose inscriptions talk about "dwellings" are likely to have been inhabited in the sense of being the locus of a set of "domestic" activities. Rather, the Acropolis and its environs were a true ceremonial center composed of dwellings and shrines for various gods and ancestors or ancestors-to-be, where the bulk of the activities involved burning and offering, undertaking ritual circuits, etc. Part of my reasoning about the ceremonial and devotional nature of the late dynastic acropolis (i.e., Rulers 13 to 16 ca. AD 695-810) involves a critique, following Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1991) and Wagner (n.d.), of the "council house" hypothesis for Structure 10L-22A (B. Fash *et al.* 1992).

This critique also sets the stage for the treatment of the Sepulturas-area structures. Two of these, Structures 9N-82 and 9M-146, have very similar hieroglyphic bench texts that identify them as the *otoot*s of men called *aj-k'uhun*, a title for high-level nobility (e.g., Jackson and Stuart 2001). The shared emic classification is reflected in building design: the floor plans of 9N-82 and 9M-146 are essentially identical, and they were built within a few years of one another. I then extend the emic characterization from the two buildings that are inscribed as *otoot*s to a group of structures with similar architectural, archaeological, iconographic, chronological, and contextual characteristics. I argue that the shared characteristics of these buildings and their chronological placement insofar as it can be determined indicate that they are part of a purposeful and centrally-directed construction project in the reign of Yax Pasaj; and specifically that that ruler is engaged in the replication, in the suburban architectural complexes, of the layout of the north end of the East Court, dominated by Structure 22, the *otoot* of Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil (Ruler 13).

I further suggest that the political and social circumstances indicated by this construction episode are not strictly congruent with the Late Classic, late dynastic political scenario proposed by W. Fash (1991, 2001; B. Fash *et al.* 1992) and accepted by many researchers (e.g., Schele and Freidel 1990:328-329; Sharer 1994:332; Martin and Grube 2000:210; Stomper 2001). This theory proposes that power at Copán was becoming decentralized near the end of dynastic rule in the reign of the sixteenth king, Yax Pasaj; and that the Copán valley was filled with affluent elites organized as powerful lineages who competed for royal favors and offices and constructed lineage monuments to themselves with their own resources, with the permission of a king whose power was on the wane (e.g., Fash 2001:176). The identification of Structure 22A as a *popol naah* "council house" has been an important part of this hypothesis because it suggests significant participation by nonroyal elites in the governing of the city. Based on a critique of the function and timing of Structure 22A and on a reassessment of the hieroglyphic bench texts and their architectural and archaeological contexts, I propose instead that there is suggestive evidence that the valley elites were not particularly affluent or competitive, but somewhat materially impoverished, and that the massive Sepulturas-area construction projects had their origins in a royally-directed effort to revitalize a city with a sagging ritual and political life.

Finally, the results of this study lend support to Marshall Becker's (1982) contention that Maya cognitive categories in site plans can be identified, and that they cross-cut differences in status as reflected in the size and elaboration of architectural complexes. Although inscriptions have thus far

[57] Copán structures and architectural groups are numbered according to a grid system in which numbers run from west to east and letters from north to south. All of the structures in the site core or "Principal Group" are in grid block 10L; but since these structures are traditionally called by their structure number rather than the entire grid designation, I follow that pattern in order to minimize visual confusion for the reader. Structure 10L-22, for example, is usually known simply as Temple 22. Since, however, I am focusing on issues of classification, I do not want to judge function prematurely and so avoid the term "temple" in favor of the more neutral "structure." Therefore, Temple 18 is "Structure 18" and so on. For the Sepulturas-area structures, I maintain the full grid designation.

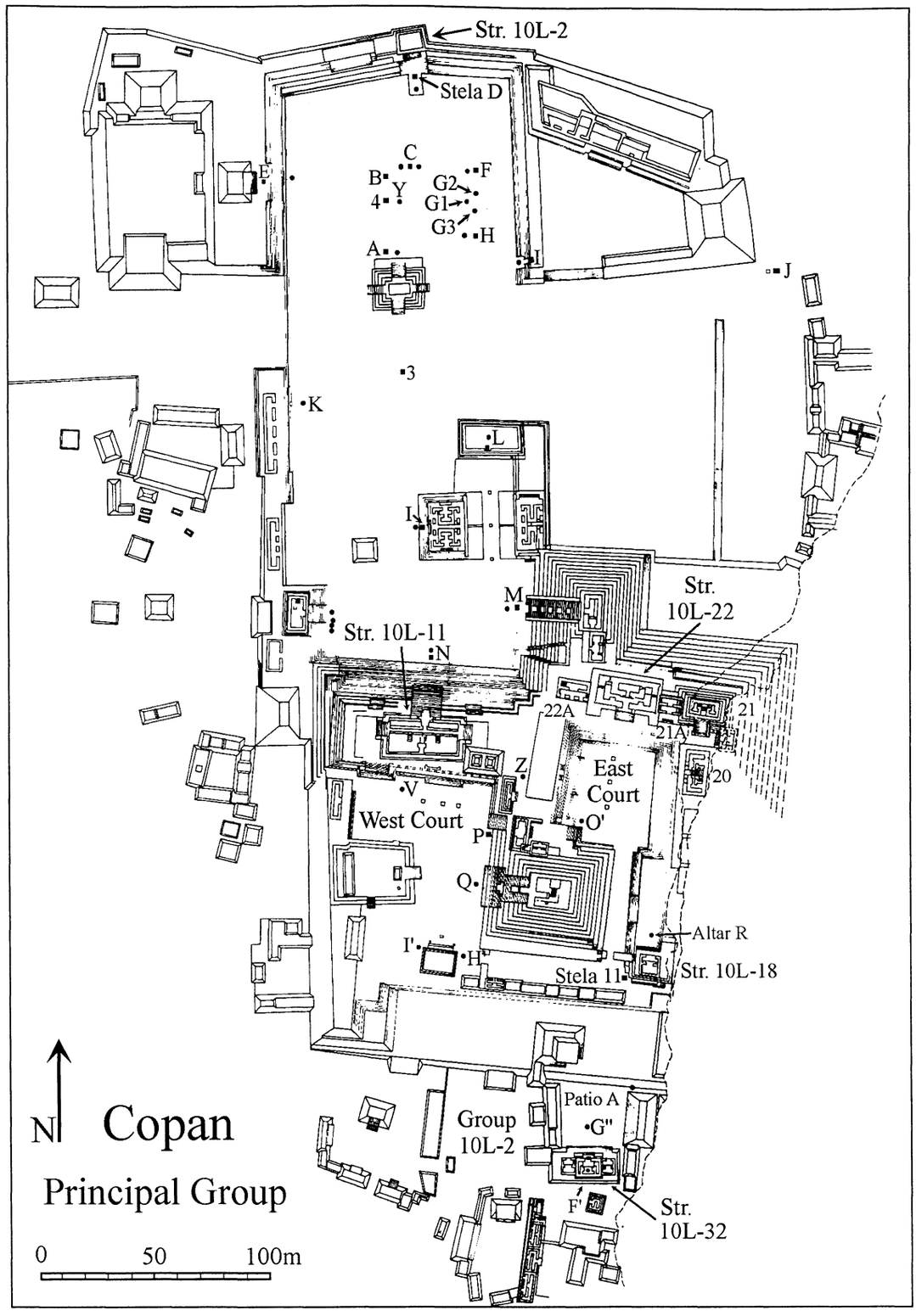

Fig. 5.1 Copán, Principal Group. Location of structures discussed in the text. After Fash (1991:20), with some author modification.

played some part in determining structure function at Copán, the kinds of emic categories that are present and that Becker wants to identify are not typically used. There are some cases in which the inferences that have been made about structure functions using epigraphic data have gone beyond the content of the texts in question (e.g., Andrews V and Bill n.d.); I therefore try to be as clear as is possible about what the texts do *not* say.

The decades of work at the site of Copán have provided a rich body of theories and a foundation for further research that has only begun to be plumbed. This chapter relies

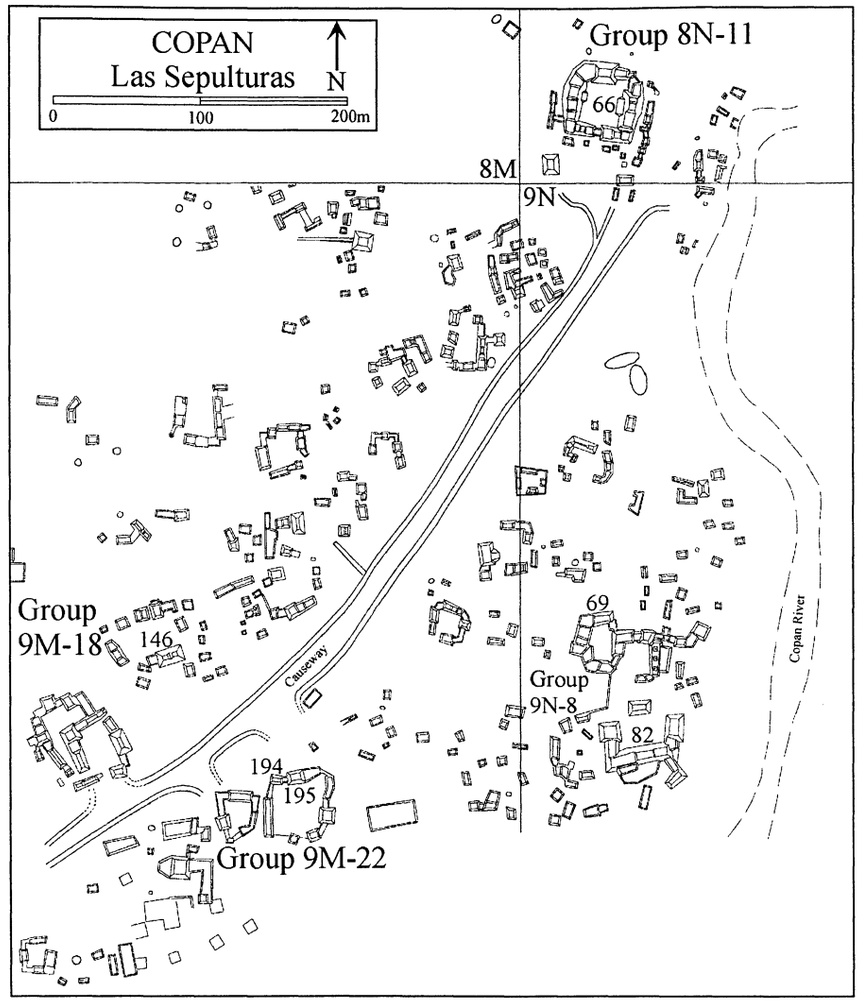

Fig. 5.2 Las Sepulturas area of Copán: partial map showing location of groups discussed in the dissertation. Redrawn and adapted from Willey, Fash, and Leventhal's pocket maps in Leventhal (1979).

especially heavily on the archaeological work of phases I and II of the Proyecto Arqueológico Copán (PAC I and PAC II), on the Tulane excavations of Group 10L-2, and upon the successes of the Copán Mosaics Project, directed by Barbara and William Fash, in the reconstruction of the sculptural programs of many buildings. The alternate hypotheses proposed herein are a natural outgrowth of a well-documented research tradition.

I work through the structures in chronological order, beginning with one of the least understood buildings in the Principal Group, Structure 2, and passing on to the *otoot* structures of the Acropolis. The second half of the chapter is occupied with the inscribed *otoot*s of the Copán Valley outside the Principal Group, with their identification beyond the presence of inscriptions, and with their implications for Copán's late political and social environment. I treat all but two of the eight *otoot* texts and structures in detail. Structure 10L-11-sub below Structure 11 at the north end of the Acropolis is known through a Carnegie Institution tunnel that encountered an Early Classic carved step[58] with a relevant reference, but because of the lack of contextual archaeological information (i.e., what the structure looked like), I treat it only briefly in the context of the larger Structure 11 discussion. Structure 8L-74's façade carried a text of glyphic stucco medallions: these had fallen at the time of discovery and the text is not complete, but it includes an *otoot* dedication. I incorporate this text only as comparative material because of its incompleteness and because Structure 8L-74 is unexcavated. The other structures are treated in their own sections.

V.2 The Principal Group otoot structures

V.2.1 Structure 10L-2: The dwelling of Ruler 12

Although the combination of two hieroglyphic steps containing architectural references with a published account of thorough excavations makes Structure 2 a model subject for this thesis, complications nevertheless present themselves. First, because of erosion, the Long Count positions of the two dates and the reading of some glyph blocks are questionable. Second, the stair is unlikely to be in its original location, as suggested by the content of its texts and demonstrated by archaeological stratigraphy. The

[58] The step was discovered by Aubrey Trik in March 1936 (Schele and Grube 1991a).

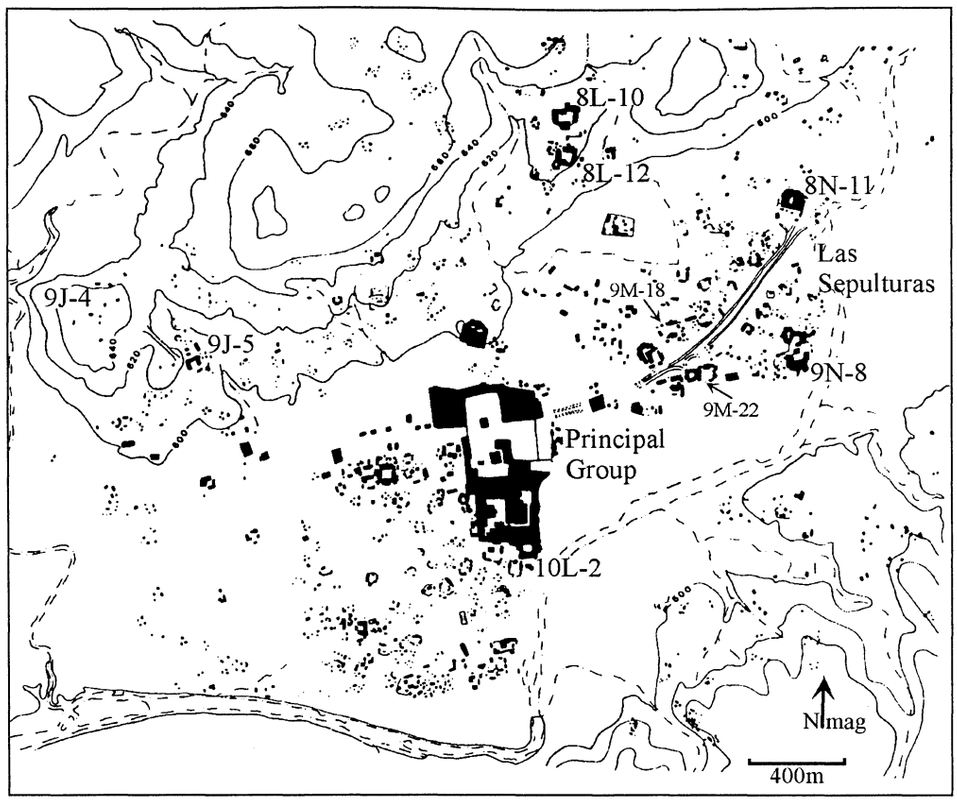

Fig. 5.3 Copán settlement map showing location of groups discussed in the dissertation. After Ashmore (1991:204).

excavators tentatively propose that the hieroglyphic steps may have belonged to a previous structure at the same locale; at the time of excavation, it was not known that the text described the dedication of a dwelling (or dwellings). Their hypothesis can now be further evaluated by integrating data from the excavation report with an understanding of the content of the text. Then, suggestions can be made concerning the possible original provenance and significance of the text and the meaning of the building, and directions for future research proposed.

V.2.1.1 Description of archaeology and architectural setting

Structure 2 occupies the center of the north end of the Great Plaza, along the main north-south axis of the Principal Group (see Fig. 5.1). Its three phases (Fig. 5.4) were excavated by Charles Cheek and Veronica Kennedy Embree under the auspices of PAC I (Cheek and Embree 1983). The hieroglyphic steps are set into the third and final phase.

The **first phase (10L-2-3rd)** (see Fig. 5.4) is connected to the earliest detected floor of the Great Plaza. The structural evidence that survives consists of a number of burned clay post-holes, one with vertical wood still in it (Cheek and Embree 1983:109), and a flagstone pavement that sits on the same fill as the early plaza floor. All that remains of the structure itself is a reddish-brown, stone-less earthen fill. An associated archaeomagnetic date of AD 573 coincides with the general Middle Classic date of the fill ceramics (Cheek and Embree 1983:109). Traxler (2003) has recently suggested that this early building is akin to a group of earthen structures with supports for perishable wooden

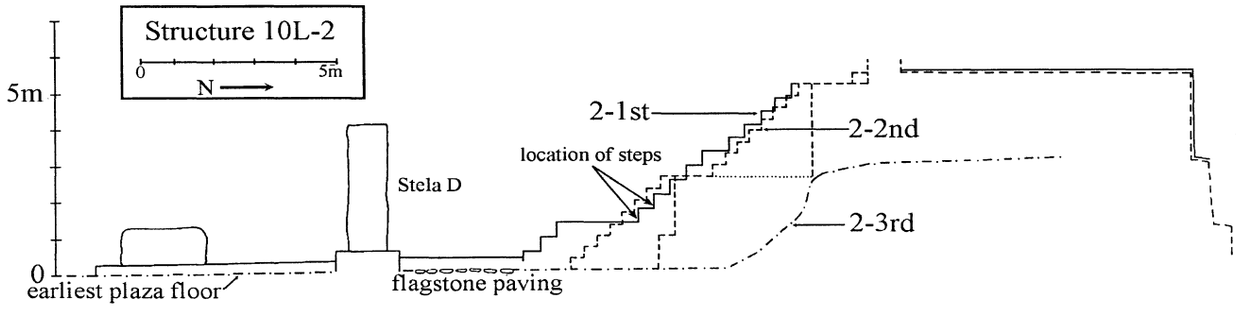

Fig. 5.4 Profile of Copán Structure 2 showing three phases. Redrawn from Cheek and Embree (1983:99).

TABLE 5.1: *OTOOT* STRUCTURES, OWNERS, AND DATES AT COPAN					
Structure	**Monument type**	***Otoot* owner**	**Under ruler #**	**Long Count(s) Gregorian dates**	**event**
Structure 11-sub (10L-11-sub)	Hieroglyphic step	Rulers 1, 2, 3?, and 10?	10?	ca. AD **573-578**	*t'ab'* *och-k'ak'*
Structure 2 (10L-2)	Hieroglyphic steps (2)	K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil (Ruler 12)	12	9.11.8.14.0 13 Ajaw 3 Xul 9 Jun **661** 9.12.3.16.8 1 Lamat 16 Zotz 9 May **676**	*och-k'ak'* *y-otoot* *pat-wan* *u-ch'ok-il* *y-otoot*
Structure 22 (10L-22)	Hieroglyphic bench	Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil (as maize god?) (Ruler 13)	13	9.14.3.6.8 5 Lamat 1 Zip 27 Mar **715**	*och-k'ak'* *y-otoot* 14 years later?
Structure 8L-74	Glyphic stucco medallions (on façade?)	Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil (?) (Ruler 13)	14	9.15.6.14.8 7 Lamat 6 Tsek 5 May **738**	*och-k'ak'* *y-otoot* (2 days after death of Ruler 13)
Structure 11 (10L-11)	Door panels	Hun-...K'uh	16	9.17.1.3.5 9 Chicchan 13 Zip 24 March **772** 9.17.2.12.16 1 Kib 19 Keh 26 Sep **773**	Involves *b'ih* "road" & *xay* "crossroads" *och-k'ak'... y-otoot*
Structure 9N-82	Hieroglyphic bench	Mak' Chanal, Xook Aj-k'uhun of Yax Pasaj	16	9.17.2.12.0 11 Ajaw 3 Keh 10 Sep **773**	*t'ab'-ay* *y-otoot*
Structure 9M-146	Hieroglyphic bench	Aj-k'uhun of Ruler 15	16	9.17.2.16.11 11 Chuwen 14 Pax 10 Dec **773** or 9.17.3.16.15 11 Men 13 Pax 9 Dec **774**	*t'ab'-ay* *y-otoot*
Structure 18 (10L-18)	Niches in side walls	??? Yax Pasaj as impersonator?	16	9.18.10.17.18 4 Etznab 1 Sak 12 Aug **801** 9.18.11.0.0. 6 Ajaw 3 Sak 14 Aug **801** (Stela 11)	*pat-tuun* *y-otoot* earth-opening? Arrival? of War Serpent? Emergence(?) Of Yax Pasaj and Yax K'uk' Mo'?

timbers that were discovered under the Acropolis (like the Maravilla Structure, which had sizeable wooden corner posts). She notes that the archaeomagnetic date may correspond to the burning and demolition of the earthen structure prior to its replacement with the masonry phase that directly overlies it.

This **second phase (10L-2-2nd)** (Fig. 5.4) appears to have been a truncated stepped pyramid, unusual for its trapezoidal form (otherwise unknown at Copán) and its limestone, rather than tuff, construction material. The platform had two blocks of stairs on its south side, facing toward the plaza. Though vestiges of a superstructure were found, it was not possible to determine its form (Cheek and Embree 1983:100). Six vault stones were discovered associated with this phase, but so were burned pieces of clay that could have come from its roof or walls; it may therefore have had a perishable superstructure that was burned to make way for the final phase. The building appears to have been constructed before the stepped terraces to either side of it that

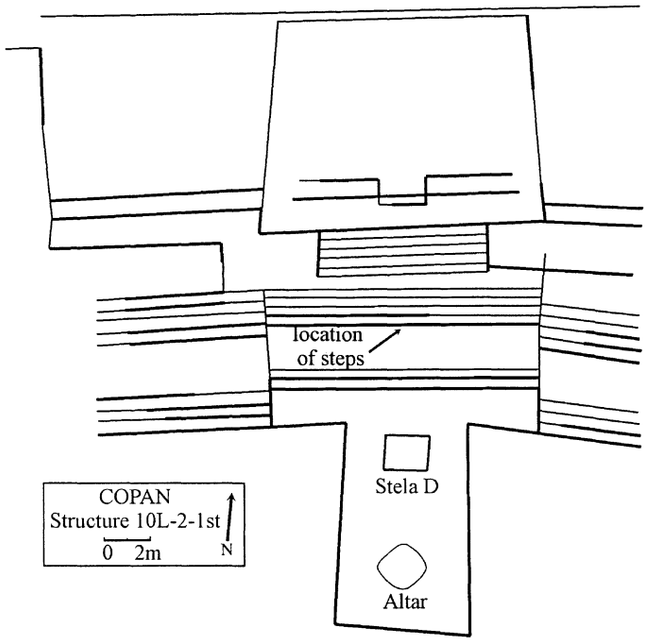

Fig. 5.5

Plan of Copán Structure 2-1st. Redrawn from Cheek and Embree (1983:103).

now form the northern border of the plaza; thus, it would have been an isolated building at the head of the plaza, like its predecessor. A single cache was found in the building, containing a longitudinally perforated jade bar representing a double-headed serpent, placed behind the south wall of the lower part of the platform (Cheek and Embree 1983:110). Because the excavators believe that the hieroglyphic stairs originally came from this phase, they date the structure according to the dates given in the inscription (discussed below); these fall between AD 660 and 680, during the reign of Ruler 12, K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil. Associated Copador ceramics may provide support for this chronological placement (Cheek and Embree 1983:115).

The **third and final phase (10L-2-1st)** (Figs. 5.4, 5.5), into which the glyphic steps are set, coincided with important changes to the entire north area of the plaza. At this time, the terraces to either side of the building were built, defining the north boundary of the plaza. The structure preserved the two-tiered stairway design of the previous building, but its orientation changed slightly; as with the second phase, some remains of a superstructure were detected, but it was not possible to determine the form (Cheek and Embree 1983:126). Currently, the structure looks like a stepped platform. This phase is the most securely dated, because it is stratigraphically linked to Stela D and its platform. Stela D's dedication date is 9.15.5.0.0, in AD 736, a full sixty years after the latest date on Structure 2's inscribed steps, and in the reign of Ruler 13 – two years before his demise at the hands of Quirigua. I now turn to texts on those steps to see how their chronology and content relate to what is known of the building archaeologically and architecturally.

V.2.1.2 Discussion of the text of the Structure 2 steps

To my knowledge, the text on the steps of Structure 10L-2 has been discussed in print in two places, by Berthold Riese in Volume 2 of the PAC I excavation reports (Riese 1983a:143-153) and by Schele (1987b). Riese principally addresses the possible Long Count positions of the dates in the text; and Schele both re-evaluates his dates and identifies the house dedication events. Her work on the inscription can now be updated in light of new understandings.

Each step constitutes a discrete text that can be read separately from the other. It is not certain that they were originally placed together, but they may well have been a pair: although of different widths and slightly different heights, their materials and carving styles are a good match, and their theme and protagonist are the same. There are two drawings, one by Barbara Fash published in the PAC I volume, and one by Linda Schele that contains some modifications to Fash's original drawing (Fig. 5.6). The dates that begin each text are, as noted above, problematic, but they almost certainly fall within the long reign (AD 628-695) of Ruler 12, K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil, who is the only person mentioned in the inscriptions. Schele letters the glyphs continuously from the upper step to the lower, and I follow her lead.

The later date occurs on **the upper step**, and both Riese (1983a:153) and Schele (1987b:2) find the most probable calendar position to be

9.12.3.16.8 1 Lamat 16 Zotz 9 May **676**

The Long Count and Lunar Series occupy glyph blocks A1 to F2. The tzolkin and the haab are placed together, rather than being separated by the Lunar Series, at G2-H2. There are two illegible glyph blocks at G1-H1 that stand between the end of the Lunar Series and the Calendar Round: these go unaccounted for by Schele. They might be 819-day Count references; or they might be distance numbers, which would imply that the Long Count date is not the same as the Calendar Round. It matters little, since the Long Count date is almost completely illegible anyway; but it might explain the failure of the lunar information to correspond fully to any

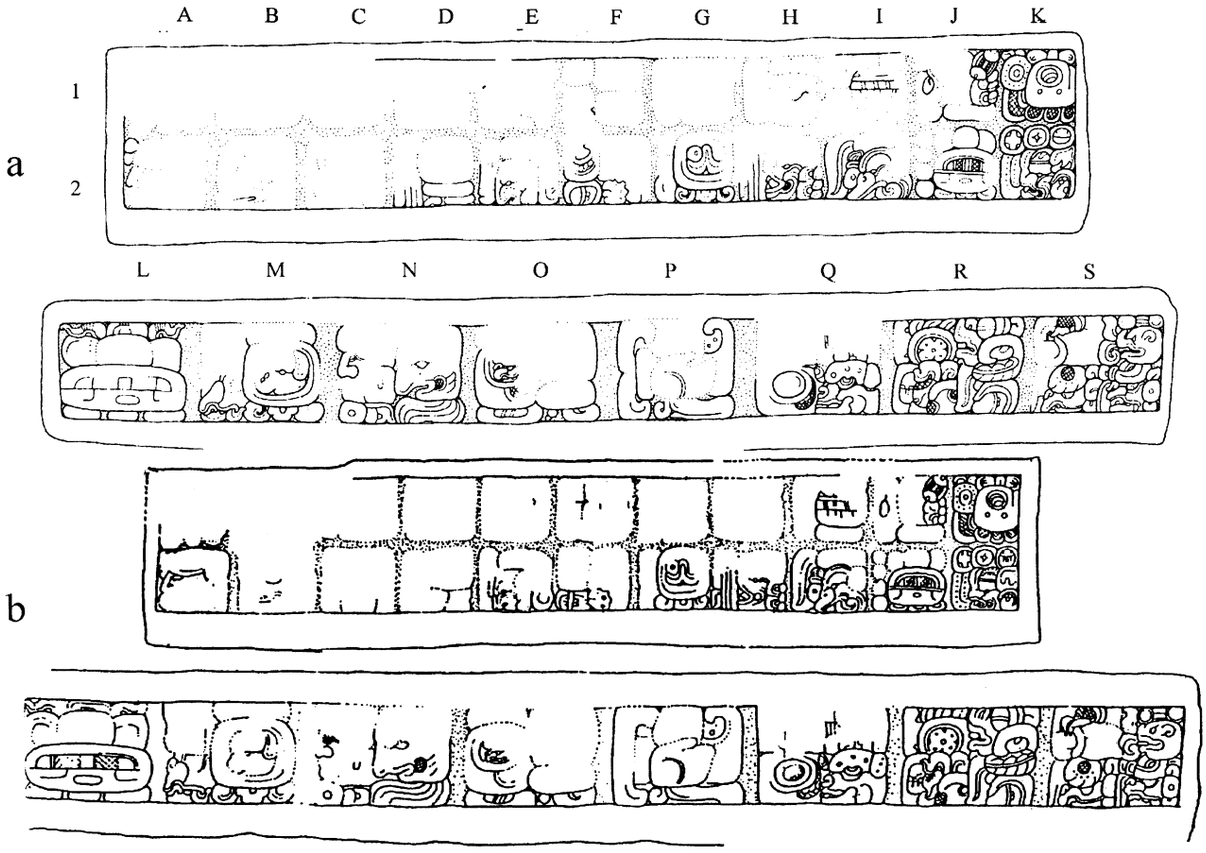

Fig. 5.6 Hieroglyphic Steps from Copán Structure 10L-2: (a) Drawing by Barbara Fash; (b) Drawing by Linda Schele.

of the Calendar Round positions considered by Schele (1987b:2).

A verb immediately follows the Calendar Round, at I1; it is very eroded, but the preserved "thatch" element indicates that it is possibly the *pat* "to shape, form, build" verb found in many dedicatory texts. The next glyph at J1 is also eroded, but the **u-** ergative prefix is present and the main sign must be the common conflation of **ch'o-ko** *ch'ok*, followed by the partitive *-il* suffix; *u-ch'ok-il* is followed at I2 by the **yo-to-ti** collocation and the titles (though not the core name) of the reigning ruler, Ruler 12:

i?-pat-wa?-ni? *u-ch'ok-il*
here it is made? the youth?/Unripeness?

y-otoot *4-"k'atun"* *ch'ahoom*
of the dwelling of 4-k'atun offering-maker

K'uhul "Copán" Ajaw
Holy Copán Lord

I do not know what might be meant by the expression "*ch'ok-il* 'youth' of the dwelling"; it is a unique expression in Maya texts. In any case, the step records a probable "building" event for the dwelling of Ruler 12.[59]

The **lower step** begins with the Initial Series Introductory Glyph, but continues immediately with a Calendar Round at M-N: Riese and Schele both place it fifteen years earlier than the upper step date, at

9.11.8.14.0 13 Ajaw 3 Xul 9 Jun **661**

A Lunar Series follows at O-Ra, with the "Lord of the Night" glyphs (Glyphs G-F = G9) oddly occurring last in the series. The only missing glyphs are Glyph X and Glyph B, the name of the lunation, but these could be in the eroded space at Qa. The dedication phase for the dwelling follows at Rb:

i-och-k'ak' *y-otoot*
here fire enters **his dwelling**

We expect the name of the dwelling owner to follow; yet both drawings and inspection of the original step suggest that

[59] Since the step has not been written about recently, I note that Schele (1987b:2) believed that the name in this text could *not* be that of Ruler 12; however, she thought that glyph I2 was part of a personal name, when it is in fact the *y-otoot* collocation. The titles "4-k'atun ch'ahoom K'uhul 'Copán' Ajaw" are appropriate for Ruler 12 at this date and at this time in his life, when he had already ruled for 48 years if we accept Riese and Schele's proposed date for this step; that is, he would certainly be over sixty, into his fourth k'atun of life. He lived to be over eighty and eventually took the "5-k'atun lord" title. There is little doubt that the step was commissioned by Ruler 12; if it was a retrospective monument by Ruler 13, Ruler 12 would have been accorded the "5-k'atun" rather than the "4-k'atun" title.

the first sign at S is the *i-* "focus marker" that typically introduces a new verb. Both drawings also suggest that the glyph following *i-* is the "net-headdress over turtle shell": Schele believed that she had identified this glyph as another form of the God N verb; but there is no other known context in which it operates this way. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that it is a title (/i/-initial?) for K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil, whose core name follows immediately and ends the text. It is possible that he is marked here as a deity impersonator. The net headdress calls to mind God N or bakab-type figures, and it is interesting to note that other Copán dwelling owners and their ancestors, in the Sepulturas *otoot*s 9N-82 and 9M-146, are portrayed in the iconography of the hieroglyphic benches as sky-supporting bakabs.

In summary, the Structure 2 texts recount a "building" and a "censing" event for the dwelling of Ruler 12, who may be identified with an aspect of God N: they are two separate events occurring, if the dates are identified correctly, 5448 days apart, or about fifteen years. It may seem odd that the earlier event is the fire-entering and the later event is the *pat* event, the "building"; but, as I note in the Yaxchilán chapter, multiple dedication events in dwellings are common in the Maya area and in societies across the globe, where propitiatory and cleansing rituals are performed at every stage of construction, from the gathering of the building materials to the first entry of the inhabitants into the finished structure. It may be that a censing event could occur during the first stages of construction. In any case, it seems to be the *ch'ok-il* of the dwelling that is the object of the *pat* verb, so we are not in fact certain what is being built or made.

V.2.1.3 Summary consideration of Structure 2 texts and archaeology

Given (1) the nature of the earlier architectural phases – one possibly contemporary with the earliest sub-acropolis architecture associated with the founder and the earliest plaza phase, and the other possibly contemporary with Ruler 12's long reign – and (2) the content of the inscription, which recounts a "building" and a "censing" event for the dwelling of Ruler 12, what is the probability that the text refers to either of these earlier phases?

If we consider the dwelling to be a living home, then it is fairly low. Ruler 12 was likely to have been, in W. Fash's words, "the single most important ruler in the site's history" (2001:101); however, in the isolated nature of its second phase and its unassuming size, Structure 2 does not compare even to the *otoot* dwellings of nobles in the Sepulturas area. It does compare favorably, however, with Structure CA-3 at Oxkintok. CA-3 is a small, unimpressive Early Classic structure that was later covered by a Middle Classic platform whose directional orientation was slightly different than the original structure. The structure was then left isolated and untouched at the northern end of the platform of Grupo Ah Canul, even while major Late Classic temples and elaborate range structures were erected around it. The small structure also generated the major north-south axis of the platform, an axis that was observed by caching practices and structures for the next four centuries.

Oxkintok Structure CA-3 had several early Middle Classic burials, which Structure 10L-2 has not exhibited; in fact, no burials were discovered with the latter building. That perhaps does not mean that no burial exists: the excavators note that when a funerary chamber was discovered in Structure 18, they considered the possibility that their axial trench in Structure 10L-2 might have missed an analogous crypt (off-center, one assumes) in the surface of the mound; but when this possibility was recognized, the restoration of 10L-2 had already taken place and it was impossible to probe further (Cheek and Embree 1983:131). In the chapter on Oxkintok, I conclude that Structure CA-3 was probably one of the sources of a series of Early Classic *otoot* dedication lintels. There is therefore a rather close parallel between the two structures, both in terms of the archaeology (i.e., an early structure left isolated at the north end of a main plaza under a low platform of slightly different orientation) and the native classification.

Ruler 12 *may* have had some profound association with 10L-2-2nd or -3rd that was commemorated by Ruler 13 in his refurbishment of it. Ruler 13 had a striking interest in commemorating Ruler 12's memory, as shown by his dedication of the massive hieroglyphic stairway to Ruler 12 over his probable burial under Structure 26. Ruler 12's principal construction activities, such as they are known, appear to be in the main acropolis, and it is entirely possible that Ruler 13 pulled the 10L-2-1st steps out of one of the buildings underneath Structure 26 after Ruler 12's death and before his refurbishment of the Chorcha-Mascaron-Papagayo assemblage.

Nevertheless, the association of this "dwelling" inscription with the northern precinct of the site center and with this little building is curious. The major Type 4 complex directly north of the structure – the only large complex between the north side of the plaza and the beginning of the hills – was trenched by Nuñez de Chinchilla; but that work is not published and no report was written. The recent identification of the residential compound of Yax Pasaj as Group 10L-2, just south of and below the acropolis (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992), together with the recent work at La Milpa that indicates that the locations of royal residential courtyards may have shifted with successive reigns (Hammond and Tourtellot n.d.), suggest that this northern group may represent another royal residential compound.

In sum, it seems to me highly unlikely that Ruler 12 chose to inscribe Structure 10L-2-2nd as his dwelling, even in the sense that I will propose for Ruler 13's Structure 22 and other buildings like it. The question of the original provenance of the steps may not be solvable, but the idea that there may be a number of royal residential compounds in the immediate vicinity of the acropolis and main plaza is an intriguing one. On the other hand, it is certainly possible that a better understanding of the *u-ch'ok-il y-otoot* expression could clarify the problem: perhaps a metaphorical meaning is involved. Further, this structure could be a dwelling for a specific impersonation identity of Ruler 12, as for Itzamnaaj B'alam I at Yaxchilán: if such is the case, the north central end of the Main Plaza seems like a reasonable place for Ruler 12 to dedicate a shrine to a divine or ancestral identity.

V.2.2 Structure 10L-22: The dwelling of Ruler 13

The integration of archaeological perspectives on Acropolis buildings is limited because much of it was excavated by Maudslay (1898-1901:Vol. I:5-69, Plates 1-119) and later by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the 1930's, when objectives and documentation concerns were very different. It is further restricted by the scarcity of relevant deposits in monumental centers in general. This paucity of artifactual data from primary contexts on the Acropolis, in conjunction with the abundance of both inscriptions and sculptural programs on building facades, have made Copán's ritual life and cosmovision relatively more approachable than the more traditional archaeological questions of structure function, use of space, activity distribution, etc. The function of structures, when addressed, is usually inferred from iconography and general architectural features. Suggested functions have included bloodletting, captive sacrifice, and council meeting: for example, Stuart has suggested that captive display was a function of the massive northern stairway of Structure 11 (Stuart 1998a:416); B. Fash *et al.* (1992) have inferred a "council house" hypothesis from the mat designs and other iconography of Structure 22A; and B. Fash and W. Fash have inferred that Structure 20 was a jailhouse or captive-holding area, from the exterior placement of cord-holders and the presence of carved bat figures with death symbolism, reminiscent of the Bat House of the Popol Vuh (B. Fash and W. Fash 1994).

Structure 22 was first cleared by Maudslay in 1885 (1889-1902:Vol. 5:10-13, 17-29) and later was the site of Carnegie Institution of Washington excavations under Aubrey Trik (1939). The reconstruction and interpretation of its façade sculpture is the subject of the dissertation work of Jennifer Ahlfeldt of Columbia University. Her conclusions about the significance of the sculpture will reveal far more about the building than I can hope to deal with here, but I address it from the comparative perspective of this thesis as an inscribed *otoot*.

V.2.2.1 Physical description of Structure 22

Structure 22 sits in the center of the north end of the East Court of the Acropolis, with Structure 22A to the west and 21A and 21 to the east (Fig. 5.7). It was constructed before either of the buildings that flank it (Larios, Fash, and Stuart 1994). Truly monumental in size, its single exterior doorway is nine feet wide (Maudslay 1889-1902, vol. 5:28) and leads into the first of two east-west-oriented vaulted chambers. From the outer chamber one can enter either of the two side chambers, also very large rooms. The western side chamber extends back to the rear wall of the building, while the rear portion of the eastern chamber was blocked off at some time in its history. Both side chambers have openings, or "windows" pierced through their walls, the west chamber through the west and north walls, and the east chamber through the east wall.

Dominating the outer, south chamber is the sculpture, described briefly below, that frames the raised entrance to the inner, north chamber. The step up into the north chamber is two feet high (Maudslay 1889-1902, vol. 5:28), and its front edge is the site of the text, like the hieroglyphic benches in other buildings at the site. The inner chamber of Structure 22 would have been an extraordinary location, one of the most sequestered on the entire acropolis. The entire chamber is in effect a great bench, whose front has been walled in to form a room: apart from this screening off of the bench, the plan of the structure is that of Structures 10L-32, 8N-66C, 9M-195B, and 9M-194B. The inner chamber seems to have had a "window" into the eastern side chamber that was later sealed.

When Maudslay cleared nearly the entire building in 1885, the only artifacts he recorded were two censers that sat on the surface of the inner chamber, and some patches of charcoal (1889-1902:Vol 5:29). Although the censers are apparently Late Classic in design, there is no archaeological reason to associate their position at discovery with the Late Classic

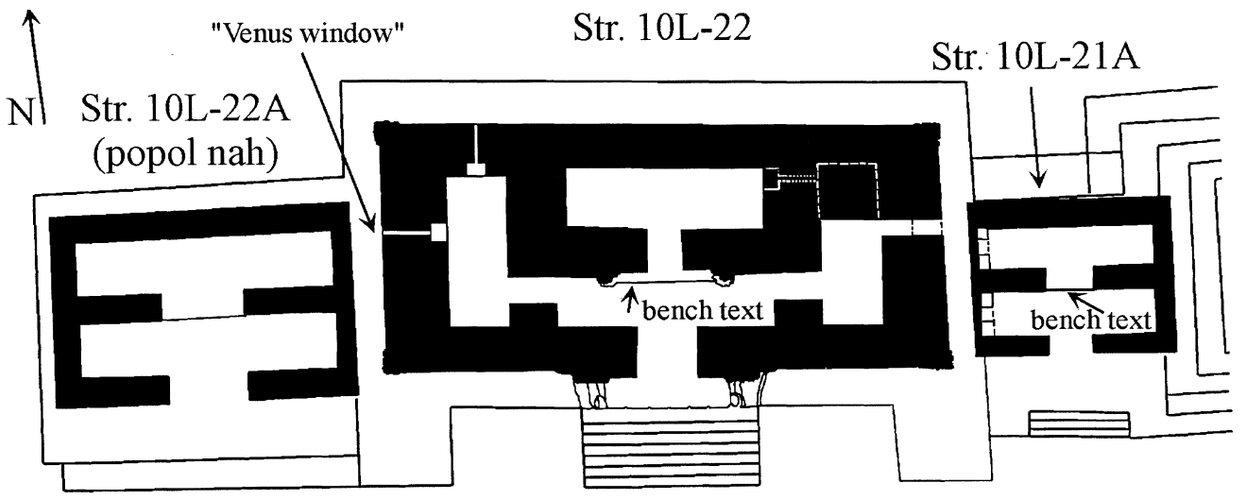

Fig. 5.7 Copán Structure 22 flanked by 22A and 21A, redrawn and adapted after Hohmann and Vogrin (1982:Fig.99).

period. Maudslay did note that several layers of plaster, each differently colored, covered the floors and wall of the outer chamber, the terrace around the building, and its carved surface (ibid.).

V.2.2.2 Iconographic themes of Structure 22: An overview of interpretations

The sculpture preserved on the façade and around the inner door, and discovered in the building's rubble, is discussed in many places (Schele and Miller 1986; Baudez 1994; Miller 1988; Stuart 1988), and although I will not deal extensively with it here, I summarize the main features and interpretive themes.

More or less intact upon discovery was the carving of the lower part of the outer door, consisting of a giant toothy lower jaw that frames and forms the lower entrance surface. Like so many Maya buildings, the interior of the building was probably seen as the interior of a supernatural animal; the design of the door is comparable to the "monster-mouth" doors of Chenes-style buildings (Gendrop 1998; G. Andrews 1986; Stamp 1970), and to the well-preserved building recently excavated at Ek' Balam. A Starry Deer Caiman, marked all over with star glyphs and with the "Quadripartite Badge" on its tail end, frames the interior door (Fig. 5.8). Its body is composed of S-shaped scrolls through which small deity figures are woven, and it is supported by two bakabs with net headdresses, who kneel on giant skulls.

On the exterior of the structure, each corner is composed of stacked *witz* "mountain" masks, identifiable by their long eyelashes, long snouts, and *kawak* markings. The most famous sculptures from the rubble of the building are, however, the tenoned maize god busts (Fig. 5.9). The maize gods are not the "tonsured" (Taube 1992a) maize god prominent on Maya pottery, but the "foliated" maize god that appears iconographically as a growing corn ear. These busts were apparently placed on the façade to give the appearance of emerging from the *witz* masks (Ahlfeldt, personal communication 2002; see also Schele and Miller 1986:144). The sculptural program of the building was much more complex than these motifs hint, however: Ahlfeldt has identified and catalogued nearly four thousand pieces of sculpture that belong to the building, and has isolated no less than thirty-nine different motifs, some surprising and enigmatic, which will be analyzed in her doctoral thesis (Ahlfeldt 2001; personal communication 2002).

In the absence of archaeological information, interpretations of Structure 22 have naturally focused on its iconography, with bloodletting as a central theme. The S-scrolls that make up the body of the Starry Deer Caiman are related to bloodletting and its supernatural results: Stuart (1988) connects them to S-scrolls on stelae from Jimbal and Ixlu, on several Yaxchilán lintels, and on Ucanal Stela 4, which contain conjured beings associated with bloodletting. The depiction of these scrolls as the body of the Starry Deer Caiman resonates, as Stuart notes, with the use of the Starry Deer Caiman as a framing device on the Piedras Negras niche stelae, at least one of which depicts a woman handing bloodletting implements to the seated king. The three stacked knots that encircle the ankles of the monster's legs in Structure 22 are associated with blood sacrifice in many other contexts, and reinforce the bloodletting associations of the Starry Deer Caiman.

Schele and Miller (1986) call Structure 22 Yax Pasaj's "palace," and note that it is the most private structure on the main acropolis, reached only after passing through the West and East Courts (1986:154). They posit that the Starry Deer Caiman indicates that the bench-room was an "inner sanctum" designed for bloodletting by the king, and they link the king's blood to the fertility represented by the maize god busts, "setting him up as the progenitor of maize" (ibid.). Freidel and Schele (1993) argue that the Starry Deer Caiman is a representation of the Milky Way. They point out that the

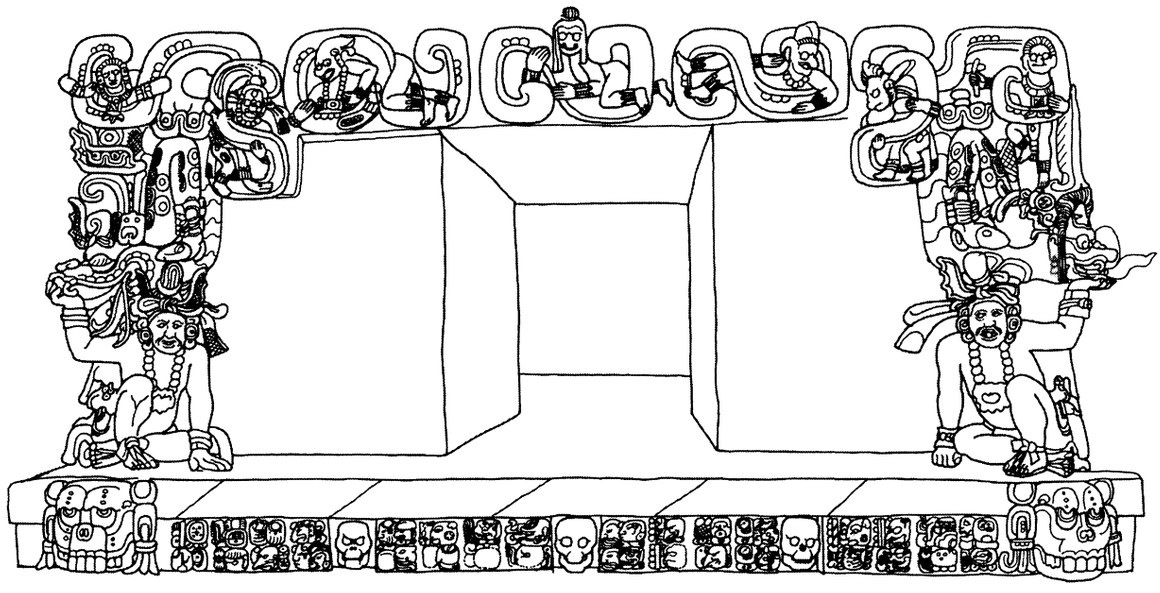

Fig. 5.8 Carving around door of interior chamber of Copán Structure 22. Drawing by Linda Schele.

S-scrolls that compose his body on Structure 22 may also be cloud scrolls, and they emphasize the "conjuring" and "cloud-conjuring" associations of bloodletting. Stuart had previously noted that the Aztec term for the Milky Way is Mixcoatl, "Cloud Serpent," also an important Aztec deity (Freidel and Schele 1993:436,n.65). The Milky Way as a stellar feature was extremely important to indigenous cultures across Meso- and South America and it is closely associated with serpents, with methods of transport such as canoes, rivers, and roads, and with access to supernatural realms (e.g., Eliade 1964 [1951]:271n, 292; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:25-27, 43, 57, 171-73).

Another sky-related connection that has fueled a sometimes caustic debate between Claude Baudez on one hand and Anthony Aveni and his colleagues Horst Hartung, Michael Closs, and Bruce Crowley on the other, has to do with Venus. Closs, Aveni, and Crowley (1984) have argued that Structure 22 is associated with a Venus-maize-rain complex that forms a coherent pattern recognizable in Mayan ethnohistorical and mythological sources, and that the west window (later sealed) of the structure was intended for astronomical observations of Venus. Baudez argues in contrast that the Venus window is an unlikely interpretation because it began architecturally as an opening that extended to the floor; and because Structure 22A blocked the view west (e.g., Baudez 1994:211). However, that structure is unquestionably somewhat later than 10L-22 (Larios, W. Fash, and Stuart 1994), such that the view to the west would have been possible for some time.

Other East Court iconography links Structure 22 to Venus: for example, Yax Pasaj (Ruler 16) seems to have designed the bench text of Structure 21A to mimic that of Ruler 13's Structure 22. The text in 21A is carved in four blocks divided by three devices, just like the text of Structure 22; but instead of skulls, Yax Pasaj uses Venus glyphs, suggesting a direct substitution (Fig. 5.10a,b). Aveni, Closs, and Hartung (1993:90) note the skull-Venus connection following Lounsbury (1982:156-8), who identified a skull variant of the Venus glyph. Further, Altar R, which was discovered on Structure 17 in the East Court, is carved in the image of the same skulls that appear on the 10L-22 bench: it is the only monument at Copán aside from the Structure 11 door panels to name Venus as Chak Ek', its Dresden Codex appellation (Fig. 5.10c). Even the date in the inscription on the step of Structure 22, 5 Lamat, seems Venus-related, since the glyph for Lamat is the "star" glyph, for which the Copán Maya used the Starry Deer Caiman head variant at the end of the text at P2.

Some commentators have felt that the carving around the door of the inner chamber of Structure 22 is a cosmogram in

Fig. 5.9

Maize god bust from Copán Structure 22 façade. Drawing by Linda Schele.

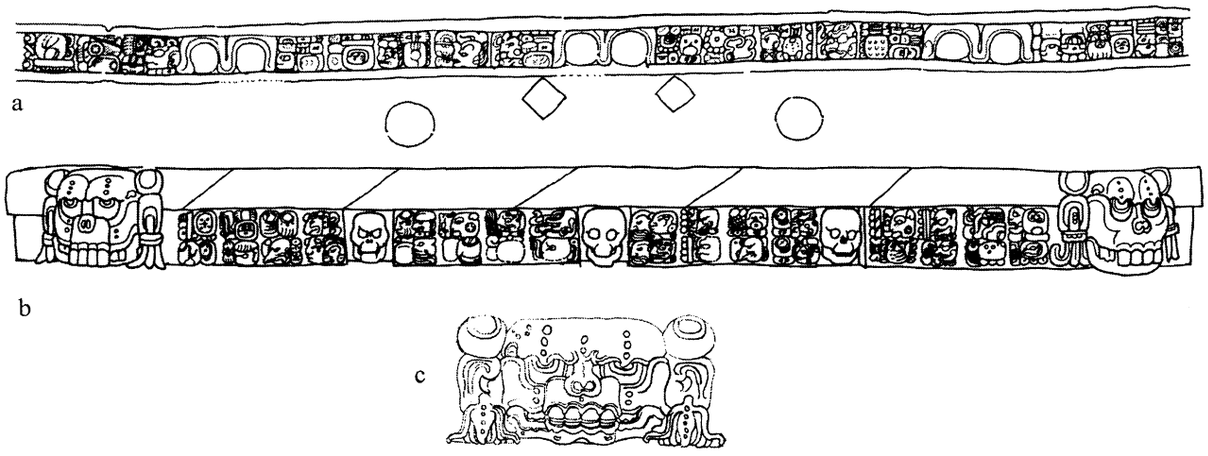

Fig. 5.10 Venus iconography parallels in Copán Acropolis, East Court: (a) Structure 21A text. Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) Copán Structure 22 text. Drawing by Linda Schele; (c) Copán Altar R face. Sketch by author after Annie Hunter in Maudslay (1889-1902:Vol. 1, Plate 94).

which the skulls represent the underworld, the ground level and the chamber itself represent the human world where people could physically be seated, and the Starry Deer Caiman represents the sky (e.g., Schele and Freidel 1990:316; Baudez 1994:209; W. Fash 2001:122). W. Fash posits that the *witz* masks on the exterior corners indicate that Structure 22 is a "man-made 'sacred mountain' such as those used by the modern Maya during religious pilgrimages for communion with their ancestors"; and that the inner chamber represents its sacred recesses (2001:123). The "foliated-maize-god-emerging-from-mountain" motif is well represented in Maya iconography, and is associated with named mountain locations, particularly on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross at Palenque. On that tablet, the ruler Kan B'alam stands dressed in the skirt and belt of the maize god on top of a maize-sprouting mountain called Yaxha'al Witznal, "Green Water Mountain Place."

Scholars have identified royal accession as another theme of the building. Larios, Fash, and Stuart (1994) corrected the view that the structure came from the reign of Yax Pasaj by demonstrating stratigraphically that Structure 22 predated the final version of Structure 26; and further, that the date in the inscription on the bench was the one-k'atun anniversary of Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil's accession. The final phase of the building has since been accepted as the work of Ruler 13, rather than Ruler 16. Miller (1988:169) also asserted that the building celebrated rulership; and Ahlfeldt (personal communication 2002) believes that accession is a major focus of the building.

V.2.2.3 The function of Structure 22: Review of hypotheses

Some earlier studies of the East Court of the Copán acropolis tended toward the hypothesis that it was a private residential space (Becker in Becker and Cheek 1983:432; Sanders and Webster 1988). Becker in particular saw the East Court as the most appropriate residential zone for a sovereign and his family, because of its isolation, restricted access, and series of very elaborate and adorned buildings with "a more 'residential' than 'temple' aspect" (Becker and Cheek 1983:432). Of all of the East Court structures, only 21 and 20 had the high pyramidal bases typical of temples or shrines in Becker's extensive experience; and 22 seemed to be the best candidate for a residence because of having the greatest amount of internal space of any structure on the acropolis. The West Court, in contrast, was dominated by pyramidal structures and was therefore the best candidate for a ceremonial precinct.

Baudez, Riese, and Cheek disagreed at that time (Becker and Cheek 1983:432); and it now seems that the East Court is generally accepted as a ceremonial rather than residential space. W. Fash also seems to have concluded that it is essentially a ceremonial structure, since the only activity he associates with the building is bloodletting (2001:122), a use that seems to be supported by the iconography, as discussed above. Similarly, Webster believes (following the Tulane excavators (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992; Andrews V and Bill, n.d.)) that the excavation of Group 10L-2 just south of the Copán Acropolis has uncovered the real residential area of the late Copán kings; he currently conceptualizes the acropolis and its environs as all part of an extended royal household, suggesting that for Yax Pasaj, for example, the whole Principal Group was the palace-court complex (2001:153). Others (e.g., Baudez 1994:211) have not completely written off the possibility of a residential function.

Sadly, as Becker and Cheek noted (1983:432), the determination of function in the acropolis can be based only on plans, form, and dimensions of structures since early excavators removed all of the artifacts. While the excavation of the 10L-22 substructures may shed some light on the latest phase, there is no final-phase archaeological evidence of the kind usually used to address function that will help us concretely to identify activities associated with it.

V.2.2.4 The hieroglyphic bench text of Structure 22, the otoot of Ruler 13

The inscription on the bench of Structure 22 (Fig. 5.11) does provide some information that relates to its iconography as currently known and to other similarly inscribed and carved structures. The inscription is difficult, containing a number of undeciphered signs. It is known primarily through Annie Hunter's drawing (Maudslay 1889-1902:Vol. I, Plate 16), because the text eroded significantly after Maudslay cleared the structure and left it unconsolidated. Linda Schele partially redrew the text using Maudslay's photos in the British Museum, but the drawing is too rough to be of great use. Maudslay's photographs, however, reveal details that were not recorded or were mis-recorded by Hunter.[60] I address it here in detail because it has not been addressed in its entirety anywhere else.

The major published source on the inscription is Stuart (1992), which includes conclusions drawn in Stuart (1989a). The text is read in single, rather than double, columns. Stuart shows that the first phrase of the text (A1-B1)

> *ti ho "Lamat" tzutz-aj in "k'atun"*
> **on 5 Lamat is completed my k'atun**

refers to the 20-*tuun* anniversary of the accession of Ruler 13 on 7 Lamat 1 Mol 9.13.3.6.8, placing the 5 Lamat date on **9.14.3.6.8 5 Lamat 1 Zip**, AD 715. Stuart (1992:175) also drew attention to the fact that the text is largely written in the first person, which is unusual, particularly in monumental texts. The structure of the text is quite poetic and is reminiscent of the nested couplet/quadruplet structures of the Stela A text (Coggins 1992), also one of Ruler 13's monuments.

The text continues with an enigmatic expression at B2-C1, possibly a negative sentence involving something not being seen or divined:

> **ma-IL(?)-..-..**
> *ma'-il... ?*
> is not seen ... ?

[60] These photographs are now housed in the British Museum; prints made by Ian Graham from Maudslay's original plates are housed in the Peabody Museum archives. I thank Jennifer Ahlfeldt for drawing my attention to these. She will include a fresh drawing of the inscription in her dissertation.

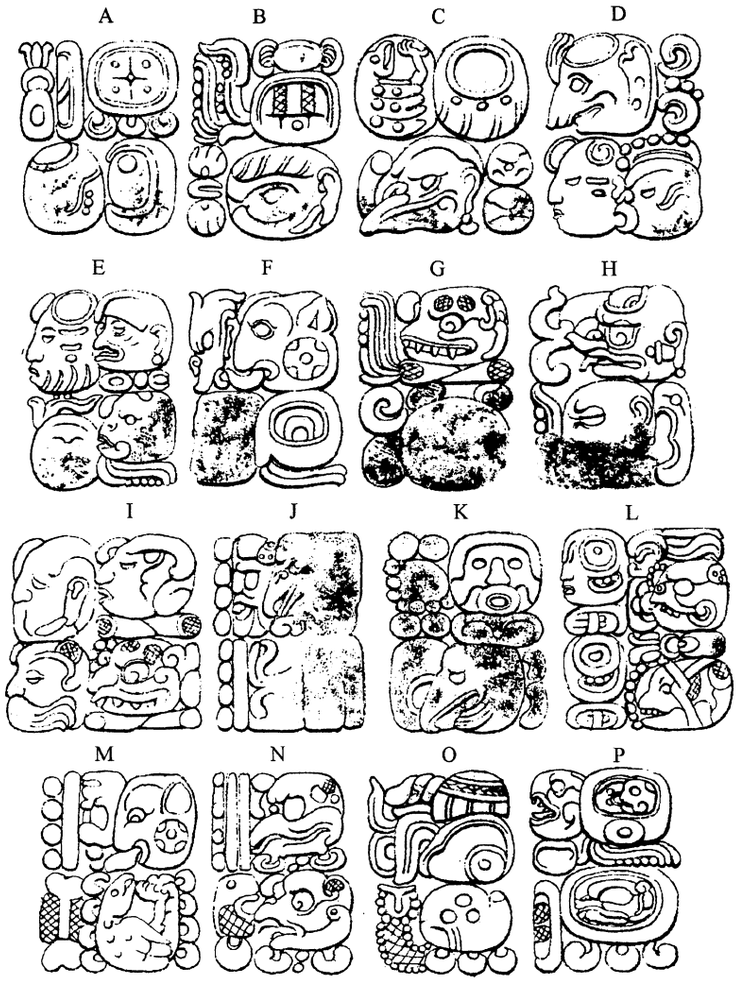

Fig. 5.11 Copán Structure 22 text. Drawing by Annie Hunter, from Maudslay (1889-1902, Vol. 1:Plate 16).

Fig. 5.12 Maize god heads: (a) from Copán Structure 22 text; (b) from Robicsek and Hales (1981) Vessel 72, after Taube (1985:Fig. 3a); (c) after Taube (1985:Fig. 3b); (d) from Quirigua Stela J, after Taube (1985:Fig. 3e).

and then at C2-D1, according to Stuart (1992:175), a quotative phrase,

ya-la-ji-ya
y-al-aj-i:y
he said

– an appropriate follow-up to the first person text.[61] The same pattern is known from ceramics. One would expect the personage who is speaking to be Ruler 13, but the name that occurs at D2 is

[maize god head] K'UH **b'a? ITZA:T-ti**
Ixim? K'uh, *B'a? Itzaat*
Maize? God, First? Sage

The glyph in front of *k'uh* (Fig. 5.12a) is almost certainly a maize god head, with its youthful face and "corn curl" infix (Taube 1985, 1992a). That is, this passage reads as a direct quotation from the maize god: "'On 5 Lamat my k'atun is ended; [something] is not seen,' said the Maize God, the First Sage."

Why would a god be celebrating his first k'atun? Probable gods such as Yax K'amlay are seated in office together with and on the same day as Yax Pasaj, the sixteenth ruler. It may be that in the Structure 22 text the god is speaking and declaiming the anniversary of both his own and Ruler 13's

[61] While the glyph at C2a as rendered by Annie Hunter does not look like the **ya** syllable that would give the initial sound of *y-al-ji:y*, inspection of the [photocopies of] the photographs of the Maudslay cast show that it is the skeletal head variant of **ya**.

accession. I think, however, that it is much more likely that Ruler 13 is speaking as the impersonation of the maize god: Copán rulers as depicted on stelae (particularly Ruler 13's monuments) commonly take gods' titles and names without the *u-b'aah-il-aan* impersonation phrase in contexts where they are clearly in the garb of the god.

The glyph at E2 is difficult, but it may begin with another **ni**/*in-*/"my" first person pronoun. F1-H1 continues in the first-person voice

U-b'aah *[in?/u?]-ch'ab*
it/he is the self/image of **the creation/son of**

in-chan(ul?) *K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil*
my guardian **Ruler 12**

One would assume, unless the unreadable glyph at E2 has changed the speaker, that the person speaking is still Ruler 13 as the maize god. The subject of the phrase – i.e., the guardian – is given at G2-H1, and spells the name of Ruler 12, *K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil.*[62] I think what may be going on in this passage is that Ruler 13 as the maize god is referring to himself as *U-b'aah u-ch'ab in chan(ul)*, "himself, the son of my guardian"; but the syntax and string of ergative pronouns is problematic. Still, Ruler 13 is almost certainly referring to Ruler 12 as his father and as a deified figure who has joined the ranks of the patron gods: Ruler 16 in fact depicts previous rulers in the company of the site's patron gods or ancestors on the north bench carving of Structure 11 . Interestingly, the **CHAN-nu** *chan(ul)* glyph is usually used with a third-person pronoun to refer to a ruler as the "guardian" of a captive. Here, though, the term is used with the first-person pronoun between a father and a son. The precise meaning of the entire phrase is probably not accessible without an understanding of the glyph at E2.

H2 is eroded: it may represent a verb whose main sign is **IL** or **ILA**, "to see," and may indicate that an event parallel to the "not seeing" at B2 is being recorded. The prefix could be another first-person possessive *in-*, but if the verb is *il,* one would expect a **wi** to give the intermediate 'w' sound: this may in fact be what is represented at H2, where the first sign has the upturned foliage characteristic of the **wi** syllable. Although its suffix looks like a **MO'** "macaw" beak, it is probably a variant of the **a** sign. A possible third element is eroded beneath the main sign. In spite of the uncertain inflection of the verb *-il*, it is plausible that H2-I2 records a first-person witnessing or seeing event, *(in)-w-il-.....*

The prefix at I1 is unclear, but the prefix at I2 is again the first-person pronoun. The photographs suggest that the two prefixes are not the same, although the main signs at I1 and I2 suggest an earth-sky couplet:

... **KAB-nu** **ni-CHAN-nu**
...kab-nu *in chan(ul)*

Beginning at I2, the meaning is relatively clear: Ruler 13 refers to the patron gods of the site using the same expression that he uses to refer to his father, and they may be what he sees on the occasion of his k'atun-ending.

in-chan(ul) *4-te' Ajaw*
My guardians **Four Lord(s)**

B'olon K'awiil *K'uy ..-ki*
Nine K'awiil(s?) **K'uy ..-ki**

Mo' [Witz'?] Ajaw
Macaw [Mountain?] Lord

L1-L2 records another couplet: it is enigmatic, but may be another set of epithets for these gods:

WINIK/WINAK-ki U?-bu-e?
winik/ak u-?
twenty are his ?[63]

WINIK/WINAK-ki tu-K'UHUL?-..
winik/ak tu k'uhul? ....
twenty for/at/pertaining to his holy? ...

The number twenty may refer to a group of twenty ancestors (who generally seem to occur in groups of four, nine, and twenty at Copán), like the twenty pictured on the Structure 11 bench step discussed in the next section; but the expression remains cryptic.

M1-M2 follows with

B'olon U-b'aah ko?-no-...?
Nine are the selves of the (protectors/guardians?)

Stuart (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:190) has suggested that the personages mentioned at J1-K2 are protector gods of Copán based on the compound *kok-noob* or *kok-noom* (from Ch'orti' root *kok*, "to guard, protect") found on the text of the Structure 21 bench, where all of the same god names are found associated with the "protectors" epithet. We may be getting the same epithet written differently at M2: the bird glyph cannot be read,[64] but at least present are a possible **ko** syllable and definite **no** syllable.

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[62] I thank Jennifer Ahlfeldt and through her David Stuart for pointing this out to me, since it is not evident in Hunter's drawing. Unlike the Hunter drawing, the photographs of the cast and Maudslay's photos of the original inscription as published in the *Biologia Centrali-Americana* clearly show that the prefix on G2 is **K'AK'**, and that the superfix is **TI'**, "mouth." The main sign is unclear in the cast photo; but we can observe something quite interesting and even funny in Maudslay's published photos of the original step. In Plate 13a, a photo of the rubble-filled door of the structure showing the middle section of the step, we can make out not only the swirls of the **K'AK'** sign and the intact **TI'** above it, but also the well-preserved head of the "Imix Monster" complete with his earflare. In Plate 16, however, a photo of the entire step accompanied by Hunter's drawing, the glyph has been almost completely destroyed and there is a small pile of rubble on the plaster floor just in front of it! Someone in Maudslay's crew (perhaps the man himself) must have accidentally knocked against it with a boot, or a pick or shovel, before Hunter was able to draw the inscription. H1 is rendered correctly by Hunter as K'awiil.

[63] The combination **e-bu** is usually used to spell *ehb*, "step," but in its possessed form it is always spelled **ye-bu** or **ye-ba** to render the ergative *u-* before a vowel-initial word. Here, it seems to be preceded by the plain ergative *u*, but the drawing could be faulty.

[64] One wonders if the bird, which appears at C1 followed by a **b'a** or **ma** syllable and at M2 superimposed over the **no** syllable, could be **o**, thus giving or hinting at the plural ending *oob* or the agentive -

The text continues at N1-N2, seeming to switch into third person, with a distance number: N1 is 14 *tuun*s. The dwelling dedication finally follows:

o-chi-ya K'AK'	**ti? yo-OTOT**
och-ya?-k'ak'	*ti? y-otoot*
it is the fire-entering	in/at the dwelling of

ch'a-ho-ma
ch'ahoom
the offering-maker

u?-CHUM?-mu-ni? *5 "Lamat"*
it is his becoming-seated? 5 Lamat

It may be that this dedication is occurring fourteen years after the completion of Ruler 13's first k'atun in office. The owner of the dwelling is named only by the *ch'ahoom* "offering-maker" title, presumably Ruler 13. It is good to keep in mind that the core name of Ruler 13, Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil, is never recorded in this text, a circumstance that perhaps leaves room for doubt as to the "ownership" of the dwelling; but I think that the overwhelming maize god emphasis probably explains the absence of his proper name.

The grammar of the final phrase at P1-P2 is opaque, but refers to "seating," and to the 5 Lamat date. Note that the seating is NOT the original accession of the king, but some event that happens twenty years later. It may be a second seating upon the anniversary date, either of himself, of himself as a god, or of a patron god.

In summary, although it presents many difficulties, a rough gloss of this strange text might be as follows: "'On 5 Lamat my k'atun is ended; [something] is not seen or divined,' said the Maize God, the first sage; 'I am the image, the creation (the son of) of my guardian, K'ak' U-ti' "Imix Monster' K'awiil. I see …., my guardians, the Four Lords, the Nine K'awiils, K'uy .., Macaw Mountain Lord.' Twenty are their? steps? Twenty as the ? Nine are (the images of) the guardians. Fourteen years later is the fire-entering in the dwelling of the offering-maker…. [seating] 5 Lamat."

V.2.2.5 Summary consideration of Structure 22

Structure 22 is the dwelling of Ruler 13 as the maize god, just as it is iconographically identified as a mountain in which the maize god lives and from which he emerges through the *witz* cleft. There is therefore a very nice correspondence between the text and the iconography. Identifying this building, or at least the inner Starry Deer Caiman-framed chamber, as the dwelling of the king as the maize god suggests a close parallel with Yaxchilán Structure 44 and with Palenque House E. The name of Yaxchilán Structure 44 is the "Four/Sky/High Starry Deer Caiman Place" and it is the dwelling of the ruler Itzamnaaj B'alam as an impersonation of the maize god. Similarly, the name of Palenque House E is the "Starry Deer Caiman Place," the dwelling of Pakal: although Pakal is not explicitly identified as the maize god, he is depicted in the maize god's garb on his sarcophagus, suggesting that it was an important impersonation identity for him. The Structure 22 case supports the idea, introduced in the chapter on Yaxchilán, that the Starry Deer Caiman building is an indigenous structure type that would have been an important kind of structure for a ruler to build. The inscription associated with Palenque's Starry Deer Caiman Place characterizes it as *num-il ta chan, num-il ta kab*, a road or passage to the sky and a passage to the earth, which constitutes good support for the notion of Starry Deer Caiman places as places of ecstatic transport and certainly bloodletting, as many scholars have already asserted.

If Copán Structure 22, Yaxchilán Structure 44, and House E were fundamentally the same kinds of places, then I would expect to see other iconographic themes in common. The overwhelming theme of Yaxchilán Structure 44 is that of warfare and captive-taking, with the ruler as both sacrificer in the guise of Chaak, and primordial self-sacrifice in the guise of the maize god: the two themes are linked in the person of the captive, who stands in for the ruler, his fictive kin, as the sacrifice. The text and iconography of Lintel 3 of Tikal Temple IV bring together similar associations: the maize mountain symbolism is bound up with textual descriptions of warfare and with the imagery of the Venus- or star-skull and with the trappings of God A', a violent god of ecstatic self-sacrifice. Further, the ruler depicted impersonates both the maize god and God A', showing a close association of the two. I would expect that Copán Structure 22 would associate the king rather strongly with warfare, which is only suggested by the association of the Venus-skull with warfare in other contexts. Perhaps Ahlfeldt's reconstruction of the façade will shed more light on this idea.

Even if Structure 22 is identified as the dwelling of Ruler 13, I still think it unlikely that the East Court is a royal residential area at this time. Although the royal builders of the other structures in the East Court, especially on the east side, have not been identified securely, the court *is* home to a series of structures – e.g., the Structure 20 "Death Bat" House; Structure 21 with its obsidian eyes and knives, thought by W. Fash (2001:130) to be the Knife House of the Popol Vuh; and Structure 22A, with its nine underworld place-names on the facade – each with its own very specialized iconographic program. The explicit cosmological and underworld geography themes of Structure 22 and these other structures suggest that the principal purpose of the East Court was to reproduce this cosmic geography – at least from the time of the last version of Structure 22, possibly the earliest visible superstructure in the East Court. At this time, both the East and West Courts may well become exclusively ceremonial precincts, as well as places for holding audiences or meetings, as the royal residential area was pushed over the south side of the Acropolis into Group 10L-2. Certainly there is no archaeological, textual, or iconographic evidence for residential activities in the visible phases of either court, save for the "dwelling" glyph in Structure 22.

The plan of Structure 22 with its internal, inscribed bench and flanking chambers is an early (AD 715 or perhaps AD 729) example of a ground plan that becomes especially

oom in both cases: **o-b'a** ~ *o:b'* or **o-ma** *-oom*; or **kok-no-o** ~ *kok-no'o* – the 'b' in *o:b* is often swallowed and barely audible anyway.

common in the reign of the sixteenth king: I will discuss this further in subsequent sections on these other buildings.

V.2.3 Structure 10L-11 (Temple 11)

Structure 11 (Fig. 5.1, Fig. 5.13) is a massive construction that forms the south end of the Main Plaza and the north end of the West Court. It is heavily inscribed and decorated. Hieroglyphic panels, eight in total, occupy the sides of each of its four doors and contain a series of dates and events that cluster around the dedication date of the structure itself. They also provide a series of "descriptions" of the structure as a locale: one of these descriptions is an *otoot* dedicatory passage in which the dwelling owner is a god, or more probably a group of them. This section of the study elucidates the nature and associations of these glyphic architectural references and shows how they articulate with the already extensively investigated iconography. The main points are as follows: first, the texts of the building probably indicate that this structure or some part of it is the "dwelling" of a particular god built for a particular occasion; second, the epigraphy and iconography of the structure, together with the epigraphy and iconography of associated objects and locations at the site, make a strong case for the inclusion of these diverse objects and places into a single emic category; and last, Structure 11 is thematically closely related to all of the *otoot* structures at the site save for Structure 2.

V.2.3.1 Description of Structure 11

The principal approach to Structure 11 is via the massive and daunting set of stairs at the south end of the Main Plaza; the building is also accessible from the west by a smaller and more removed set of stairs. The locale has a complex history that is not yet well documented by archaeologists. Maudslay cleared the debris from the corridors of the building in 1885, but the bulk of the excavations were conducted by the Carnegie teams under Gustav Stromsvik. In 1936, Aubrey Trik discovered an inscribed bench in a buried phase of Structure 11: it records the dedication of an *otoot,* possibly by Ruler 10.

The final structure, "Temple 11" proper, consisted of two stories, of which only the lower remains. There are no true rooms in this lower story; rather, the interior space consists of north-south and east-west corridors that intersect in the middle, with a raised platform or bench at their juncture. Trik located a faced-masonry shaft that runs from the surface of this platform into the heart of the substructure: Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1989) and Stuart (1992:177) suggest that it may lead to a tomb, probably that of Ruler 15, based on texts on the Structure 12 "Reviewing Stand" on the south side of Structure 11, on the Temple 11 door panels, and on Stela N in front of the Temple 11 substructure.

Two sets of narrow stairs built into the south walls of the east and west corridors gave access to the upper story, whose floor plan is lost (Hohmann and Vogrin 1982). The north wall of the building was quite slim, whereas the southern wall was apparently a solid masonry core nearly 10 meters thick, probably to support the upper story. The east-west corridor was once 3.5m wide, but the threat of the collapse of the vault (or possibly its actual collapse) caused the Maya to reinforce both the northern and southern sides of the corridor. This action greatly reduced the passage's width and hid from view the east and west door glyph panels as well as part of the sculpture of the interior chamber (Baudez 1994:168).

V.2.3.2 The iconography of Structure 11

Like Structure 22, the iconography and architectural layout of Structure 11 have been discussed by a number of scholars (Schele and Miller 1986:112-113,122-126; Miller 1988:154-

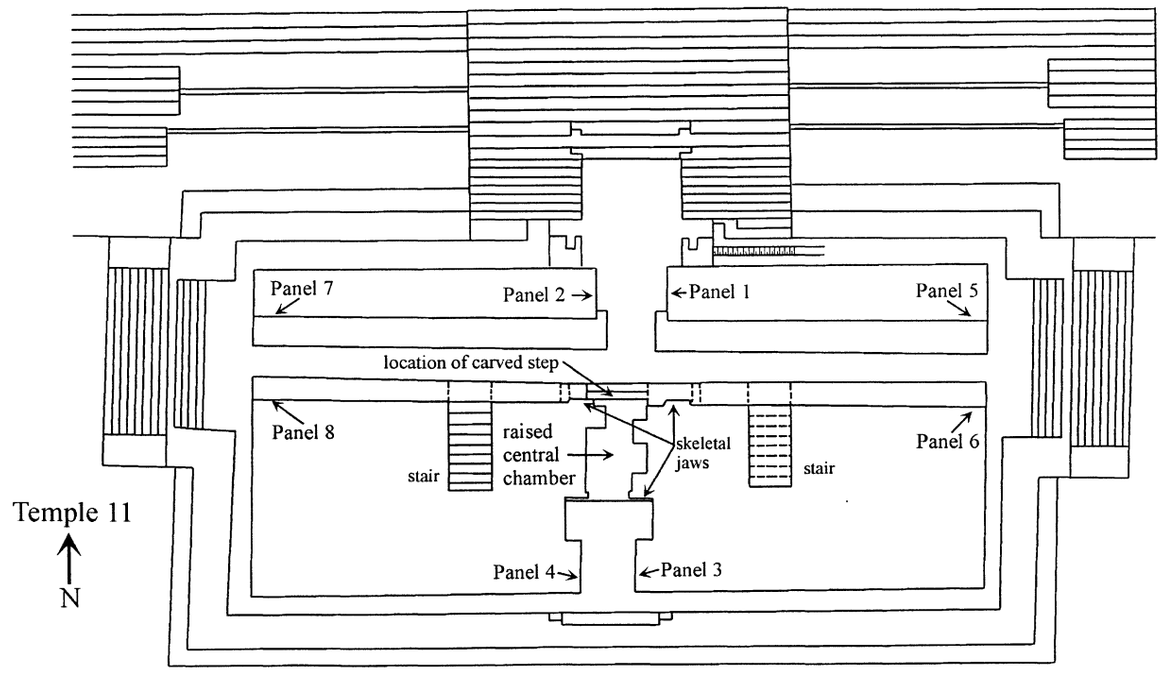


Fig. 5.13 Copán Structure 11 plan, redrawn and adapted after Hohmann and Vogrin (1982). Location of text panels shown as P.1, P.2, etc.

159; Schele and Freidel 1990; Freidel and Schele 1993:222; Baudez 1994:166-176; W. Fash 1998: 255, 2001:168-70; Stuart 1998a:416). Schele and Freidel (1990:322-330) in particular have fully illustrated and ably analyzed its iconography. Although no reconstruction has yet been made of the façade sculpture, scholars working at the site have drawn some conclusions about it.

The northern corners of the building were probably the original setting of two huge "pawahtun" or "bakab" heads, one discovered at the northeast corner of the building and the other on the floor of the main plaza. Riese and Riese point out that other massive body parts from the debris of the structure, including large hands and feet, probably also belong to these bakabs (1991:213; and see their photo (1991:Fig. 6) of a massive upraised arm with upturned flattened palm). They and others have noted that Proskouriakoff's field notes mention seeing segments of a reptilian or crocodilian body in the Structure 11 rubble, and hypothesize that the bakabs supported here – as in several other locations at Copán – the body of the Cosmic Monster or Starry Deer Caiman (Riese and Riese 1991:213; Schele and Freidel 1990:325, 489:n.52). That is, as Schele and Freidel point out, the decorative scheme of the interior chamber of Ruler 13's Structure 22 is here replicated on the outer façade of Structure 11 (1990:326).

The north side of the platform-bench of the interior chamber (Fig. 5.14) is carved with twenty figures seated on glyphs, ten to either side of a short text citing Yax Pasaj's accession, in an arrangement that replicates the format of Altar Q and Altar L. The glyphs under the figures include the place-names associated with the patron gods or guardians of the site, as well as the names of two of Copán's former rulers, K'ak' U-ti' Chan (Ruler 11) and B'alam Nehn (Ruler 7). As on other bench texts (e.g., Structure 9N-82), these seated figures with glyphs form the body of a creature, in this case a bicephalic one whose heads are skulls with waterlily headdresses. The left-hand skull, with its large teeth, forehead dots, and waterlily headband, is probably the same as those on the basal register of Structure 22, as well as the giant skull that forms one side of Altar R: it almost certainly refers to Venus, an important subject of the Structure 11 texts and the Altar R text.

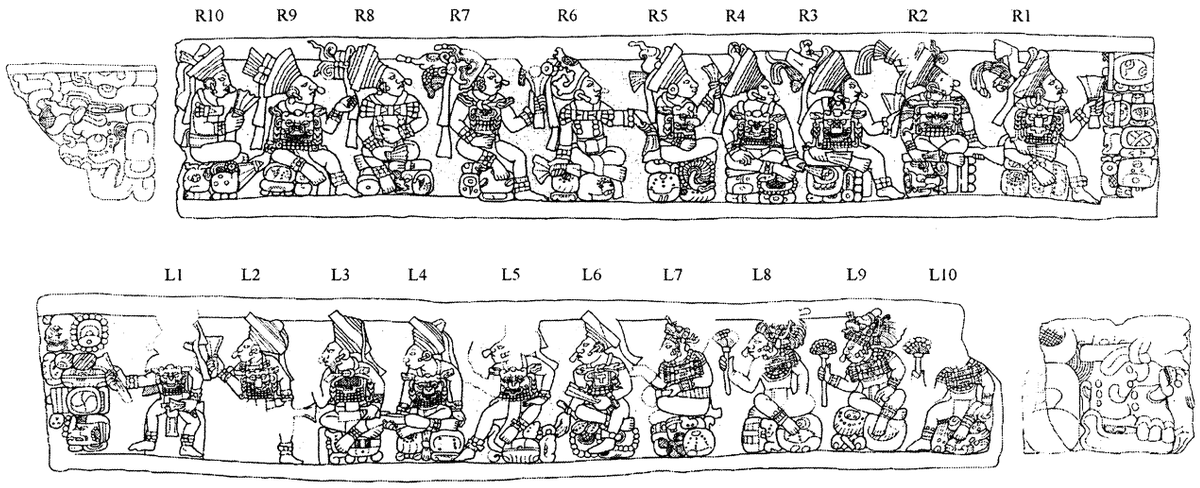


Fig. 5.14 Step-bench of Temple 11, with position numbers inserted. Adapted from drawing by Linda Schele. B'alam Nehn (Ruler 7) and K'ak' U-ti' Chan (Ruler 11) at positions R2 and R3; glyph for Mo' Witz at position L5.

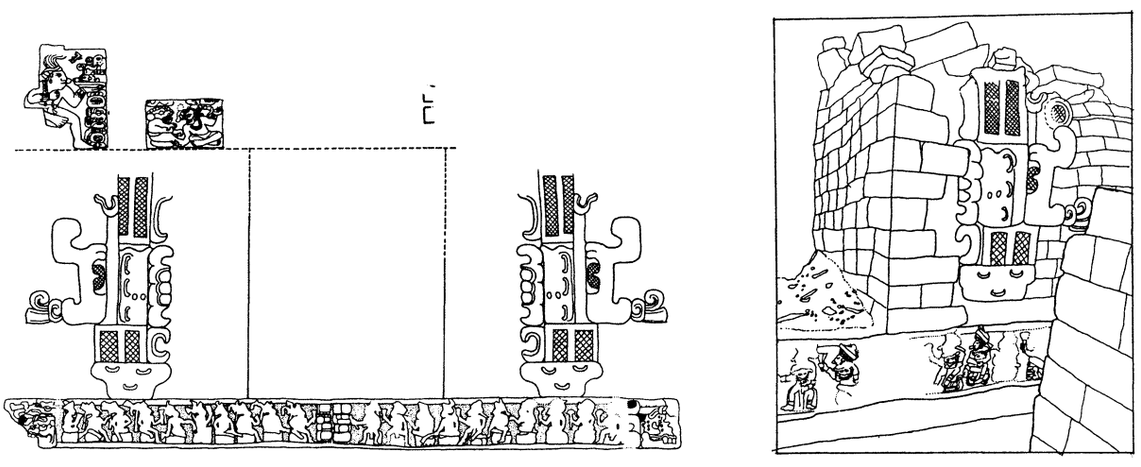


Fig. 5.15 Carving around the central chamber of Copán Structure 11: layout of carvings with perspective drawing of the west side of the north entrance to the central chamber. Drawing by Linda Schele.

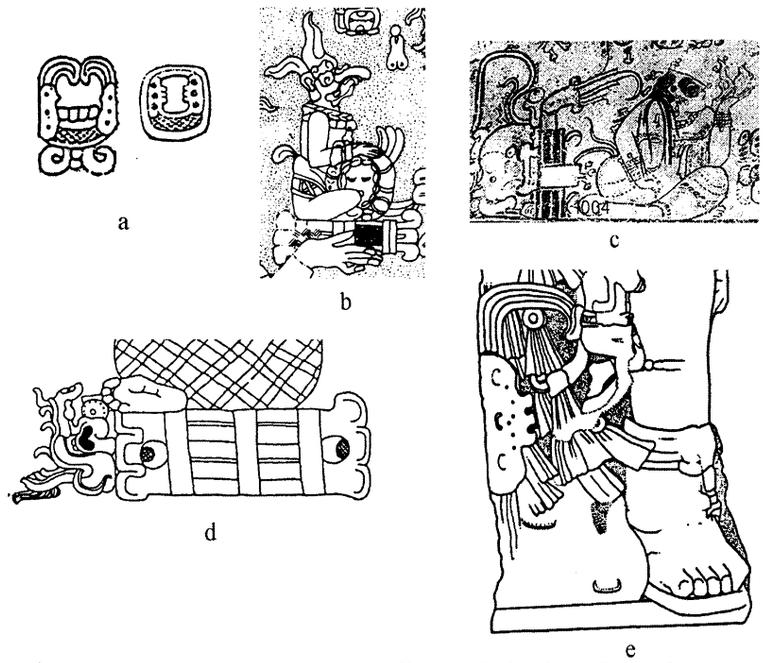


Fig. 5.16 Ways of representing the skeletal maw: (a) the Wayeb glyph; (b) god's seat from Palenque Tablet of the Sun; (c) Museum of Fine Arts looted pot, Kerr 1004, Robicsek and Hales 1982 Pot 12; (d) seat from the Palenque Palace Tablet. Drawing by M.G. Robertson; (e) Copán Stela M. Drawing by A. Dowd.

Above the door on the north side of the chamber was once a full-figure text, now almost completely destroyed; also remaining on the cornice is a portrait of Yax Pasaj holding an offering bowl (Fig. 5.15a). The northern and southern "doors" of the central chamber of Structure 11 are framed by the cross-hatched "skeletal maw" serpent jaws (Fig. 5.15a,b,c) that are the full-figure form of the Wayeb glyph (Fig. 5.16a). This device has been identified as a representation of an entrance to the underworld (Schele 1990c), and is often used as a framing device. It can appear resembling a two-headed serpent (e.g., on the "Cosmic Plate"), it can be abbreviated as a device that resembles a cushion or throne (Fig. 5.16b,c,d), and persons can stand inside it to show their location (Fig. 5.16e). It also appears on the top of some Copán altars (Altar U, altar of Stela H, altar of Stela N), contexts that I discuss below. Peter Mathews identified the maw as the "Black Hole Place," where the "hole" is rendered by the Wayeb glyph main sign, on the Cosmic plate, a glyph that appears in a number of other supernatural locational contexts, and it generally seems to be a black watery underworld place (Schele 1990c). Some have read the Wayeb "hole" glyph as *way*, in part because it often takes a **-ya** subfix, but there is no phonetic confirmation of this reading. Freidel and Schele (1993:222) identify the skeletal maw as the "White Bone Snake," a creature whose name is now known to read Sak B'aak Naah Chapaat, who probably cannot be equated with this crosshatched maw.[65]

[65] The various serpent and serpent-like beings that inhabit the Maya universe have specific physical morphologies and glyphic names. Their jaws are places from which people emerge in iconography, so they have related functions; but I do not know of any reason for completely conflating the Sak B'aak Naah Chapaat being with the skeletal jaws of the Wayeb glyph.

V.2.3.3 The texts of the door panels of Structure 11: an overview of their content

The inscriptions, though difficult, make it clear that this phase of Structure 11 was constructed under Yax Pasaj. While the text encompasses a number of dates, all of them cluster around the dedication date of the structure, which is referred to three times on three different panels: Table 5.2 summarizes the dates and events from these complicated texts. As always in this study, I ask what the text can tell us about what kind of a place this "dwelling" is. There is, in fact, some good if arcane and difficult information on the architecture that occurs with each reference to the dedication date. Many persons better versed in iconography than I have commented on the structure, and I will not so much offer new information in that vein as make some connections with other sorts of architectural objects where epigraphic connections also exist.

The Structure 11 texts were discovered in various states of preservation and have been restored through a series of efforts, originally by the Carnegie Institution under Stromsvik but later by Berthold Riese, Barbara Fash, David Stuart, Linda Schele (1987c), and Nikolai Grube. The principal source on the inscription is Copán Note 64 (Schele, Stuart, and Grube 1989), which addresses reading order, dates, and interpretation for the whole series of panels, and Copán Note 115 (Schele and Looper 1995), which examines the Venus and possible eclipse associations of the Structure 11 text, among others. Stuart, Houston, and Robertson have also discussed the Structure 11 text as a good example of the loss of vowel complexity in the Late Classic Maya script (1999:34): many words historically spelled with vowel-disharmonic syllables are spelled with vowel-harmonic ones in this inscription.

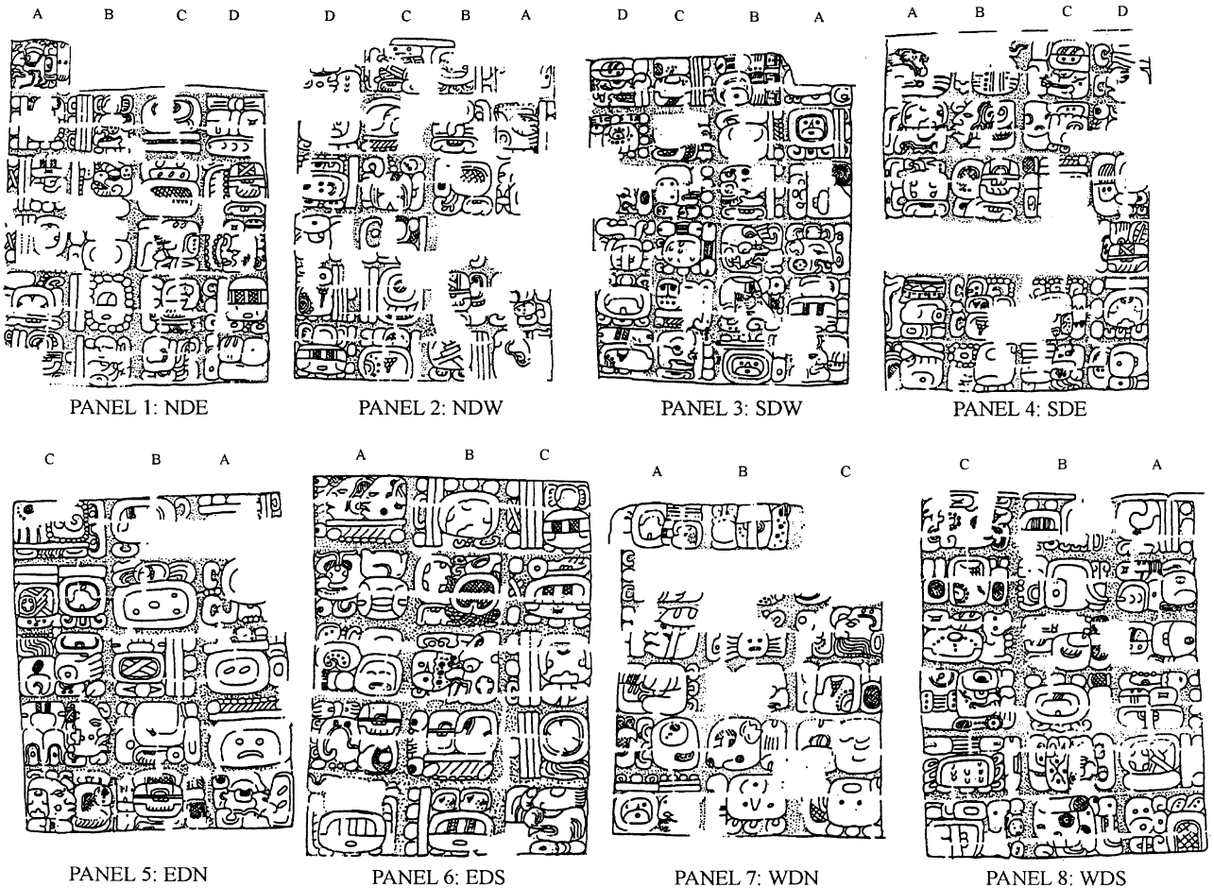


Fig. 5.17 Text panels of Structure 11, from Schele, Stuart, and Grube 1989.

It is important to understand the context of the architectural references in the inscription, so to this end I will give a short account of the text as a whole, since it has not been done since Schele, Stuart, and Grube's 1989 *Copán Note 64*. I follow these authors for the reading order and for the dates. The panels (Fig. 5.17) are mounted to either side of each door. One in each pair of panels (Panels 2, 3, 5, and 8) were carved backward by the Maya; that is, they are read from right to left, and glyphs are also generally carved in reverse, so that the heads face left instead of right. The only explanation I can offer is that the texts are carved so that, in the case of each panel, the glyphs face and read toward the center of the structure as one reads.

The text begins in the north door and proceeds to the south door, and is read from east to west in each case. It picks up in the east door and moves to the west door, and is read from north to south in this east-west corridor. For an ancient Maya visitor to read the text would thus have required the person to make a full circuit of the lower floor of the building, in the process tracing out the shape of a four-petaled flower and passing through the center four times to return to the starting point. These two devices, the reading order of the texts and the reversed inscriptions, reflect the emphasis of the iconography and the architecture on the junction of the intersecting corridors, the raised platform at the heart of the building.

Panel 1 (North Door East – NDE) (Fig. 5.18) begins with a full Long Count date corresponding to Yax Pasaj's accession, *9.16.12.5.17 6 Kaban 10 Mol*. A distance number leads to **Panel 2** (NDW) (Fig. 5.18) with the calendar round date (second date) and partial lunar information for a "forming" or "building" event (*pat-wan*: B3). The glyph for the thing built (A4-B4) is missing, but it is "owned" by Ruler 15, K'ak' Yipyaj Chan K'awiil (A5-A6), who takes the title "15 Tz'ak Wi-Te' Naah Ch'ahoom" (B6-D1).

Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1989) have shown that the calendar round date associated with the building event on this panel is the same as a date *9.16.18.2.12 8 Eb 15 Zip* that appears on the Reviewing Stand text below Structure 11. It is the date of a *pat* "building" event for a place represented by a ballcourt glyph. They believe that this glyph refers to the probable false ballcourt – complete with floor markers – at the base of Structure 11 and 12 in the West Court. On the Reviewing Stand text this "ballcourt" is "owned" by *both* Yax Pasaj and Ruler 15, his predecessor; but since the 8 Eb date is nearly 6 years into the reign of Yax Pasaj, it is a posthumous reference for K'ak' Yipyaj. In any case, the two events are likely to be the same or related. The Panel 2 *pat* event is directly followed by a third date *9.14.15.0.0 11 Ajaw 18 Sak*, a date in the reign of Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil, Ruler 13.

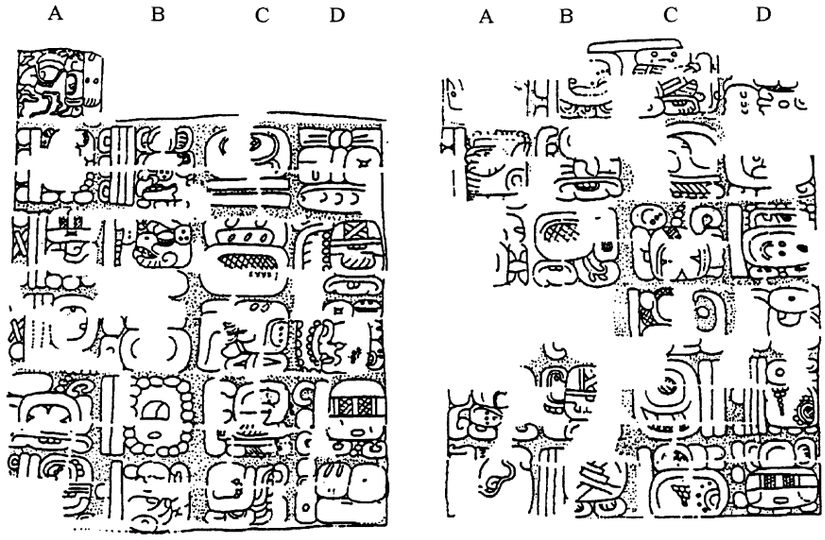


Fig. 5.18 Structure 11 text panels, north door. Panel 2 is a reversed text, but has been flipped for ease of reading.

The information related to this 11 Ajaw date follows on **Panel 3** (SDE) (Fig. 5.19), which begins at A1-B1 with a verb-object phrase: only the verb's inflectional suffixes survive, and the object is *u?-tz'i?kol*, an expression that also appears on the Reviewing Stand text, on the niche text of Structure 18, and possibly on Altar F' from Group 10L-2, all Yax Pasaj's monuments; it is not well understood. B2-A3 are also problematic and eroded, but may be titles for Ruler 13, whose name appears at B3-B4. Although the verb on Panel 3:A1 cannot be read, Ruler 13 recorded in the text of Stela 4 what happened on that 9.14.15.0.0 period ending:

tz'ap-aj u-"celt"-b'aah-il	*K'uy ..-k Ajaw*
is erected the stela-self of	**K'uy ..-k Lord,**

Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil
Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil

Here, Ruler 13 in the guise of one of the most important patron gods of the site, K'uy ..-k Ajaw, is "erected" or "planted" as if he himself were the stela, a phenomenon whose examples and implications are discussed by Stuart (1996).

The third panel text continues with a parallel event that uses the *t'ab'* "ascend" verb in its God N head variant (A6): here, the date (the fourth) is carried forward to *9.17.0.0.0 13 Ajaw 18 Kumku*, Yax Pasaj's most important period-ending (B6-C1). The demonstrative *ha-i* "This is/these are" at D1 points out for us who or what "ascends": the object at (C2) *u-..-aj* is partially obscured, but is "owned" by, or possibly *is*, the group of Copán's patron gods, whose titles include, typically, the *4-maknoom* "the 'closers'" and *kok-noom Ox Witik* "guardians of Ox Witik" phrases that are found here at SDE:D2,C4-D4. The *maknoom* "closers" or "they who

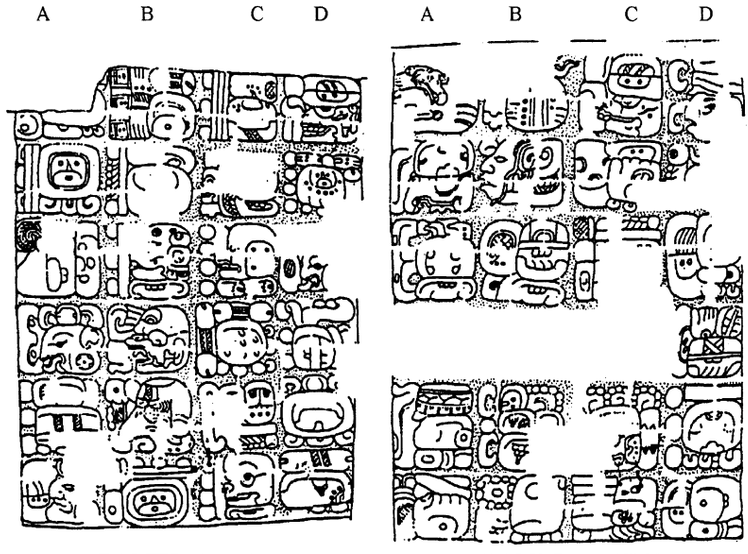


Fig. 5.19 Structure 11 text panels, south door. Panel 3 is a reversed text, but has been flipped for ease of reading.

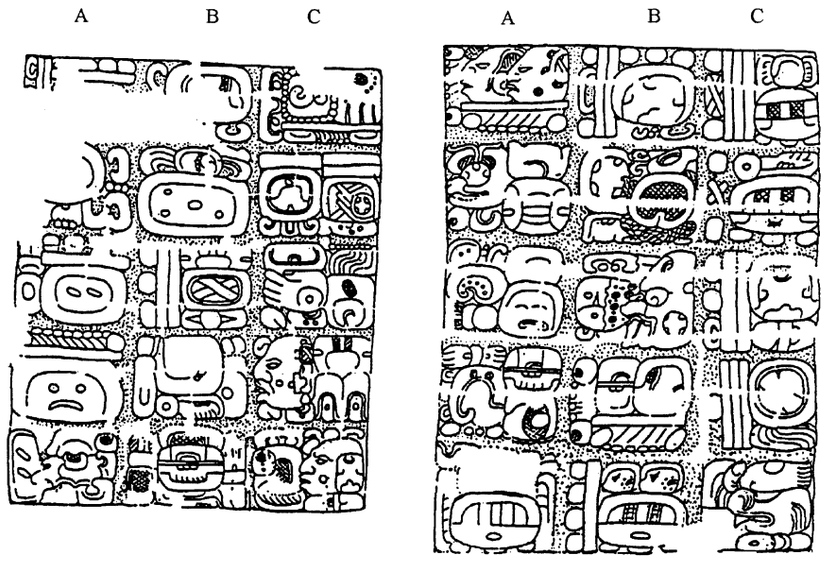


Fig. 5.20 Structure 11 text panels, east door. Panel 5 is a reversed text, but has been flipped for ease of reading.

close" title is related to the complex of ideas involving the opening and closing (*pas* and *mak*) of entrances or portals to other realms. This concern occupies many of Copán's texts, notably Stela A, which deals with the opening and closing of the skeletal maw. The "ascending" or "going up" of the patron gods (or whatever thing they "own") may be related to the raising up of stelae as god impersonations or to the "standing up" of gods discussed in the chapter on Yaxchilán.

In sum, in Panel 3, Yax Pasaj refers first to Ruler 13, probably to his impersonation of one of the patron gods, and then compares it to his own "dedication" of the whole bunch of them. Referring to Ruler 13 and his monuments is a common pattern in Yax Pasaj's texts and monuments. The third panel text ends by recording the fifth date, *9.17.2.12.16 1 Kib 19 Keh*, 976 days after the period ending.

We learn at the beginning of **Panel 4** (SDW) (Fig. 5.19) that 1 Kib 19 Keh is the date of the fire-entering of the structure. The *otoot* dedication phrase that follows (A1-C3) includes the extended name of the structure and of its "owner." This phrase is rich with information, and I address it below in a separate section. The dedicatory phrase is followed by a verb (D3) which is probably the *pat* "build" verb, though it and its object (C4) are eroded. At Copán, this verb is used in many object dedication phrases, particularly for the large stone objects we call "altars," and it is often used, as here, in a kind of "summarizing" context. The builder is Yax Pasaj. The fourth panel ends with a distance number calculated from Yax Pasaj's accession date to a date 36 days before the *otoot* dedication.

The connection between Panel 4 and **Panel 5** (EDN) (Fig. 5.20) is difficult, because that text also begins with a distance number of 556 days that goes between a date (the sixth presented) *9.17.1.3.5 9 Chikchan 13 Zip* and the dedication date. The interval between the two (see Table 5.2) looks suspiciously equinoctial (22 March 772 – 24 September 773). The verb (A2) that goes with the 9 Chikchan date is eroded but in the completive, and its object (B2) **b'i-hi** *b'ih* "road." The text that follows the calendar round at A4-B5 again relates to the 10L-11 dedication date, and incorporates more information about the structure as a place, which I also save for the discussion below.

The final phrase of the fifth panel is a rare explicit reference to Venus, here called *Ajaw Chak Ek'* (C4), which is the name of the planet known from the Dresden Codex Venus tables; the associated date (the seventh) is *9.15.15.12.16 5 Kib 9 Pop*.[66] This date falls in the reign of Ruler 14, K'ak' Joplaj Chan K'awiil, and is precisely 27 *tuun*s (9720 days) before the dwelling dedication. Further, it is 15 Venus cycles, or 3 Venus-Haab cycles, before a date cited on the final panel in this series; that date in turn is exactly 24 260-day rounds (and perhaps coincidentally 8 x 780, the synodic period of Mars) after the dwelling dedication date. It is likely, therefore, that the dedication date of the dwelling was chosen to articulate with these cycles of Venus. The identification of these cycles does not rely upon the precision of the GMT or on computer-generated sky maps, but only upon the identification of the synodic periods of the planets as intervals between recorded dates.

Panel 6 (EDS) (Fig. 5.20) begins with a distance number (off by one winal) which may lead from an unstated date recorded as a distance number on Panel 4: that date would be (an eighth date) *9.17.2.10.4 1 Kan 7 Yax* (Schele, Stuart, and Grube 1989:13). Adding 2.12 (notably, 52 days, an important interval) brings one back to the dwelling dedication date, which is recorded at length *again* on Panel 6, starting with the associated 819-day count, an unusual pattern. The Long Count date for the dedication date takes up the rest of the panel.

[66] The verb used here at C3 is *k'al-wan-iiy*, which is, as Schele, Stuart, and Grube note, the same verb used in the Dresden Venus tables. It may refer to the completion of a Venus period, in the same way that *k'al-tuun* refers to the completion of a period of *tuun*s.

Panel 7 (WDN) (Fig. 5.21) finishes off the lengthy date passage with the calendar round of the dedication date, 1 Kib 19 Keh, followed by the rest of the lunar information for its Long Count. This is thus the third reference to the dedication date. The verb (A4) that accompanies the dedication date in this instance is **i-IL-ji,** a "seeing" or "witnessing" event whose transliteration is still disputed. Whatever is the object or subject of this "seeing" or "witnessing" verb at B4 is eroded, but the location of the event is given as *tu nah ok* (A4-B5), an enigmatic reference I discuss below. The text then jumps directly to a new (ninth) date, *9.17.5.0.0 6 Ajaw 13 Kayab,* the latest date in the entire panel series. The verb associated with this date is also *il* (B6), but spelled as **yi-la-ji**. What is seen or witnessed is missing; but at C4 the text carries on with *u-tun* (spelled harmonically) or possibly *u-kun* (an architectural element known from Palenque) and the possessor is "... ch'ahoom" (C5-C6). This panel is problematic enough that I do not want to offer much in the way of specific interpretations, but it can at least be said that it records two "seeing" or "witnessing" events, one on the dedication date of the structure and the other at the 9.17.5.0.0 hotun ending.

Finally, **Panel 8** (WDS) (Fig. 5.21) begins with a distance number from a seating event (A2) that is notably NOT that of Yax Pasaj, possibly on *9.16.17.12.0 5 Ajaw 8 Mak,* (tenth date). It leads to an eleventh date *9.17.0.0.16 3 Kib 9 Pop,* mentioned above as a Venus-cycle anniversary of the Venus/Chak Ek' event in K'ak' Joplaj's reign and as a date 24 tz'olkins after the dwelling dedication. On this date, the text says,

i-uht	*tu k'uhul chan*
and it happens	**in the holy sky/heights of**
4-te' ajaw	*tu 3 Kib 9 Pop*
the four lords	**on 3 Kib 9 Pop**

The thing that happens is presumably the Venus event. The expression directly following this phrase at B5 is mysterious (*u-chit?aj*) but it is immediately followed by, and the text ends with, the names and titles of the patron gods of Copán:

u-?-aj	*K'uy ..-k Ajaw,*	*Mo' Witz Ajaw,*
....	**K'uy ..-k Lord,**	**Macaw Mountain Lord,**

Tukun Witz Ajaw
Tukun Mountain Lord

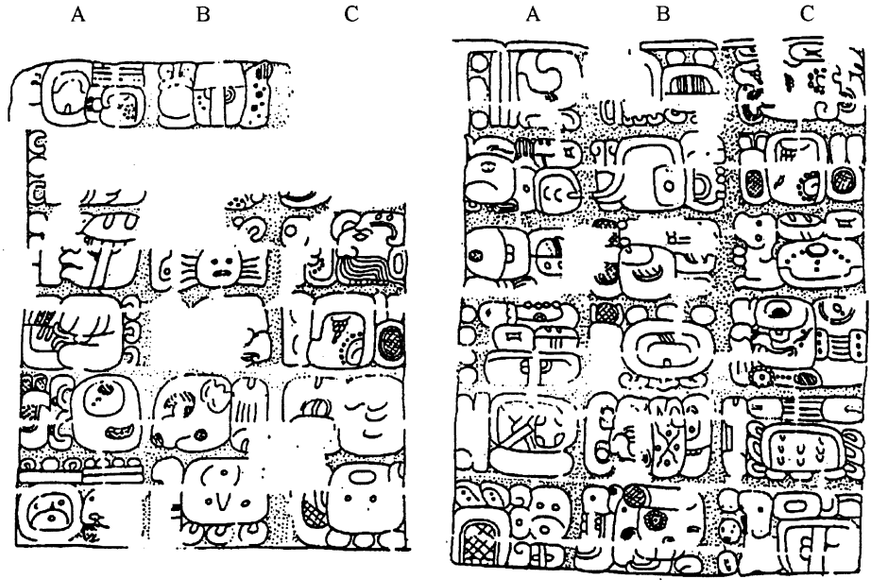
ha'-ob kok-noom/b Ox Witik
it is they who guard Ox Witik

V.2.3.4 Summary of overall content of Structure 11 panel texts

Yax Pasaj has thus done several things in this long text. He has associated himself with ritual, astronomical, and construction events in the reigns of the 13th, 14th, and 15th kings, his three predecessors; and, by using important planetary and calendrical intervals, he has tied the date of the dedication of his most important building into Venus events in his own and his predecessor's reigns. As noted, and as may be observed in Table 5.2, equinoctial or solstitial intervals may also play a role in the timing of Structure 11 events. The Venus connection is important, because it relates the structure as an *otoot* to other *otoot* structures at the site and to objects which, though they are not architectural in our sense, may constitute analogous spaces for the Copán Maya, as I discuss below.

V.2.3.5 Specific locational references in the Structure 11 texts

I turn now to the three areas of the text where we have more specific information about the structure. The first occurs on Panel 4 (SDW), the second on Panel 5, and the third on Panel 7.



PANEL 7: WDN PANEL 8: WDS

Fig. 5.21 Structure 11 text panels, west door. Panel 8 is a reversed text, but has been flipped for ease of reading.

TABLE 5.2	DATES AND EVENTS FROM THE DOOR PANELS OF COPÁN STRUCTURE 11		
Panel number	**Long Count/CR**	**Gregorian**	**Event**
Panel 1	9.16.12.5.17 6 Kaban 10 Mol	30 Jun **763**	Seating of Yax Pasaj
Panel 2	9.16.18.2.12 8 Eb 15 Zip	25 Mar **769**	Pat "building" of thing (ballcourt?) of *Ruler 15*
Panel 2-3	9.14.15.0.0 11 Ajaw 18 Sak	15 Sep **726**	*Ruler 13* impersonates patron god K'uy .. Ajaw
Panel 3	9.17.0.0.0 13 Ajaw 18 Kumku	22 Jan **771**	Yax Pasaj's event with all patron gods of Copán
Panel 3-4	9.17.2.12.16 1 Kib 19 Keh	24 Sep **773**	*och-k'ak'* dedication of Structure 11
Panel 4-5	9.17.1.3.5 9 Chikchan 13 Zip	22 Mar **772**	Event involving *b'ih* "road"
Panel 5	9.15.15.12.16 5 Kib 9 Pop	13 Feb **747**	Venus event in *Ruler 14*'s reign
Panel 6	9.17.2.10.4 1 Kan 7 Yax	3 Aug **773**	52 days before dedication date
Panel 6-7	9.17.2.12.16 1 Kib 19 Keh	24 Sep **773**	Event involving *il* "seeing" & *nah ok*
Panel 7	9.17.5.0.0 6 Ajaw 13 Kayab	27 Dec **775**	Period ending; another *il* "seeing" event
Panel 8	9.16.17.12.0 5 Ajaw 8 Mak	4 Oct **768**	Seating as ajaw of **k'e-a/a-k'e?**
Panel 8	9.17.0.0.16 3 Kib 9 Pop	7 Feb **771**	15 Venus cycles after Chak Ek' event

V.2.3.5.1 Structure 11's names and owner on Panel 4

Panel 4 begins (Fig. 5.22):

i-och-k'ak' *yo?/yop?-winik-naah*
fire enters **Leaf? Person House**

... -k'an-naah
[Something]-K'an House

pat-chan ....
Sky-made?/Made high-up?....

u-k'ab'a y-otoot...
is the name of the dwelling of..

This is a perfectly typical *otoot* fire-entering phrase.[67] The name of the dwelling is complex, but the clearest part is the second part of the name, the ... *K'an Naah* (transliterated by Schele, Stuart, and Grube 1989:9 as *Na Te Kan*). As Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1989:8) note, this house name is also the name of the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque. The texts of that temple provide more context for the structure name. The first instance of the name, in the main body of the Foliated Cross tablet, occurs as the location of a mythical (2325 BC) god-conjuring performed by the primordial lord of the city, formerly known as "Lady Beastie" (Fig. 5.23a):

u-tzak-k'uh
it is the god-conjuring of?

...Mat Muwaan K'uhul Matwil Ajaw
...Mat Muwaan Holy Matwil Lord

uht-iiy *Yaxhal Witz,*
it happened at **Yaxhal Witz,**

"White Breath" [...]-nal *..K'an ..l Naah*
"White Breath" [...]-place **...K'an..l House**

[67] The glyph block that contains the expression *u-k'ab'a* "is its name" has been restored to the panels since they were drawn, and so does not appear in the illustration.

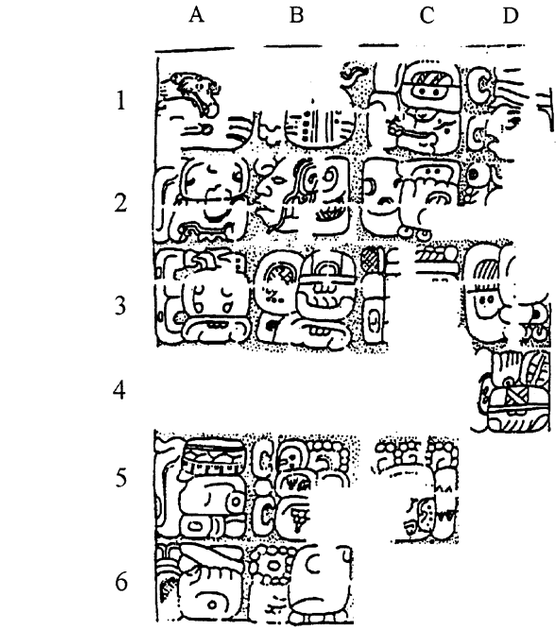


Fig. 5.22

Dwelling dedication passage from Panel 4, Copán Structure 11.

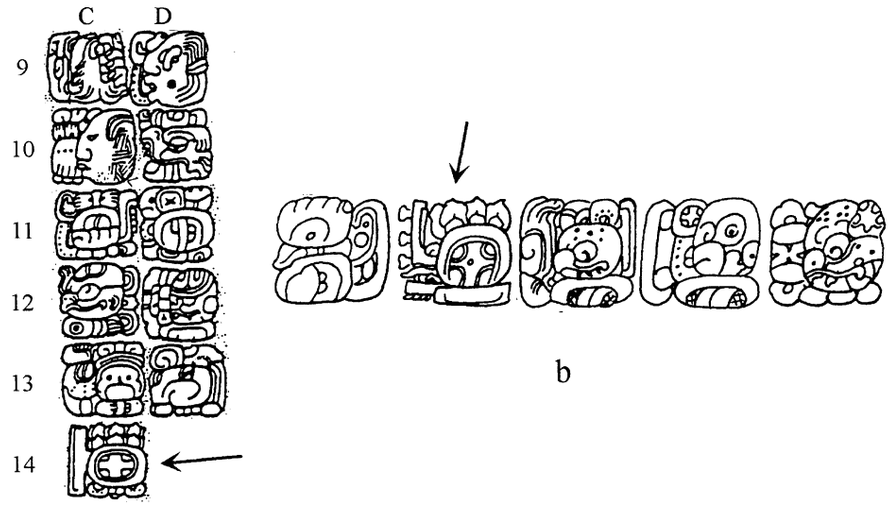


Fig. 5.23 ... *K'an Naah* passages from the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque: (a) Temple of the Foliated Cross C9-C14. Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) Temple of the Foliated Cross alfarda G1-I1. Drawing by Merle Greene Robertson.

The last location here is the same glyph as that in the name of Structure 11. The second phrase occurs on the right alfarda of the structure (Fig. 5.23b):

och-naah-aj
is house-entered

"Square-nose serpent"-...-K'an-Naah
"Square-nose serpent" ... K'an House

u-pib'-naah-il u-k'uh-il K'inich Kan B'alam
the sweatbath of the gods of K'inich Kan B'alam

While much of the structure's name is uncertain of transcription or transliteration, a few things can be said about it. First, it seems to mark a place where god-conjuring happens, performed by the mythical first lord of the city, a god him/herself. Second, it is equated with the *pib'-naah* sweatbaths that Houston (1996) identifies as the shrines themselves, the birthplaces of the Palenque Triad gods. Third, these sweatbaths are places "owned" by gods: the *pib'-naah* are also called the *otoot* dwellings of the gods of Kan B'alam on the same tablets.

The iconography of the Foliated Cross tablet provides other clues about the nature of this named place. On the left side of the panel, the elder version of Kan B'alam stands on top of a maize-sprouting personified mountain whose eyes contain the glyphic name *Yaxhal Witznal*, the same location that is equated with the ... *K'an Naah* in the first phrase from the tablet above. Kan B'alam wears the skirt and the "xook" belt ornament of the maize god. It is hard not to conclude that Structure 11, with the same name, represents or is related to the same maize mountain; or possibly that it can be equated

with the central mask from the Foliated Cross tablet that supports the personified-maize-sprouting world tree, whose forehead is marked with the *k'an* sign, and which has, like the first example of the glyph, the **-la** suffix under its mouth.

The maize mountain theme also links Structure 11 to Structure 22, which is adorned with three-dimensional figures of the maize god that emerge from a score of mountain masks – the same image that is presented on the left side of the Foliated Cross Panel. Another example of the mountain with emerging maize god can be found on the basal register of Bonampak Stela 1, and on the base of the palanquin depicted on Lintel 3 of Tikal's Temple 4. The strong association with maize and the maize god perhaps explains another part of the Structure 11 dwelling name recorded on Panel 4 as *Yop Winik Naah,* or "Leaf Person House": the foliated maize god as he is portrayed in all these contexts is certainly a "Leaf Person," a living corn cob.

The glyphs that record the owner of the dwelling on Structure 11's Panel 4 are problematic, but almost certainly refer to a supernatural personage or personages. One problem with the dedication phrase on this panel is that the glyph blocks had fallen when they were originally discovered. Riese and Riese (1991:219) note that it is not clear how the Carnegie archaeologists restored blocks A5 and B5, the *otoot* ownership blocks, and that "their design does not overlap with others,[68] so they could have been positioned at a higher point in the panel." The whole passage from A4-C4 is heavily restored and parts are still missing, but the following is not an unreasonable order:

y-otoot *1- pihk?-k'uh?*
it is the dwelling of the eight thousand? god(s)

tu-hel?-k'o?
at/for the image/mask?-renewing of

ch'ahoom *ha-i* *y-ahk? winik?.*
the offering-maker **he is** **?? man?**

u-k'ooj? *Aj-..-.. ti Aj-..*
it is the image/mask/idol of **Aj .. as Aj...**

[.....] i-pat?-ji:y? ..
... and it got built/formed?...

Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat
Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat

The "dwelling ownership" phrase occurs at A5-B5. The components of the possessor's name are **1-K'UH-pi-ku**? Parallels with the Cross Temples discussed above suggest that the dwelling owner should be a supernatural character, such that this collocation should then represent a god's name: the *k'uh* element is certainly present. The lower elements are partially destroyed, but they may spell **pi-ku** *-pi:k*, possibly a numerical classifier for units of eight thousand, known from ceramic vessels. This suggestion is problematic because other glyphic examples of the same classifier are spelled **pi-ki**, and because, even if the classifier is being spelled with a complex vowel, the latter are generally ignored or lost in the texts on these panels. Nevertheless, if *hun-pi:k k'uh* "the eight thousand gods," has any merit as a reading for the name of the dwelling owner(s), it resonates with the iconography of the bench step, which depicts a selection of important gods and ancestors, and with the "underworldly" architecture of Structure 11, discussed ahead. The import of this segment of the text may be that this temple is a home for *all* of the gods.

Perhaps relevant in this connection is the carved step discovered in 1936 by Trik in one of the early phases of Structure 11,[69] discussed by Schele and Grube (1991a) (Fig. 5.24). No date is on this Early Classic monument, but it contains two "dedicatory" clauses, one a *t'ab'* (B1) dedication of an unknown object (A2-B2), and the second an account of an *och-k'ak'* "fire-entering" (H1) for a dwelling named the *K'uhul "Copán" Naah*, the "Holy 'Copán?' House." The dwelling owners appear to be the first, second, and perhaps third kings of Copán: K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' is at I2-J2, "Mat Head" at K1, and Ruler 3 possibly at L1. These names are then directly followed at K2 by the name of the tenth king, "Moon Jaguar," who reigned between AD 553 and AD 578. The rest of the text is obscure to me, but the implication is that this Structure 11-sub building, like the final structure above it, was a dwelling for an assemblage of deceased royal ancestors (and perhaps gods, if the glyphs that follow Moon Jaguar's name are names of deities).

Returning to Panel 4, the "dwelling ownership" phrase is followed at A6-B6 by a prepositional phrase *tu hel?-k'o ch'ahoom,* "at the offering-maker's image?-renewing." This "renewing" or perhaps "changing" phrase is an event closely associated with creation mythology and cosmic beginnings and seems to occur episodically. In this instance, it is associated with a particular *ch'ahoom* – one would assume a human person. The next phrase (C1-C2a) probably respecifies something about the *ch'ahoom* with the demonstrative *ha-i* followed by a name or title. Following on at C2b-C3, the text may give information about the *k'ooj* "image," "mask," or maybe "idol," possibly spelled **k'o-ji**, or who it belongs to; i.e., *u-k'ooj aj* .. "it is the idol of...".[70] Finally, the section of the text relating to the dedication date of the building wraps up at D3-C5. The verb at D3 may be *pat*, but the glyph is not complete. The object of the verb is missing, but the agent is Yax Pasaj. The last three glyphs of the panel are a distance number; the entire panel is therefore taken up with information relating to the dedication date.

The text on Altar U, a "table altar" from the Copán Ruinas area of the site, provides a helpful comparative context for the difficult passage on Panel 4 (Fig. 5.25). Altar U's inscription dedicates the monument itself, which is crowned with the same skeletal maw device that frames each doorway of the raised central chamber in Structure 11. The altar's name (E2-F2) is the "Sun-eyed 'Skeletal Maw' Stone"

[68] The Structure 11 panels were carved *in situ* on the masonry blocks, such that the edges of the glyphs do not correspond to the edges of the stones, providing good clues for refitting of the inscription. In this particular case, however, the glyphs are on their own blocks, so that the refitting clues are not present.

[69] See Hohmann and Vogrin 1982:Abb. 129-143 for drawings of the Structure 11-sub buildings. I am uncertain to which of the -sub structures the step belongs.

[70] Alternately, the expression at C2b could be a verb.

(Stuart 1986b), and its *pat* "forming" takes place on the twenty-ninth *haab* anniversary of Yax Pasaj's accession. The description of this "forming" at J2-K5 uses the same expressions as in the Structure 11 phrase:

u-pat-b'i:y *tu hel?-k'ohb'?*
he has it made for the..hearth?-renewing of

Nuun Y-ajaw Chan Aj "Skull"
Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol?

U-b'aah-il-aan *..-.. "God A'"-n ti uk'? hix*
the impersonator of **..-.. God A' ...**

U-b'aah *u-ch'ab'* *Ix Chak ... Xook*
himself, the creation / son of **Ix Chak.. Xook**

That is, the altar is probably created for a "renewing" event that is made to coincide with Yax Pasaj's accession anniversary. In this case, the personage that the "renewing" belongs to, or is being done for, is Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol. The syntax of this phrase has been interpreted to mean that Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol is the referent of both of the succeeding clauses – i.e., that he is the impersonator and that the parentage statement belongs to him (Schele and Grube 1987). Since the woman named at the end of the text is elsewhere recorded as the mother of Yax Pasaj, Schele and Grube (1987a) have proposed that Nuun Yajaw Chan is the brother of Yax Pasaj. It is more likely that the Altar U "forming" passage refers back to the altar itself, that the name Nuun Yajaw Chan is part of the prepositional phrase concerning the "changing," and that the impersonation phrase and parentage statement refer to Yax Pasaj.

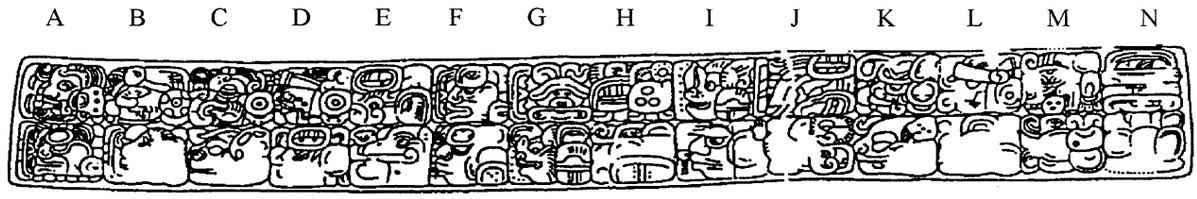


Fig. 5.24 Step from Structure 11-sub. Drawing by David Stuart.

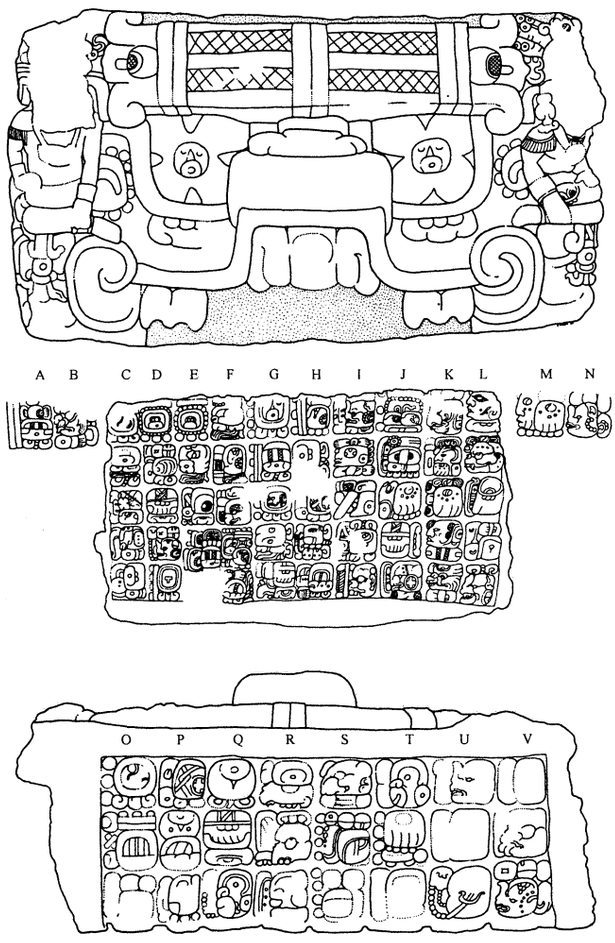


Fig. 5.25 Copán Altar U. Drawing by Linda Schele.

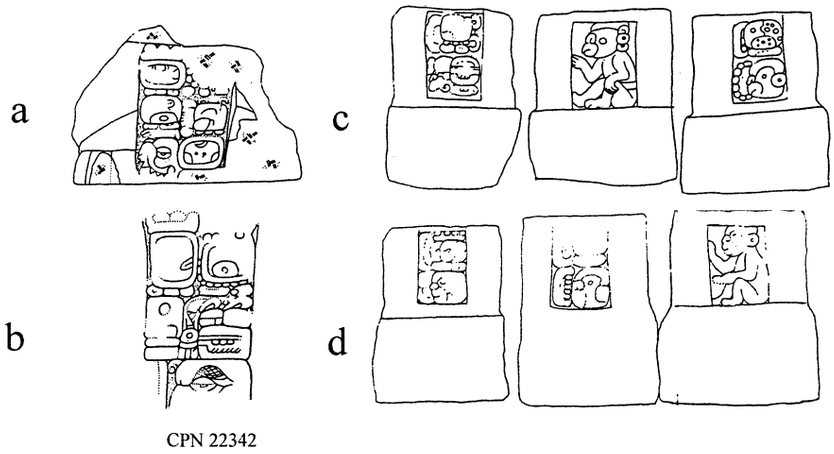


Fig. 5.26 A selection of incensario fragments and *wayib* "house models" recording names of possible Copán gods: (a) CPN 22351, from Bardsley (1990:Fig.4); (b) CPN 22342, from Bardsley (1990:Fig. 6); (c) "house model" from the end of Structure 10L-29, from Grube and Schele (1990:Fig.3); (d) "house model" from western edge of group west of Structure 10L-6, from Grube and Schele (1990:Fig.2).

Some of the same problems with distinguishing human beings from gods that are salient at Chichén Itzá (as we will see in the next chapter) also occur at Copán. Epigraphers have noted that a series of inscribed incensario fragments record the seating of personages on the same date as Yax Pasaj's accession, 6 Kaban 10 Mol, as well as on other dates in his reign (e.g., Bardsley 1990); Stuart has suggested that they may be gods (Stuart 1997b). For example, one incensario fragment (Fig. 5.26a) records the seating of the personage Yax K'amlay on 6 Kaban 10 Mol, Yax Pasaj's accession date, and another records the seating of Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol on the same day (Fig. 5.26b). Yax K'amlay can also be found on "house models" (Fig. 5.26c) that are called *u-way-bil k'uh* "the god's *wayib*" in their texts, in the same context as other personages who are undoubtedly supernaturals, such as B'olon Yok-te' K'uh (Fig. 5.26d). Yax K'amlay is almost certainly a god, very likely a mythical primordial lord of the city like the parent of the Triad Gods on the Cross Tablets of Palenque: he is the only personage at Copán to take the title Yax K'uhul Copán Ajaw, "First Holy Copán Lord" (Altar U:I1; 22A stone:F1). One might conclude that Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol is therefore also supernatural, since he and Yax K'amlay occur in parallel "seating" contexts the incensario fragments. A difficulty with that conclusion is that Nuun Yajaw Chan appears on Altar T with a sequence of titles also taken by Yax Pasaj, including the "*south" ch'ahoom* appellation that occurs with the names of Copán and Quirigua kings. Yax K'amlay *also* seems to occupy peculiarly human roles: the Structure 22A inscribed stone records that he scatters incense for the 9.17.10.0.0 period-ending, which is also recorded as a scattering occasion for Yax Pasaj on the Harvard Bench. We might therefore leave open the possibilities (1) that Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol is a contemporary human; and (2) that both gods *and* human lords in the Copán Valley are seated on the same day as Yax Pasaj. The question will ultimately be resolvable with more research.

I discuss Altar U and these personages here in such detail because the understanding of the dwelling ownership statement in Structure 11 and the reason for building that structure are bound up with these issues. If Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol is a god and Altar U is made by Yax Pasaj expressly for a "renewing" episode for that god, his image, or his hearth, then it may well be that the passage on Panel 4 of Structure 11 forms a rather precise parallel and that Structure 11, like the altar, is also "built" by Yax Pasaj for a "renewing" episode related to a different god or group of gods. If Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol is a contemporary human, then *he* may be responsible for the "building" of the altar, still leaving us with a parallel phrase. The precision of the parallel is further reflected in the fact that both locales, Structure 11 and Altar U, are associated with the "skeletal maw," such that, in each case, the king or noble "builds" and dedicates a "skeletal maw" object on the occasion of a cosmic "renewing" episode, even though they happen on a very different scale.

To summarize, the information on Panel 4 connects Structure 11 with an animate maize mountain that may be the dwelling of multiple gods (particularly the maize god) and royal ancestors; and the textual and iconographic parallels with Altar U suggest that the gods' dwelling, an underground opening into the underworld, is built and dedicated for a great episode of the renewal of deity images or hearths.

V.2.3.5.2 Structure 11 as crossed roads on Panel 5

The next round of information that concerns Structure 11 as a place is found on Panel 5, between A2 and B5 (Fig. 5.27). The verb at A2 refers not to the dedication date, but to a date a year and a half earlier (see Table 5.2). Though the verb is not legible, its object is **b'i-hi** *b'ih*, "road." The distance number at A1-B1 connects the "road" event to an event on the *otoot* dedication date itself. The verb for that date (if it is a verb) occurs at A4 and has been interpreted by Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1989) as an "existential" verb *an*; whatever its reading, it is followed by a series of prepositional phrases that almost certainly describe the location or object of the action – i.e., Structure 11. The main sign of the object (B4) of the verb includes a footprint, the

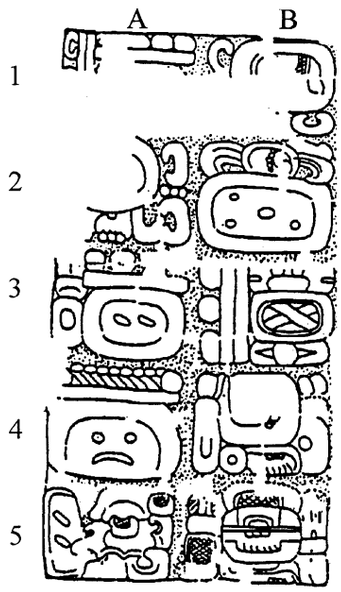


Fig. 5.27 Reference to *b'ih* "road" on Structure 11 Panel 5:A2-B5.

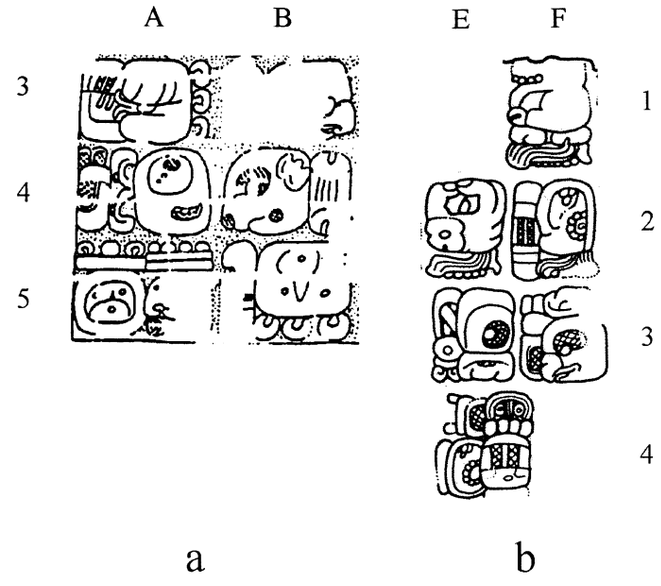


Fig. 5.28 Parallel passages in Structure 11 and Altar U: (a) Passage from Panel 7. Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) Passage from Altar U. Drawing by Linda Schele.

logograph for *b'ih* "road," but the collocation as a whole is confusing. However, it is followed at B4b-B5 by

tu xa-ya	**tu-pa?/EK'?-CHAN-ni-ma**
tu-xay	*tu pachan-i:m?/ek'-chan-i:m?*
at/in the *xay*,	at/in the *pachan-i:m*?

Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1989) note the **xa-ya** *xay* spelling at A5; although glosses for this term are in short supply, they point out that the Yucatecan Cordemex dictionary gives "intersection of roads, crossroads" (1980:937), a virtually perfect description of the raised platform at the intersection of the north-south and east-west corridors of the building, framed by the "skeletal maw," which is unquestionably a representation of an entrance or opening. The conclusion that they did not draw then was that *xay* might be a viable reading for the "hole" or "skeletal maw" glyph, the same glyph that is, for example, the subject of the opening and closing activity on Stelae A and J: the only known phonetic indicator for that glyph is a **-ya** subfix, a spelling consonant with *xay* as a reading. Crossroads in Mesoamerica and elsewhere are commonly dangerous places where encounters with the supernatural may be had; that is, they are openings of sorts.[71] Whatever the two events that are recorded in this passage are, they seem to have to do with roads and may refer to the building's crossed corridors themselves as paths that cross at the center, at the opening to the underworld realm.

There is little question that Schele and Freidel (Schele and Freidel 1990:327; Freidel and Schele 1993:222) are absolutely correct in seeing Structure 11 as one of these openings; but advances in epigraphy may allow us to be more specific in the future about exactly what kind of opening this is. For now, we can at least recognize that there is a wealth of detail, both epigraphic and iconographic, about these places.

V.2.3.5.3 Equations of dwelling space with underworld openings

The third passage occurs on Panel 7, in the context of an **il-** "seeing" event (Fig. 5.28a). The location of the event is recorded at A5-B5 as

tu NAH[72]-ha OK-ko
tu nah ok

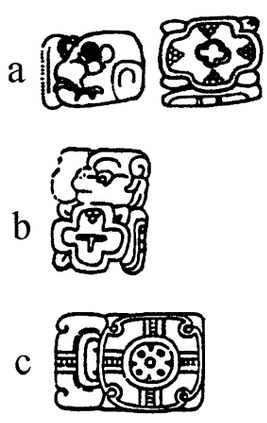
While Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1989) propose that this phrase may refer to the cache discovered by Stuart under the floor of the latest phrase of the structure as being at the *ok* "foot" of the *naah* "house," a construction using *ok* in this sense would reverse the order of the words – e.g., *tu y-ok naah* "at the house's foot." The sense of the phrase is, rather, "at the house of (the) *ok*." I do not have a solution to this phrase, but it may also appear on Altar U as part of a series of descriptors of the altar itself, generating one more parallel

[71] The cross-hatched syllable at Panel 5:B5 could be **EK'** or **pa**. While I think **EK'** is more likely, it might also be noted that there is an occurrence of the term *pachan* on Las Monjas Lintel 7a from Chichén Itzá, as follows:

u-pachan makoom y-oom-naah-"carapace"-bil

I cannot venture a good translation of this phrase, but I note here that *pachan* occurs with *makoom*, a collocation that also occurs at Copán and probably has to do with the closing or covering of the "hole"/"skeletal maw." As I show in the Chichén chapter, the "carapace" glyph refers to a space closely related to god-dwellings, possibly a sacred enclosure. Places where gods dwell, such as caves, are often also openings to the underworld.

[72] The usual *naah* is spelled synharmonically here as **NAH-ha** *nah*.



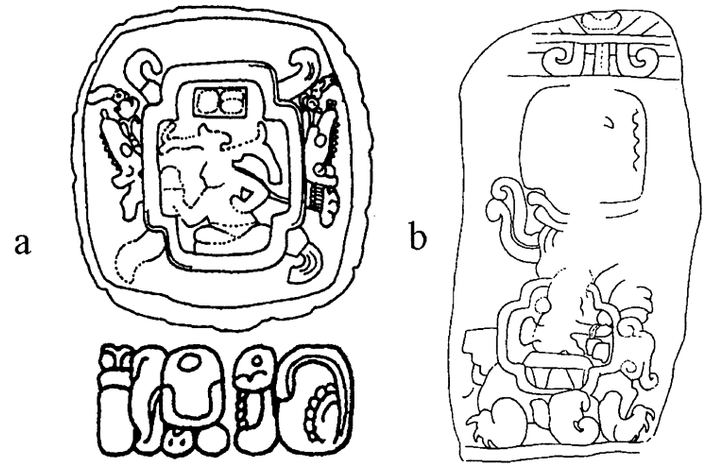


Fig. 5.29 "Quatrefoil" glyphs:
a) Altar GI; b) Altar S; c) Stela 9.

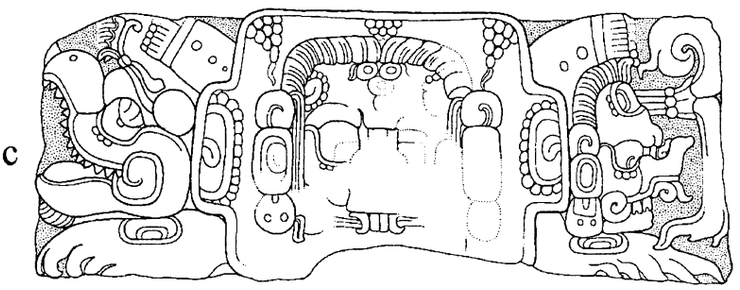


Fig. 5.30 Quatrefoil turtle openings: (a) El Peru altar, after Freidel and Schele (1993:215); (b) Izapa Stela 8, after V.G. Smith (1984:Fig. 53a); (c) Copán Altar W'. Drawing by Barbara Fash.

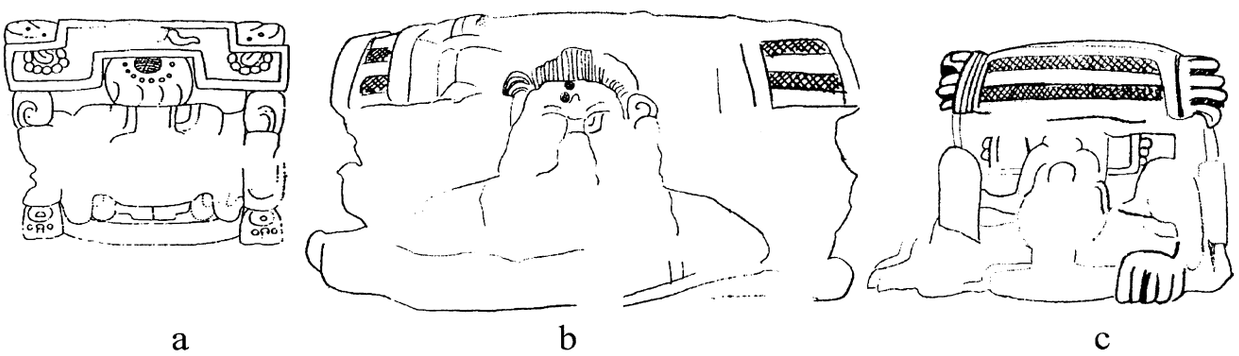


Fig. 5.31 Quatrefoil and "skeletal maw" altars at Copán: (a) Altar Z. Drawing by Linda Schele (b) Stela H altar. Sketch by author after photograph; (c) Stela N altar. Sketch by author after photograph.

between Structure 11 and this "skeletal maw" altar. On Altar U at F1-E4 (Fig. 5.28b), we have

9 Ik 10 Mol *pat-wan-i*
On 9 Ik 10 Mol is formed

K'inich "skeletal maw"-Tuun
Sun-eyed "Skeletal Maw" Stone

nuun ch'een *tu na?-ok*
the *nuun* cave as/at the *na? ok*

tu .. "quatrefoil"
as/at the ... "quatrefoil"

This phrase describes this "skeletal maw" place as a kind of cave. Further, although the glyphs need to be re-inspected on the original monument, there is a reasonable possibility that the "Skeletal Maw" stone, which is the altar itself, is described as a *na ok*,[73] just like Structure 11. The second half of the couplet at E4a also needs to be checked against the monument, but it may represent the so-called

[73] Although the *na* glyph used on Altar U is not the logographic **NAAH**, there are examples of the free substitution of the **na** syllable and the **NAAH** logograph, where both clearly mean "structure," in the inscriptions of Palenque. Further, Altar U is a late monument which we might expect to be spelling formerly complex vowels synharmonically.

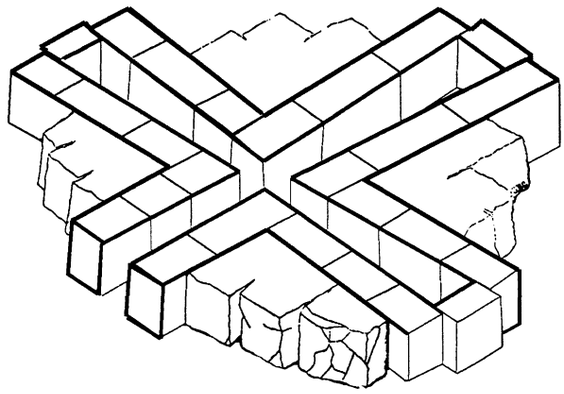


Fig. 5.32

Cruciform vault of Copán Stela C. Redrawn from George Byron Gordon (1896:Fig.5).

"quatrefoil"[74] glyph. This passage on Altar U therefore gives a series of locational references for the altar as a place; it also links together a number of locale types that are iconographically and glyphically linked in other contexts, including the skeletal maw, the "cave" glyph and the quatrefoil glyph. I explore these briefly to flesh out the associations of Structure 11.

The "quatrefoil" glyph looks like a fat "plus" sign and always has waterlily blossoms or leaves in its corners; it is usually marked with kawak "stone" or imix "water" signs. At Copán, it is part of the names of two altars and one stela: these are Altar GI, a Main Plaza monument made in the form of a Starry Deer Caiman by Yax Pasaj (Fig. 5.29a); Altar S, a table-top monument commissioned by Ruler 13 in anticipation of the 9.15.10.0.0 period-ending (Fig. 5.29b); and Stela 9 (Fig. 5.29c).[75] It has long been known to represent an opening into the earth or underworld. At Dos Pilas (e.g., Stelae 11, 15, and 26), it refers to watery locales within the site, very probably the caves documented in and around the site center, where "scattering" actions take place. Freidel and Schele (1993:215) show that the text on an altar from El Peru calls the location inside of the quatrefoil *tu y-ohl ahk* "in the center of the turtle": the altar depicts a person seated inside the quatrefoil with turtle heads emerging from either end of it (Fig. 5.30a). An identical image can be found on Izapa Stela 8 (Fig. 5.30b), as well as on a number of pots, and it is from this turtle that the maize god is reborn flanked by the Hero Twins. Copán's Altar W' depicts the same turtle with quatrefoil body; but in this case the center is taken up by a "monster" face whose forehead is marked with the kawak sign (Fig. 5.30c).

These "monster" faces are found on a number of altars: the face seems to operate as template that can be marked with different attributes. Variations are found, for example, on Altar Z, the bench of Structure 18, and the altars of Stelae H and N. The Altar Z face (Fig. 5.31a) is topped by a half-quatrefoil with waterlilies at the corners and the "darkened imix" *ha'* "water" glyph on its forehead. The text of that monument records that it is also "built" or "formed" by Yax Pasaj as a god impersonator, like Altar U, and probably like Structure 11. The interior bench of Structure 18 (see Fig. 5.37a) is carved with eight "monster" faces of two alternating designs: the forehead of one is marked with *kawak* signs, while the other has a forehead "mirror" sign, as well as the tau-shaped tooth and crossed eyes of the sun god. The bases of the four door jambs of Structure 18 (see Fig. 5.36b), two of which rest on the bench surface itself, depict quatrefoil openings, upon which a dancing Yax Pasaj stands. The T-shaped quatrefoil opening in the southwest jamb contains a stony monster head, while the southeast one contains an imix *ha'* "water" glyph. Maize or foliage sprouts from the head of the stony monster on the northeast jamb, while the northwest jamb mask has the "hanging grapes" that mark earth or caves. That is, one "quatrefoil" opening is stony, one watery, one vegetal or foliated, and one earthy or cave-like.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that, at Copán, the quatrefoil glyph can take various glyphic modifiers. Unfortunately, whatever modifier precedes the example on Altar U is eroded, but the name of Altar GI, the "Starry Deer Caiman" altar, is the *kan "quatrefoil,"* the "Serpent 'Quatrefoil'" (see Fig. 5.29a). Altar S also has an animal head in its quatrefoil name, possibly a dog (see Fig. 5.29b). The name of Stela 9 is *Yax "[k'in] Quatrefoil"-tuun-il* where the *k'in* is fixed into the central cartouche of the glyph (see Fig. 5.29c).[76] I suspect that the modified quatrefoil glyphs refer to some of the many specific kinds of underworld entryways described by Knab (e.g., 1995:57-60), in which openings of particular kinds at particular location are appropriate for certain kinds of people or occasions.

The altars of Stelae H and N (Fig. 5.31b,c) are topped by the skeletal maw device instead of the quatrefoil, and their composition is very similar to the other altars. Their horizontal cross-section forms the fat plus-sign: on one axis of the quatrefoil are two "monster" masks, and two figures emerge from either end of the other axis. Other contexts for

[74] Although the word "quatrefoil" – "four-leaved" – describes some other Maya signs better than this one, it has nevertheless been used in the literature to refer to this plus-sign-shaped glyph, and I therefore use it here.

[75] The quatrefoil glyph cannot read *ohl* as some have suggested. It takes both **-na** (e.g., Dos Pilas Stelae 11, 15, and 26; Seibal Stela 7) and **-ni** (Copán Altar S; Quirigua Zoomorph P block 10) subfixes, presumably as phonetic indicators. Looper (2000) has recently hypothesized that it reads *ch'een,* "cave," and indeed it can take both **-na** and **-ni** as subfixes, but since the word *ch'een* in its "impinged bone" form occurs on Altar U in the same phrase as the quatrefoil, Looper's reading seems unlikely. The quatrefoil may refer to caves, but its semantic range is not identical.

[76] The glyph that represents the object dedicated is not the familiar lakamtuun, such that it is conceivable that the quatrefoil glyph is the name of some other object.

the "skeletal maw" at Copán show rulers standing inside it, including Stela 11 and Stela M (see Fig. 5.16e). The text of Stela M refers to the "skeletal maw" and ends with a verbal reference to "opening":

i-pas-aj ti nohol ma..
is opened as/at the south [something]

Most of the stelae at the site, including Stela M, are mounted over small cross-shaped subterranean chambers, called "cruciform vaults" in the Copán literature (Fig. 5.32): that is, the kings as stelae and god impersonators stand over these "cruciform" openings. The shape of the vaults replicates the ground plan of Structure 11, and they are likely to represent the same conceptual space. The "skeletal maw" glyph probably refers, among other things, to the subterranean cruciform openings. I think it is probably a generic representation of an opening to the underworld, a place of entry and exit, and that when it accompanies seated figures or functions as a throne (as with the tiny gods held by Kan B'alam on the Palenque Cross Tablets), it indicates that these figures have been conjured or manifested and are in a liminal state of temporary transformation.

V.2.3.6 Summary comments on Structure 11

The texts of Structure 11 characterize it as the dwelling of a god or possibly many gods, reflecting the fact of their constant presence and accessibility in this location, an entryway to other realms. The skeletal maw, possibly *xay* "crossroads," that frames the platform of Structure 11 is connected by a web of epigraphic and iconographic references to the quatrefoil device as a glyph, as an icon, and most probably as built physical openings in the ground, the cruciform vaults under the stelae; it is also linked epigraphically on Altar U (and physically at Dos Pilas) to *ch'een*, "caves" and to the *na(h) ok* on Altar U, and iconographically to the interior bench of Structure 18. The texts of Structure 11 and Altar U strongly suggest that Structure 11 and the various altars are similar classes of object, made probably for the "changings" or "renewings" that accompany period endings or perhaps other important calendrical/astronomical intervals. They may be presided over by different supernatural personages, such as Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol. There is evidently a good deal of semantic overlap between these various categories, and we do not yet have a good handle on what their differences are.

The principal point that I wish to make is that possibly the only significant difference between these locales is *scale*. The stelae function as models in stone of what would have been the situation if the king sat or stood on the raised platform in the center of the Structure 11 skeletal maw and at the crossroads of the quatrefoil, entering or emerging from the hole. Freidel and Schele have already stated that Structure 11 was a "portal" and that sacrifices were made there; what I am saying is that, in terms of emic categories, there is good evidence for semantic overlap of – or lack of concern with distinguishing – built architectural space from stand-alone objects or holes in the ground. The raised chamber in Structure 11 is the same emic *kind* of space as Altar U, and its entire ground floor is a massive "cruciform vault" where the layout and reading order of its text force one to trace out the four-petaled flower that Knab (1994:247n) calls a "road-map to the underworld." That this pathway is created by the movement of the concretized speech of the panels is comparable to Hanks' characterization of ritual shamanic performance in Yucatan: as he notes, in the binding of the altar, "ritual discourse creates a point-by-point path, or 'road', as the shaman proceeds from place to place" (2000[1993]:240).

The texts of the skeletal maw and "quatrefoil" altars may indicate that they are built for or in anticipation of important period endings, but their dedicatory dates seem to be determined by a range of considerations, most notably, in the case of Structure 11, Venus-linked events. One gets the impression that a king constructs a new "opening" for or around every period ending, according to his available resources, such that the landscape of the site would have been studded with them. Some kings, like Ruler 13, built these openings as stelae over cruciform vaults; while Yax Pasaj concentrated on "altars." Yax Pasaj's first important period ending was 9.16.15.0.0, for which he made the modest Altar G1; but he invested the majority of his resources in the period between 9.17.0.0.0 and 9.17.5.0.0. For the 9.17.0.0.0 period ending, he completed Altar GIII in the Main Plaza, Altar Z on the Structure 11 terrace, Altar D' on the eastern side of Structure 7, and probably Structure 21A, with its bench text detailing Yax Pasaj's impersonation of the guardians of Copán; 9.17.0.0.0 plays an important role of the Structure 11 texts as well.

Structure 11 was probably finished around 9.17.5.0.0, at the height of Yax Pasaj's power, some fourteen years into his reign. Altar Q's latest date is this same period ending, and it is with this period-ending that these "openings" as free-standing altars begin to appear, like mini-Structure 11's, as less expensive but still effective portals.

V.2.4 Structure 10L-18

This small two-chambered structure at the southeast end of the acropolis was constructed by Yax Pasaj, and is probably the latest major structure in the acropolis group (see Fig. 5.1). Its complex decorative scheme includes a fragmentary inscription that borders the edges of each of two T-shaped niches set into the east and west walls of the outer chamber. This text incorporates some obscure architectural information that deals with a dwelling: the "owner" of this *otoot* is difficult to identify. The structure was excavated by Becker and Cheek under PAC I, and a detailed excavation report is available. Although the textual information is minimal, the themes that run through this structure are similar to those of other *otoot* structures at Copán and elsewhere, and these similarities merit presentation. I suggest a slightly different chronology and meaning for the inscriptions and monuments associated with the building than has been presented elsewhere. I first give a brief description of the structure and then discuss the associated texts.

V.2.4.1 Description of Structure 18

The building (Figs. 5.1, 5.33) sits at the extreme southeast corner of the acropolis mound, and its rear wall has fallen away, leaving the southern aspect of the structure difficult to assess: it is not known, for example, whether the south wall

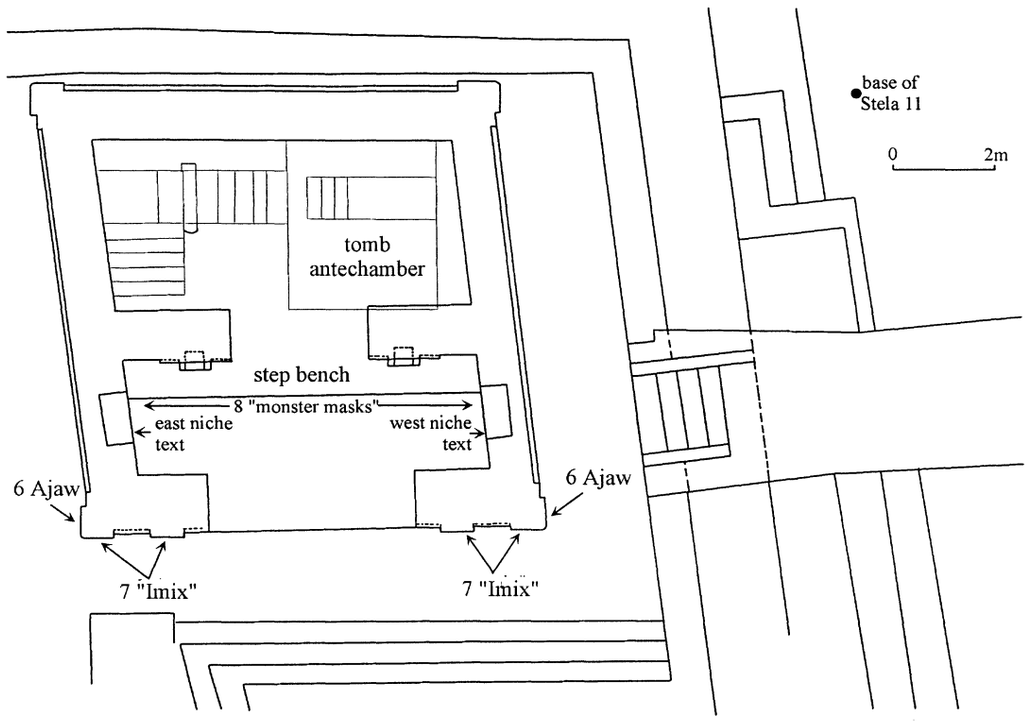


Fig. 5.33 Copán Structure 18 plan with locations of iconography and inscriptions. Redrawn after Hohmann and Vogrin (1982).

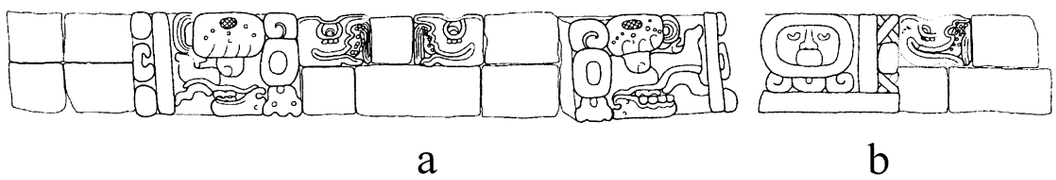


Fig. 5.34 Calendrical glyphs on Copán Structure 18: a) 7 Imix; b) 6 Ajaw. From Baudez (1983:Fig.M-20).

would have had doors so that one could have looked out over Group 10L-2 immediately to the south. To approach the building, one traverses the long elevated platform that is Structure 17, passes Altar R, and ascends four steps to reach the four-meter wide front door of the structure. The basal molding to either side of the door is carved with four "7 Imix" glyphs, two near the door and two at each of the northern corners of the building (Fig. 5.34a). Rounding those northern corners, one finds a "6 Ajaw" day-sign cartouche immediately adjacent to the "7 Imix" glyph on the east and west facades (Fig. 5.34b). From the center of the front door, one could have turned to look north across Altar R toward the door of Structure 21A, with its inscribed bench celebrating Yax Pasaj's impersonation of the patron gods of the site for the 9.17.0.0.0 period-ending. The inner lateral face of each jamb of the outer and inner doors of the building are sculpted with an image of Yax Pasaj dancing over a quatrefoil or half-quatrefoil opening, as discussed in the previous section (Fig. 5.35). In the outer chamber, shallow T-shaped niches bordered by glyphic texts are built into the sidewalls, and rectangular niches, each bordered by huge feather plumes, are sunk into the south wall of the chamber to either side of the inner doorway. A good deal of sculpted mortar as well as fragments of and tenons for stone human figures were discovered in this front chamber, as well as on the north terrace in front of it (Becker and Cheek 1983:392).

The rear chamber of the structure is actually a great bench, like the inner chamber of Structure 22.[77] The bench is faced with masks of two alternating designs, as described above (Fig. 5.36). The bench was covered with repeated coatings of stucco, all painted (Becker and Cheek 1983:392). Its face protrudes beyond the limits of the rear chamber, such that the "door" with its sculpted inner faces sits on top of the bench, like the bench on the north side of the inner chamber of Structure 11 and the southern side of the inner chamber of Structure 22. The stucco coatings on the floors of both the first and second chambers, and in the T-shaped niches, were well preserved, exhibiting in some places eight or nine and in other places fourteen successive coatings, covered with either red or blue-green pigment (Becker and Cheek 1983:406). Thus, even though this structure may be the latest building on the acropolis, it must have seen a significant period of use and care before it was abandoned and robbed.

Underneath the raised bench area, the excavators located a tomb chamber: this chamber and the structure itself were built in a single phase (Fig. 5.37). A carefully constructed interior stair of at least eleven steps descends from the east

[77] The excavators postulate a third small chamber, but no evidence for it remains, save for the fact that the floor of the step-bench runs toward the south "a considerable way" (Becker and Cheek 1983:406).

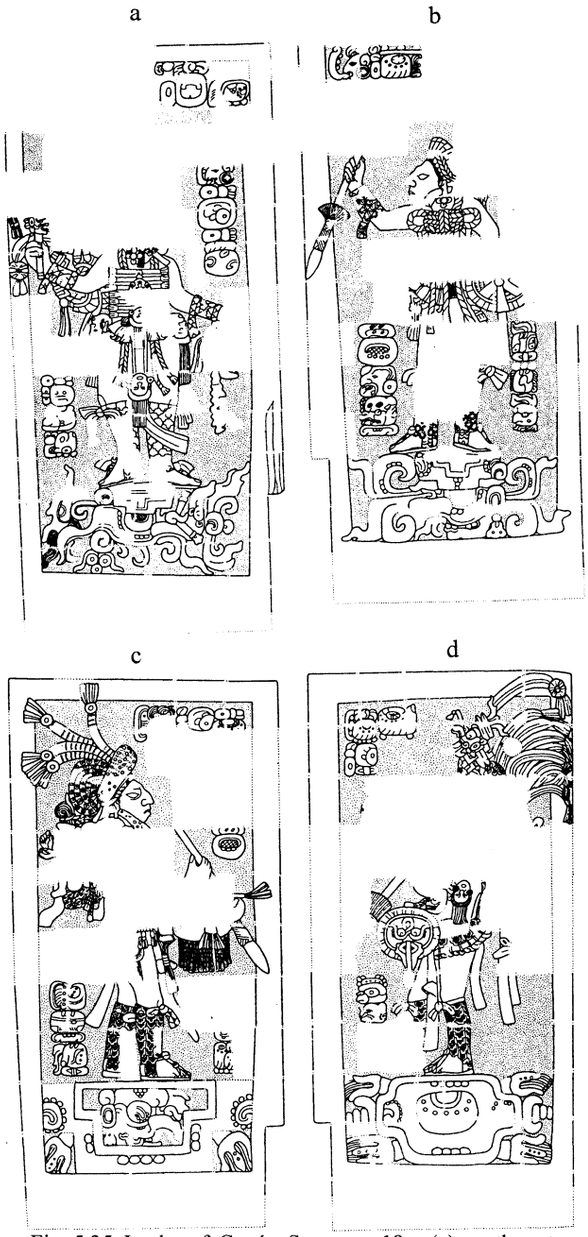


Fig. 5.35 Jambs of Copán Structure 18: (a) northwest; (b) northeast; (c) southwest; (d) southeast, after Baudez (1994:Figs. 95,96). Drawing by A. Dowd.

side of the now-destroyed rear chamber into the tomb. Three steps lead south to a small landing, and then eight steps proceed west down to the small chamber. This chamber itself has a crypt sunk into it, reached by four steep stairs. A total of eight inverted-T-shaped niches are set into the walls of the antechamber and the crypt.[78] The tomb was emptied in antiquity, as demonstrated by stratigraphy: the floor of the chamber and crypt are covered with stucco fallen from the walls and ceilings, which is in turn covered by a 10-15cm-thick layer of earth, ash, and a few sherds. All of this was deposited before the collapse of the vault. The stairs leading into the tomb were also covered with a layer of loose earth and ash that contained many small finds, including dozens of perforated marine shells (tinklers), pieces of shell mosaic, fragments of two elaborately carved bones, stone beads, wooden objects, and a jade dental inlay. Several small pieces of human bone were found, including some pieces of long bone diaphyses, rib and vertebra fragments, and several toe bones. All of this material likely came from the sacking or other kind of purposeful removal of the contents of the tomb in antiquity: the excavators believe this removal occurred earlier rather than later, because the looters evidently knew where the tomb was and broke through the sealed wall rather than digging into the structure. Other detritus found on the stair probably constitutes garbage that was tossed into the empty hole, such as obsidian blade fragments and pieces of ground stone. The excavators note that most of this detritus is Late Classic, but that some post-Copador material is also to be found (Becker and Cheek 1983:437).

Two freestanding monuments are probably associated principally with Structure 18. The bottom portion of Stela 11 was discovered, upright but leaning, by Marshall Becker at the southwest corner of the structure, at the base of Terraces A-D. Although it was semi-upright and its lowest part was four centimeters below the remnants of the floor surface, no pit or setting could be discovered (Becker and Cheek 1983:426), such that it is not likely to have been in its original setting. There is little doubt that it was associated with Structure 18, because its upper half was discovered (in 1892 in the first season of Carnegie investigations under B.G. Gordon) at the base of the stair of Structure 17, directly in front of Structure 18. Baudez has speculated that it was originally set on the bench inside Structure 18 (1994:198); whereas Martin and Grube have suggested that it was a column that supported the doorway (2000:212). I think the second suggestion is unlikely, since the monument is little more than a meter high (108 cm). Baudez' suggestion is interesting, especially given the locations of the different parts of the monument: the upper half was broken off and could have been rolled down the front steps of the structure before its collapse; while the base would have been left to collapse, with the rear of the structure, down the sides and back of the mound. The other monument, Altar R, was found by Maudslay on the platform that is the top of Structure 17, between one and two meters in front of the four front steps of Structure 18 (Maudslay 1889-1902, Vol. I, Plate 1; Baudez 1994:197). Both of these monuments belong to the reign of Yax Pasaj.

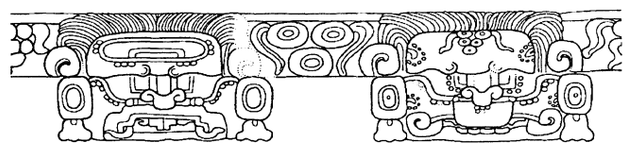


Fig. 5.36 Segment of bench of Copán Structure 18, showing two of eight masks, after Baudez (1994:Fig. 97). Drawing by A. Dowd.

[78] The eight-niche device is reminiscent of the practice of placing eight human figures, in niches or on seats or *naah* signs, around the entablature of a structure, a practice known from the reigns of Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil and Yax Pasaj; the most important figure, the ninth, is placed on the roof comb. Perhaps in the case of this tomb, the ninth figure and probably the apotheosized mortal, was meant to be the occupant of the tomb.

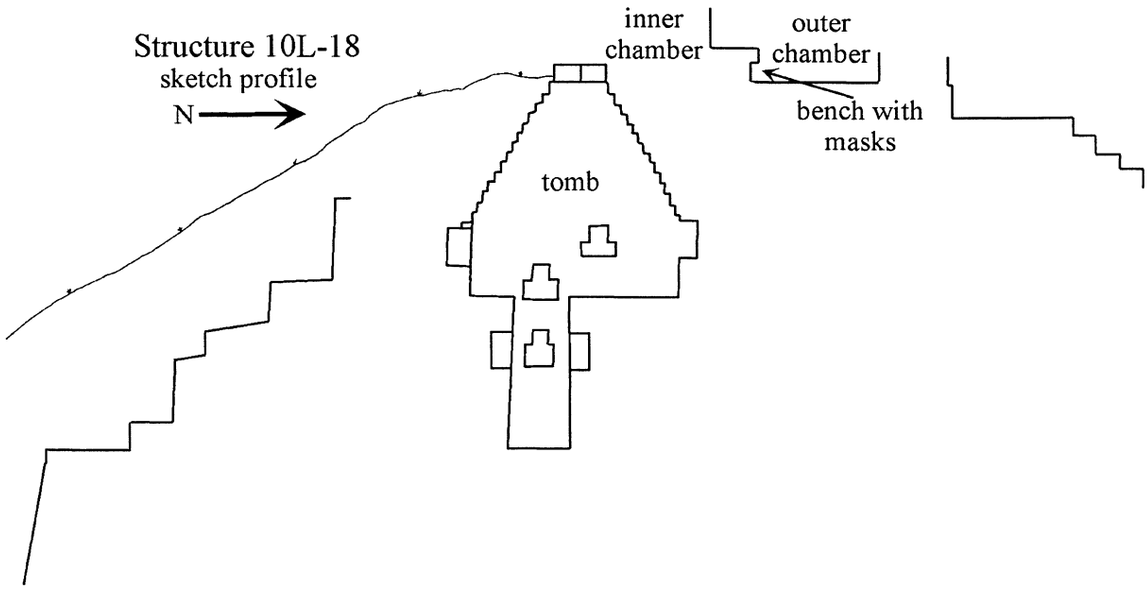


Fig. 5.37 Profile of Copán Structure 18 showing location of tomb, redrawn from Becker and Cheek (1983:Fig. M-2).

The consensus about the building has generally been that it is Yax Pasaj's funerary monument: the dates in the inscription inside as well as in the texts of the associated monuments fall within his reign, and all of the carved door jambs portray Yax Pasaj. The building and the tomb chamber are all of a single construction phase, such that the structure was obviously built with the tomb in mind. Further, most scholars concur that the figure represented on Stela 11 is Yax Pasaj in death, standing over the skeletal maw of the underworld with the God K torch in his forehead, much like the depiction of Pakal on the Palenque sarcophagus.

V.2.4.2 The texts of Structure 18

V.2.4.2.1 The niche texts of the north chamber

I will now review the associated texts with a view to evaluating the proposed function of the building and obtaining further resolution on the nature of the structure. In the east niche of the forward chamber, the horizontal glyphs and part of the right arm of the T-shape were *in situ*, whereas in the west niche, only the lowest part of four glyphs (C6-F6) remained. Fragments of a Long Count date whose format matched those of the blocks that remained *in situ* were recovered from the Museo Nacional in Tegucigalpa, from the museum in Copán Ruinas, and from the northwest slope of Structure 18 during excavations in 1979 (Riese 1983b:477). Because the Long Count fragments discovered during the excavations were discovered nearer the western than the eastern wall, the Initial Series date was assigned to the western niche. The text was carved *in situ*, such that the borders of the glyph blocks do not correspond exactly with the edges of the masonry, allowing some fits to be made. A number of glyph blocks whose format matches that of the niche glyphs were found in the Structure 18 debris and are catalogued as CPN 906, 1838, 1983, 2255, 2256, 2262, 2281, 2405, 2606, 2616, 2740, and 2741 (Riese 1983b:478) (Fig. 5.38).

Each text originally probably had 18 glyphs: the west text is missing ten of them, and the east text is missing nine. The photographs and drawings of the fragments listed above, which I viewed in the sculpture catalog at the CRIA in Copán, suggest that each probably represents at least one separate glyph block, and thus they may account for twelve of the nineteen missing blocks.[79]

The Long Count date in the west niche (Fig. 5.39a) is missing only the Initial Series Introducing Glyph. The date given is

9.18.10.17.18 4 [Etznab 1 Sak] (August 8, AD **801**)

This date is two days before the **9.18.11.0.0 6 Ajaw 3 Sak** period ending, and nine *tuun*s before the last documented mention of Yax Pasaj's name in Structure 1 of Quirigua at 9.19.0.0.0.[80] The rest of the west text is missing or obscure save for an occurrence of the "crossed bundles" glyph associated with Teotihuacan and Copán's dynastic founder, Yax K'uk' Mo'. Neither the *te'* logograph nor the *naah* logograph that often occur with this glyph are in evidence, so the context of the glyph cannot be ascertained.

The east niche (Fig. 5.39b) is missing its first six glyphs. The first *in situ* glyph is a date 5+ Kan. The date may well be 10 Kan, which would be six days after the Initial Series date on the other niche. The date is followed by a difficult series of glyphs, including the rare collocation *pat-tuun*: this glyph is also found on Stela 7's right side.[81] Thus we have

[79] If we assume that only the two niches were inscribed, then CPN 2606, 1983, 2255, and 2256 must belong to the left arm of the east niche; CPN 906, 2405, 2740, and 2741 could belong to either niche; and CPN 2262 could only belong to the west niche at C6 or D6. I was unable to locate a photograph of CPN 1838.

[80] The date on Stela 11 has been read as 8 Ajaw 9.19.10.0.0, later than the Quirigua date, but I express reservations about this late date ahead.

[81] Other instances can be found on Naranjo Altar 1 in connection with the making of a house, Yax ... Naah.

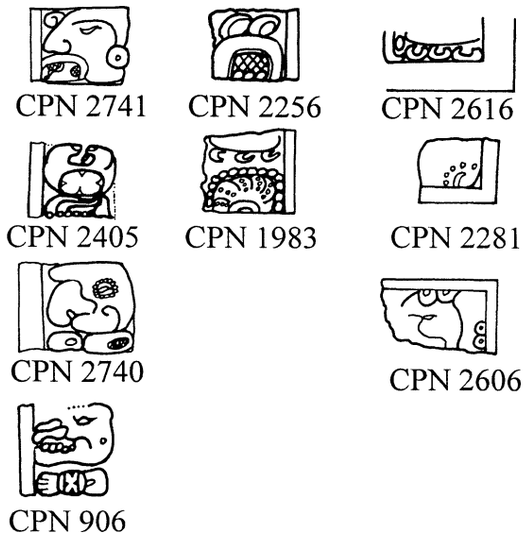


Fig. 5.38

Loose blocks from Copán Structure 18 niche texts. Drawings by author from photos in Sculpture Catalog, CRIA, Copán Ruinas.

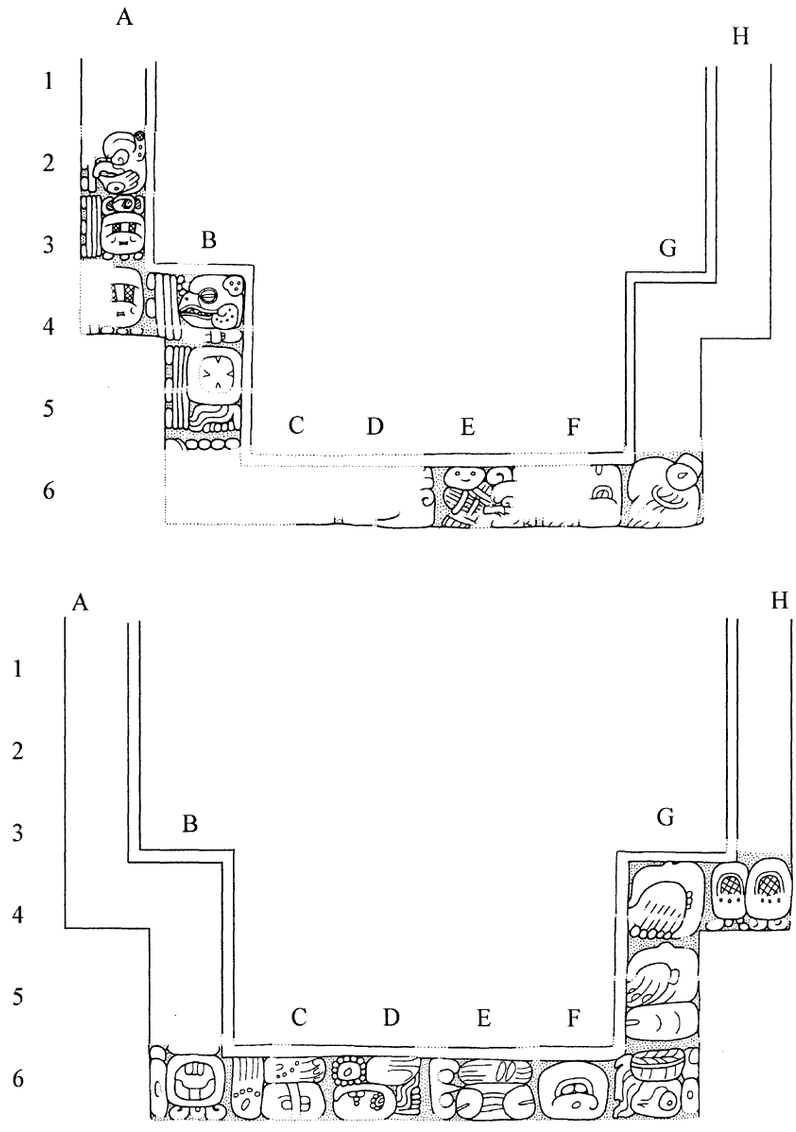


Fig. 5.39 Niche texts of Copán Structure 18; (a) West niche text; (b) East niche text. Adapted from Baudez (1983:Fig.M-19).

10? Kan	**k'i-k'i-ki**	*pat-tuun*
10? Kan	**????**	**is formed-in-stone?**
U-tz'i-ko-lo		
the ??? of		
y-otoot		**lu?-le lu? pa-la pa-...**
the dwelling of		**??**

I cannot give any precise sense for this phrase. For the text to exhibit the same structure found in other dedicatory phrases, one would want either C6 or D6 to be a verb with *u-tz'iik?-ol? y-otoot* as its object, where *u-tziik?-ol?* is some architectural feature of the dwelling, by analogy with other dwelling texts. The last three glyph blocks ought to give the name of the *otoot* "owner," but they are very odd. The glyphs at G4 and G5 look like strange forms of the **-lu** syllable, but they are somewhat different from the clear **-lu** in the west niche text at G6. I can only venture that G5-H4 may represent a couplet or a title, and that it might be worth noting that another example of the odd **-lu** can be found on the glyphic "seat" of the last figure on the right side of the Structure 11 bench register of seated lords.

Some guesses can be made about some of the names missing from the text based on the fragmentary blocks found in the Structure 18 debris (see Fig. 5.38). CPN 2405 gives **K'IN-chi-ni** *k'inich*, and CPN 2740 is a clear **K'UK'-MO'-o** *K'uk'-Mo'*. These two blocks are almost certainly part of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo's name, and they have their carved rectangular border on the same side. If Yax Pasaj's name was part of the inscription, it is represented in the fragments only by the head variant of the **sa** syllable (CPN 2741). A third probable name, K'uy ..-k Ajaw, one of the guardian gods of Copán, may be represented by a **k'u** syllable (CPN 2256) identical to that in his name on the West Door South Panel of Structure 11. CPN 2262 may represent **U-[ti]-ya** *ut-i:y* "it happened [at]." CPN 1983 may include part of a supernatural place name. This place name also appears on Stela C and Stela 7, as well as on the façade of 10L-22A, the "*popol naah*." It incorporates a dotted "flower" device, and has been associated with watery locales on, for example, the "Cosmic Plate." Perhaps this location is linked to the waterlily iconography in the basal area of Structure 18's façade. We can note that those glyphs which must belong to the left arm of the east niche include part of the name of the patron god K'uy ..-k Ajaw as well as part of the probable supernatural place name, and therefore we may be dealing with cosmological events or locales in the passage before the *otoot* phrase. We might consider the possibility that Yax Pasaj "owns" the dwelling as the impersonation of K'uy ..-k Ajaw.

V.2.4.2.2 Stela 11 and its relationship to Structure 18

As noted above, there is little doubt that Stela 11 (Fig. 5.40) is directly associated with Structure 18, and the interpretation of its text affects our view of the character of the building. The inscription has been the subject of a series of discussions, each with a slightly different take on its meaning (Schele 1991b; Grube and Schele 1992; MacLeod 1993; Stuart 1993). The interpretation that seems to have survived shifts in the understanding of the glyphs and grammar holds that the text is a self-conscious reference to the end of the Copán dynasty (e.g., Martin and Grube 2000:212). This hypothesis relies on a series of understandings of particular aspects of the Stela 11 text. First, it requires that we read the date at A1 as **8** Ajaw, 9.19.10.0.0,[82] AD 820, which is presumed to be the approximate death date of Yax Pasaj; second, it entails the gloss "it terminates" (Schele 1991b) or "it collapses" (Stuart 1993:346) for the verb *jom-oy* that follows at B1; and third, it accepts the *wi-te' naah* glyph at A2 as a metaphor for the Copan dynasty that invokes Teotihuacan origins. The end-of-dynasty hypothesis also partially depends upon the reading of B2 as a verb, separating the clause that follows from the clause that precedes it; and takes as support the figural depiction on the front of the stela, which shows a personage, probably Yax Pasaj, standing in and on the "skeletal maw" of the underworld with a smoking or foliated torch in his forehead, possibly in death. I present here what I think is the most reasonable interpretation, one which takes into account the typical concerns of Copán stelae.

First, as Baudez (1983:491) notes, Annie Hunter drew the initial "Ajaw" date as "8 Ajaw" in Maudslay's work, but "in reality the only visible element is the bar of '5', with very little remaining of the rest of the number" (my trans.). Based upon his identification of the shape on the upper right side of the 5-bar as an arc-shaped space-filler, he believes that the numeral is actually 6 Ajaw and that this refers to one of two possible period endings, either

> **10.7.0.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Tzek** – a date not within the chronological span of Copán's texts, or
>
> **9.14.0.0.0 6 Ajaw 13 Muwan** – a date in the reign of Ruler 13

Neither of these dates seems very likely. However, as Baudez (1983:492) also notes, the date 6 Ajaw appears on the basal molding of the east and west facades of Structure 18. It seems to me most likely to refer to the *tuun*-ending **9.18.11.0.0 6 Ajaw 3 Sak**,[83] the period-ending that is two days after the Long Count date recorded in the west niche text. If we hypothesize that the 7 Imix glyph that appears on the north façade, directly adjacent to the 6 Ajaw glyph, is a reference to the day after 6 Ajaw (although the Imix head does not appear inside a day-sign cartouche and it may be a sort of visual pun), then there would be the following tight cluster of dates associated with Structure 18, spread over the six days between August 8-14, AD 801:

1) 9.18.10.17.18	4 Etznab 1 Sak	W. niche Initial Series
2) 9.18.11.0.0.	6 Ajaw 3 Sak	Stela 11, Str. 18 façade
3) 9.18.11.0.1	7 Imix 4 Sak?	Str. 18 façade
4) 9.18.11.0.4	10 K'an 7 Sak	E. niche, possible CR date

It is interesting to note that 7 Imix is a popular *otoot* dedication date at Yaxchilán. One also wonders if the missing dates in the sequence (5 Kawak, 8 Ik', 9 Ak'bal) are

[82] This would be the latest date at the city save for Altar L.

[83] 9.17.5.0.0 6 Ajaw 13 Kayab is another important 6 Ajaw period-ending in Yax Pasaj's reign, but the stela seems too late for that. We can note that assuming Yax Pasaj was between the ages of 1 and 19 when he acceded, he would indeed be in his third k'atun of life at the date 9.18.11.0.0, as suggested by the 3 k'atun ajaw title at the end of the text.

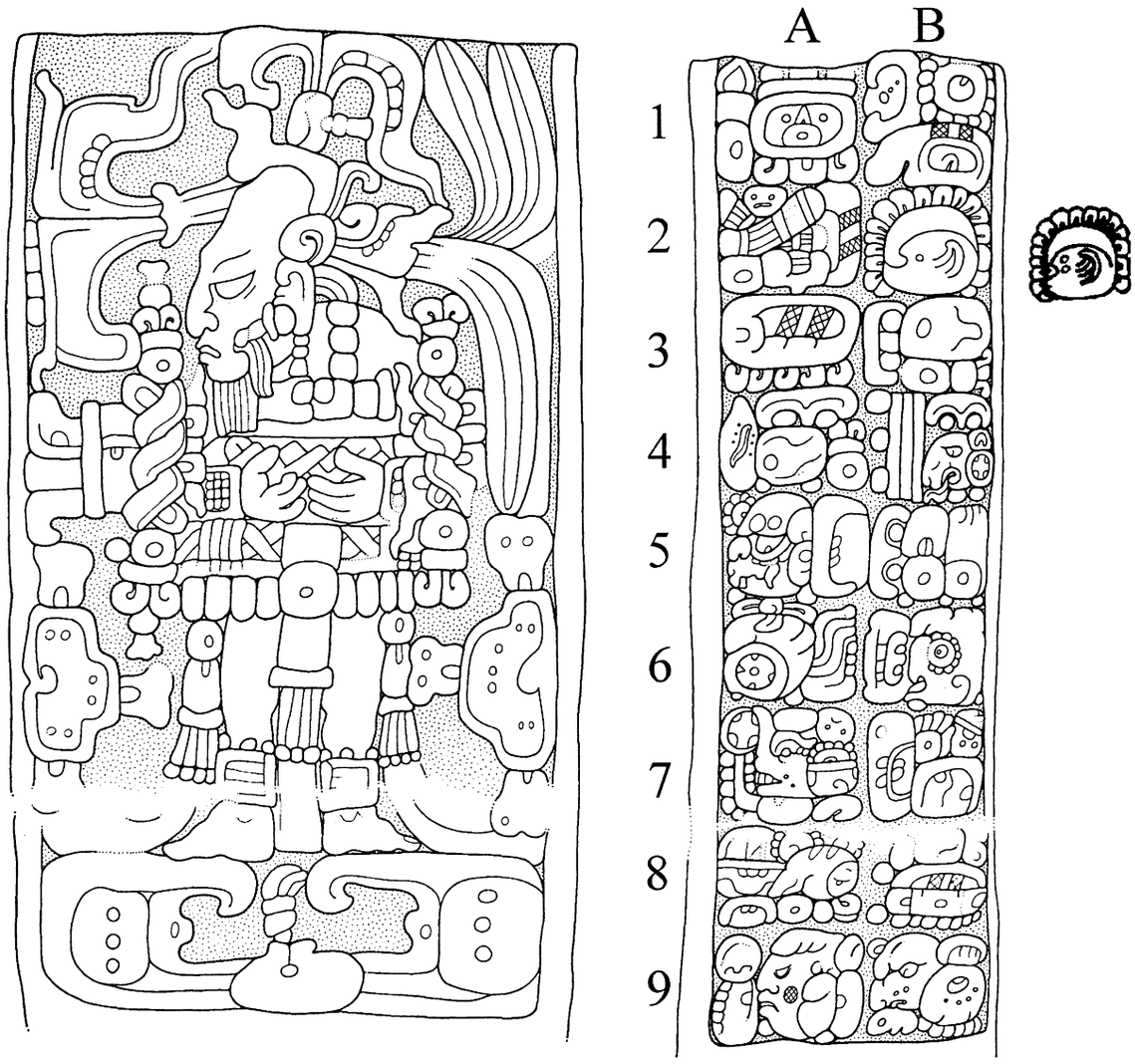


Fig. 5.40 Copán Stela 11. Drawing by Barbara Fash, with Schele's modification to glyph B2 shown to the side.

referred to in other ways in the structure: for example, the tomb contains eight inverted Ik'-shaped niches in its walls, a possible reference to the 8 Ik' date that would follow 7 Imix.

There are three "pivots" in the text that are key to its understanding. The first is the initial verb at A1, *jom-oy*, for which Stuart (1993:346) suggested the Yucatecan gloss for *homah* "to collapse something vaulted, to knock down buildings, hills; to collapse/ruin hollow things, roofs" (Barrera Vásquez 1980:229), which seemed appropriate because of the architectural glyph (the "crossed-bundles house" or *wi-te' naah*) that follows at A2. There are, however, other available glosses, and in fact Grube and Schele (1992) proposed "submerge feet in earth," also from Barrera Vásquez (1980), as a reference to Yax Pasaj standing with his feet in the "skeletal maw" opening in the earth. I think it is precisely the right idea that the text refers to the depiction on the stela, especially since the texts of many other Copán stelae are integrated with their figural carvings, and are concerned with the opening and closing of the "skeletal maw." The Yucatecan glosses for *jom* as a noun emphasize its nature as a deep, dark hole, chasm, gorge, tomb, or "hole that is left by the falling-in of a hollow thing" – particularly in the earth (Barrera Vásquez 1980:228); and its verbal glosses revolve around the idea of creating an open or hollow area, whether by the collapse of a cavern or a tomb, or the clearing of a road or of jungle (Barrera Vásquez 1980: 229-230). It may be reasonable to suppose that the text of Stela 11 is referring to the opening up in the earth (as in the collapse and therefore opening of a sinkhole or cenote) of the "skeletal maw" that is pictured on the monument:

ti 6 Ajaw jom-oy
on 6 Ajaw it opens out [the skeletal maw]

The *wi-te' naah* glyph that follows the verb could be the location of the action: the collocation can be used in a fairly straightforward architectural sense. On Altar Q, it is the location of the *K'awiil*-taking ritual of K'uk' Mo' Ajaw and the place he departs from before events take place in Copán 152 days later. However, verbs of the **-Vy** class are usually followed by their subject, which implies that the *wi-te' naah* would be the thing opening out to create a hole. It may be worthwhile to consider that Structure 18 is the *wi-te' naah* at

this moment (9.18.11.0.0 6 Ajaw) and that the event concerns the tomb under the rear chamber as an opening in the earth and an underworld location: one wonders if the inversion of the T-shaped niches represents the view of the half-quatrefoil openings from the "other side."

The next pivot in the text is the glyph at B2: although it has been problematic, Schele (1991b) upon re-examination of the monument redrew the main sign with clear elements of the **li** syllable to give **hu-li** *hul-i* "it/he/they arrive." I accept the reading, with the caveat that if the main sign is not **li,** the sense of the text is completely changed. What arrives is the War Serpent, the deity so closely associated with Teotihuacan (Taube 1992b). MacLeod and Schele (MacLeod 1993) and Stuart (1993:344) have shown that the glyphs at A3-A4 are epithets for this being written as a couplet, and his proper name follows at B4-A5:

hul-i
He arrives,

taaj u-wuut *took' u-wuut*
Obsidian are his eyes, **Flint are his eyes**

Waxaklajuun U-b'aah Kan
18-headed Serpent

Stuart has shown that the War Serpent and the crossed-bundles house are closely associated, particularly on Yaxchilán Lintel 25 (2000:492-494). That lintel may actually provide a rather precise parallel to Stela 11: its subject is the conjuring – the arrival, as it were – of the War Serpent, precipitated by Lady Xook's impersonation of a Teotihuacan deity whose title is *wi-te' naah ch'ahoom.* I suggest in the chapter on Yaxchilán that just as humans impersonate deities, so buildings may also impersonate other buildings, and I think that both Structure 18 and Yaxchilán Structure 23 may be instantiations of the Teotihuacan origin house. Both are very strongly associated with the king's prowess as a warrior and with the War Serpent. In fact, Stuart (pers. comm. 2002) recently pointed out to me that the fifteen massive stone incensarios that were found on the surface of Structure 17 (Becker and Cheek 1983:396), directly in front of Structure 18, had lids carved in the image of the War Serpent: perhaps "arrival of the War Serpent" refers, at least in part, directly to the placing of these incensarios on the occasion of the dedication of Structure 18. I suspect, though, that as the "hole" or portal opens up, the serpent emerges or arrives.[84] We can also note that Anne Dowd (Becker and Cheek 1983:402) reconstructed two feathered serpents as part of the western segment of the north wall of the structure and suggested that they formed part of a continuous frieze around the structure: Taube (1992b) has shown that the feathered serpent and the War Serpent are extremely closely associated at Teotihuacan at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl.

[84] Ch'orti' myths are full of tales of giant serpents emerging from the earth and causing landslides and destruction (Fought 1972).

The third pivot of the text is the collocation at B5, **u-lo-k'o** *u-lok',*[85] which has been read based on the Ch'orti' gloss for *lok'* "leaving, departure" (Schele 1991b; MacLeod 1993), and, in an alternative reading also based on Ch'orti', as "emerge, come out" (Grube and Schele 1992).[86] *U-lok'* is followed at A6-B9, and the text finishes, with the names of the dynastic founder K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and the final king Yax Pasaj, which run directly into each other with no separation. The Ch'orti' glosses that Wisdom provides (1950:92) make it clear that *lok'* is not just leaving or going out, but going out or exiting from an enclosed space, and I think it most likely that the Stela 11 phrase describes the scene carved on the stela, which shows Yax Pasaj (or someone) emerging ("coming up or out": see footnote 87) from the "skeletal maw":

u-lok'
It is their emergence

K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' K'uhul "Copán" Ajaw
Sun-faced Yax K'uk' Mo' Holy Copán Lord

Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat Ox "K'atun" Ajaw Bakab
Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat, 3 K'atun Lord, Bakab

The lack of separation between the names of the two kings is most likely an example of verbal deletion, a common feature of couplets in Maya writing (Hull 2001). It is entirely possible that in this rite so intimately tied to Teotihuacan, the War Serpent, and the Wi-Te' Naah dynastic house of origin, Yax Pasaj is impersonating Yax K'uk' Mo': as I noted above, Copán texts do not always use the impersonation phrase *U-b'aah-il-aan* in cases where a clear impersonation is taking place, but rather string the name of the deity and the king together. Yax Pasaj may have felt a strong affinity with Yax K'uk' Mo' since they both seem to have been relative foreigners at the city: perhaps he thought of himself as the "second coming."

In sum, I hope that further advances in epigraphy can evaluate the possibility that the Stela 11 text refers to the 6 Ajaw opening out of the skeletal maw "portal" as a cavern in the earth *at* or *as* the *wi-te' naah*; that the physical referent of the text concerns the tomb in Structure 18 as an instantiation of the Teotihuacan house of origin; and that Yax Pasaj *and* (or *as)* the founder emerge from the portal on this occasion of the dedication of the structure, perhaps from the mouth of the War Serpent, as shown on Yaxchilán Lintel 25.[87] The hole that opens up may even be conceptualized as the mouth of the serpent. It is instructive that the emergence of Itzamnaah B'alam from the War Serpent's mouth as shown and described on Yaxchilán's Lintel 25 occurs not upon the king's death, but upon his accession, showing that this is not necessarily a mortuary event; indeed, Ruler 15 of Copán stands in the skeletal maw on Stela M and he is not dead at the time of the erection of that stela. Further, the

[85] Although three small dots appear underneath the main signs at B5, they appear to be decorative, space-filling marks rather than a suffix.

[86] Wisdom (1950:92) gives **lok'**: "leaving, departure (salida), a coming up or out, escape."

[87] In this connection, we can note that the vessel with the Kerr number 8528 shows a man wearing a Copán-style headdress emerging from the mouth of the War Serpent.

Yaxchilán lintel is erected as part of the *otoot* dedication of Structure 23, forming another parallel with Stela 11 and Copán Structure 18.

It is true that the physical referent, if one exists, of the *wi-te' naah* glyph on Stela 11 is uncertain. Taube (2004) hypothesizes that Structure 16 with its fire and Teotihuacan-related martial symbolism may represent the crossed-bundles house at Copán. The iconography of that house, however, occurs in other places at Copán and in its environs, namely on Structure 10L-33 in Group 10L-2 and on Structure 5 at Rio Amarillo (Stuart 2000:493), suggesting that that there is perhaps not an exclusive association with one particular structure. For that matter, the figural carving and text of Stela 11 might as well refer to Structure 11, where, after all, the central chamber is portrayed as the skeletal maw; further, the final date in Structure 11's texts and its probable date of completion is 9.17.5.0.0, another 6 Ajaw period-ending. The Structure 18 6 Ajaw date at 9.18.11.0.0 is exactly twenty-six years later, half of the fifty-two year round that is the most important calendrical interval in Central Mexico. Although the lack of Teotihuacan-related imagery on Structure 11 makes me favor Structure 18 as the *wi-te' naah* and the location of the Stela 11 events, the 9.18.11.0.0 date might have been considered a very appropriate one for opening another "portal" – one of very Central Mexican character. Stuart has already remarked upon a connection between these two buildings: he has reconstructed the calendar round date on the northwest jamb of the structure (the only date that remains on any of the jambs) as 1 Kib 19 Keh, the date of the dedication of Structure 11 (Grube and Schele 1990a).

V.2.4.3 Summary comments on Structure 18

The jambs of Structure 18 reinforce the parallel previously mentioned with Yaxchilán's Structure 23. The carvings of Yaxchilán Structure 23, Lady Xook's *otoot*, provide a pictorial and textual retrospective of her involvement in important ritual and political events in her husband's life, particularly as they relate to warfare, on a series of dates that spread over forty-six years; further, she is buried in the structure. The jambs of Structure 18 seem to have a similar function. On the northwest jamb, Yax Pasaj is shown dancing with a skull rattle over the half-quatrefoil opening of a place marked probably as a cave. The pictures and texts of the other three jambs also demonstrate that he is dancing over quatrefoil openings, in all three cases in different warrior outfits carrying a spear and shield, but no dates have been preserved from the other texts. Each of the quatrefoil openings is marked differently, possibly indicating ritual dance episodes at different "openings" and times, whether on the acropolis or somewhere in the Copán valley. Like Yaxchilán Structure 23, Structure 18 ends up being a burial site. If the tomb in the structure was designed for anyone, it was probably Yax Pasaj, and although the "owner" of the Structure 18 dwelling is uncertain, it is probably Yax Pasaj in the guise of an impersonator, like Copan Structure 22, and Yaxchilán Structures 23 and 44. The "dweller" in both cases was buried in the dwelling.

There are also structural parallels between Structure 18 and other kinds of monuments, as noted in the section on Structure 11. The masks on the carved bench parallel the monster masks on a number of altars, such that in Structure 18, an "altar" is encased in and indistinguishable from architecture. The bench or rear chamber in Structure 18 should be considered another opening, like the inner chamber of Structure 22 and the platform bench in Structure 11; the 6 Ajaw arrival of the War Serpent two days after the dedication of the building and the emergence of the kings, recorded on Stela 11, are themes that resonate with the serpent-mouth iconography of Structures 22 and 11. The Structure 18 bench is placed directly over a tomb, like (probably) the platform in Structure 11. Structure 18's rubble included tenoned stones representing the "white-flower-and-*chapaat*-jaw" motif associated so closely in epigraphy with the exit of the breath soul at death, suggesting perhaps that it the tomb and the building were thought to exude the flowery breath of the *chapaat* being.

Although there are no overt references to Venus in Structure 18, it does link in to the Venus-themed architecture on the rest of the acropolis. One odd feature of the building is that its east and west sides are canted toward the west such that the side walls are not perpendicular to the front and rear walls. According to the map of the acropolis made by Hohmann and Vogrin, a line can be drawn from the central point of Structure 18's door along the axis of this cant, directly over Altar R, across the axis of the landing between the two stair blocks of the east side of the east court, and ending at the central point of the door of Structure 21A. As mentioned briefly above, the bench text of Structure 21A recapitulates and imitates that of Structure 22 next door by separating its glyph blocks with Venus signs rather than the Venus skull used in Structure 22. Further, Altar R, located along the Structure 18/21A axis is the only monument at Copán aside from the Structure 11 panels to directly mention Venus as Chak Ek'; and the skull with waterlily earflares that forms one of its sides is the same as the Venus skulls on Structure 22, and the same as the skulls with waterlilies at either end of the bench carving in Structure 11. Altar R's date is 9.18.2.8.0, around nine years before the dedication of Structure 18. The axis created by the Venus-related Structure 21A and Altar R apparently incorporates Structure 18.

V.2.5 Summary remarks about the Acropolis otoot structures

Thus far, the three *otoot* structures of the Acropolis can be said to be united by several features. All share central carved benches as interior "sanctuaries" which are probably indistinguishable from the monuments we call "altars"; all link the ruler to the patron gods of Copán; all can be said to be divine dwellings, either of gods or of the ruler in the guise of a god; and all are linked by Venus-related concerns. Finally, all of them involve explicit references to underworld concerns, particularly as it is entered or exited through the mouth of a cosmic serpent. Rather than being a purely mortuary event, these entries and exits were probably relatively regular components of rituals of passage or commemorations of important anniversaries. Eliade (1964 [1951]) emphasizes many times that ritual in shamanic contexts typically involves symbolic death and descent to the underworld and rebirth or renewal upon emergence. The interior chambers, particularly of Structures 18 and 22, possibly used for royal audiences during the life of the ruler,

may even have been intended to become oracles upon his death. Administrative and political dealings were almost certainly also accomplished in this atmosphere, but the identification of the latter activities represents educated guessing based primarily on ethnographic material. "Residence" as a daily process involving sleeping, eating, dressing, and defecating seems like an unlikely function of any of these structures, or of the Acropolis in general. This means that, as the Tulane team has done in Group 10L-2, we may have to look for the residences of Copán's rulers in the great complexes outside the area of the Acropolis and the Main Plaza.

V.3 The Las Sepulturas *otoots*

The central rooms of Structures 9N-82 and 9M-146 (Fig. 5.41) in the Las Sepulturas area (see Fig. 5.2) contain hieroglyphic benches that are supported by carved bakabs, and each bench is fronted by a full-figure text that dedicates the structure as an *otoot*. In both cases, the dwelling belongs to an individual that scholars believe is a non-royal noble of Yax Pasaj's court, who carries the title *aj k'uhun*. In part because of the "scribe god" iconography of Structure 9N-82 and in part because of the transliteration *aj k'uh hun*, "he of the holy book," a popular interpretation of the title has been that of a noble scribe of the royal court (Coe and Kerr 1997:91). Jackson and Stuart (2001) have recently surveyed a number of proposed translations, drawing attention to the range of glosses that might be chosen, as well as to issues in grammar and hieroglyphic spelling. They see *aj k'uhul hun* "he/she of the holy books/paper/headbands," and *aj k'uhun* "one who guards," or "one who venerates or worships," as alternative decipherments, emphasizing that it is not now possible to choose definitively between the range of alternatives (2001:226). In this discussion I assume only that *aj k'uhun* is a noble title applied to men and women who are relatively intimate members of a royal court.

The bench texts that name these two people have been used as one of the primary lines of evidence for the decentralization of power that preceded the collapse of the Copán dynasty and the desertion of the monumental center. Both 9N-82 and 9M-146 have been excavated and functions have been attributed to them using archaeological, iconographic, and, to some extent, epigraphic evidence. The comparison of the two structures as "dwellings" is instructive because although they each have hieroglyphic benches and their plans are identical, they come from architectural groups that are significantly different in size, quality of construction, and architectural elaboration: in the Harvard typology, 9N-82 is part of a Type 4 site and 9M-146 is part of a Type 3 site. Further, the excavators of these two groups have come to somewhat different conclusions about their functions in spite of their similarities (e.g., Leventhal 1979; Leventhal and Baxter 1988; Sanders 1989; W. Fash 2001:154). The equation of 9N-82 and 9M-146 supports Marshall Becker's (1982) critique of the Harvard typology, which is that it ignores the Maya cognitive units that can be encoded in plaza plans and that may be independent of factors like architectural size and elaboration.

The following sections address, first, the very similar bench texts of the two "dwellings" of *aj k'uhuns*. The generally accepted interpretation of those texts is dependent in part on an understanding of the political environment of Copán that has been derived from the Structure 22A "council house" or *popol naah* hypothesis. Because that hypothesis has a number of problems, I re-evaluate it following Schele, Stuart, and Grube (1991) and Wagner (n.d.) in order to understand the bench texts in their own terms. Then, I look at the available information on the archaeology and architecture of Structures 9N-82 and 9M-146, comparing the different conclusions drawn by the excavators. Finally, I discuss a group of structures that I believe to be formally indistinguishable from the *otoot* structures, even though they are not inscribed, including 8N-66, 10L-32, 9M-194B, and 9M-195B. Many of these structures have been the subjects of previous studies of function, which of course must generally rely (apart from architectural cues) on the contemporaneity of *in situ* and midden deposits with the dynastic period-use of the buildings. Chronology at Copán, particularly as it relates to the internal differentiation and overall duration of the Late Classic Coner ceramic phase, has long been a problem, one which has been unresolved by a mass of obsidian hydration dates. Recent work on the

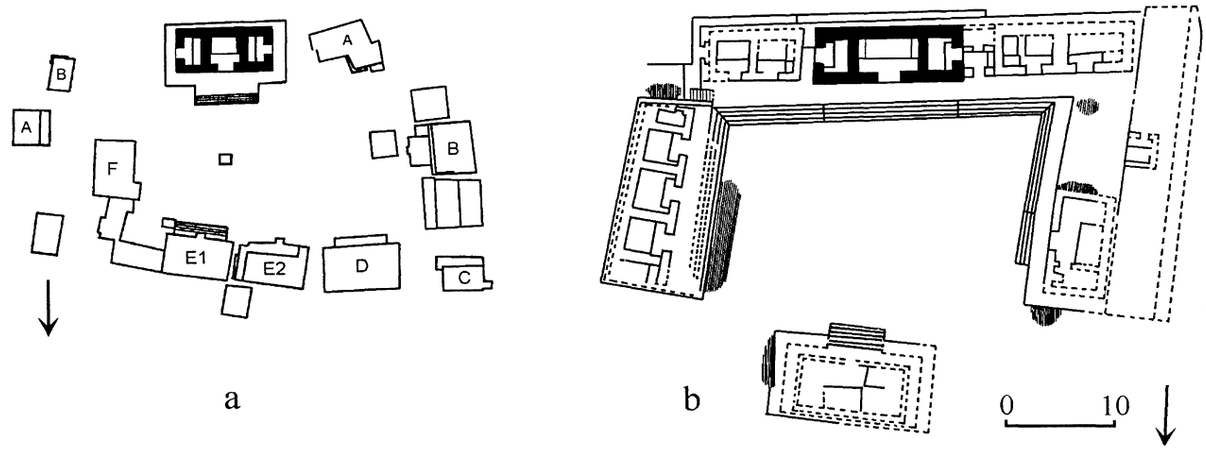


Fig. 5.41 Plans of Copán Structures 9M-146 (a) and 9N-82 (b). Redrawn after Leventhal (1983:63) and Webster (1989:10).

refinement of the Late Classic ceramic typology has important implications for the study of structure function, which I consider briefly before launching into the main discussion.

V.3.1 The implications of the Bill ceramic typology for the use of *in situ* and midden deposits as indicators of building function

Substantial midden deposits have been found in all of the excavated groups in the Sepulturas area, and some of the structures addressed in the following sections have middens directly associated with them, including 10L-32 (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:85), 8N-66 (Webster *et al.* 1998:325), and Patio A of Group 9N-8 (Webster 1989). All of the excavators of these groups recognize that trash deposits in the plazas and on top of the living surfaces of elite patio groups are most likely very late, particularly the sheet middens of the kind found along building fronts like that of 9N-83 (Webster 1989:17); but not all seriously address the behavioral disjunctions that most archaeologists assume are represented by major changes in trash disposal practices. Webster, for example, summarizes the implications of the midden deposits in Patio A of Group 9N-8 this way:

> ...[T]he midden debris and other artifactual material associated with the latest living surfaces, *while generally not of Late Classic date*, show that a variety of residential functions, including food preparation, were carried out there, and *probably represent continuities with the full Classic occupation of the group.* In other words, this palace complex has all the expected earmarks of an elite residential zone, even though we have recovered only the latest traces of such activity (1989:39, emphasis mine).

Given that elite compounds are generally found to be very clean and are often bereft of the middens usually used to address building function, one should wonder all the more about the social and political changes that would permit the kind of late trash disposal habits indicated in these compounds. Andrews V and B. Fash (1992:86) do note the shift indicated by the ancient choice to allow trash to pile up in Group 10L-2, suggesting that the "change in disposal practices in the ninth century probably signals a decline in the status of the occupants and in the overall organization of Group 10L-2 and the site core." Similarly, Webster *et al.* (1998:333) observe that materials from primary contexts such as the surfaces of plazas, terraces, rooms, and benches in Group 8N-11 "obviously relate to late behaviors at the site and do not necessarily imply long-term sets of functions or activities."

Recent work by Cassandra Bill has reformed and refined the Copán ceramic typology in general and the long Late Classic Coner phase in particular, and provides a basis for assessing contemporaneity and continuity of use over time. The Coner Phase has, over the course of its history, been estimated variously as between 150 and 550 years in length (Maca 2002:110); it was as recently as 1998 equated with a four hundred-year period between AD 600 and AD 1000 (Webster *et al.* 1998:322). Bill's (1997) doctoral thesis, however, subdivides it into early and late phases. She has since then continued to refine the Coner phase, which currently has five subdivisions, as follows:

Acbi/Coner Transition	AD 600-650
Early Coner	AD 650-750
Middle Coner	AD 700-750 (definition of phase still in progress)
Late Coner 1	AD 750-820
Late Coner 2	AD 820-850/900

(personal communication by Bill to Allan Maca 2002, cited in Maca 2002:124)

Further, as Maca notes (2002:121-124), Kam Manahan has discovered a defined Postclassic (Ejar) phase, including both fine and utilitarian wares and radiocarbon-dated to around AD 1000. This discovery provides a new terminus for the Coner ceramic phase in the Copán pocket and probably obviates the need to rely on the series of obsidian hydration dates (Maca 2002:125), which have not been embraced by many scholars even after a decade of debate (W. Fash and Sharer 1991:184; Braswell 1992; Canuto 2001).

Bill's refinement means that many of the analyses of the chronology and function of excavated Sepulturas groups will have to be re-evaluated. For example, Julia Hendon bases her useful dissertation on structure use in Sepulturas compounds upon artifacts and ceramics associated with the Coner phase in order to ensure contemporaneity of the various assemblages (1987:58). Her materials come from contexts that include *in situ* deposits on terrace, platform, and room surfaces, and from midden contexts abutting structures. Although Bill's reformation of the ceramic typology and chronology has of course not yet been systematically applied to the ceramic assemblages of the various excavated groups, I would predict that many of the middens and *in situ* materials in elaborate complexes like those discussed ahead will prove to be Late Coner 2 – that is, post-dynastic. In the following sections that look at the archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, and iconography of suburban *otoot*s, the reader should keep in mind that previous analyses of Late Classic architecture based on the integrity of the Coner phase as defined pre-Bill are problematic.

Bill's data as articulated in her doctoral thesis (1997) indicate significant changes in the way ceramics were consumed between the early and late Late Classic period, particularly by the elite inhabitants of the city of Copán. The conclusions she reaches in her thesis are based on a characterization of the Late Coner phrase as the period that encompasses the decline and collapse of the Copán dynasty (1997:538), such that the application of her more finely drawn phases such as Late Coner 1 and 2 are likely to sharpen and probably somewhat alter her conclusions. Nevertheless, her data indicate a "drastic" (1997:410) decline between the Early and Late Coner periods in the production of Cream Paste Fine Wares, one of the two identified fine ware traditions. The Cream Paste wares include Copador Polychrome, a type usually considered a signature type for the Late Classic period. As Bill notes, the decline occurs "significantly before the end of the dynastic period" (1997:411). Cream Paste polychrome production "appears to have all but ceased" in Late Coner (Bill 1997:537); further, the diversity, or "product richness" of the fine wares peaks in the Early

Coner period, probably during the reign of Ruler 12, and declines sharply during the Late Coner period (Bill 1997:520-532). Decorated vessels become very rare in Late Coner contexts, with the remaining local fine ware, Polished Black/Brown, becoming "limited to the manufacture of simple undecorated bowls and cylinders" (1997:537). Bill hypothesizes that if the increase in the diversity and elaborateness of fine wares in Early Coner is a response to the development of a "vigorous new market for fine ware products and the nature of competition between producers for that market," then the decline in frequency, diversity, and elaborateness of fine wares in Late Coner should be attributed to a decreased demand and a dwindling market (1997:538).

What is so very interesting about this data is that it speaks to the character of the eighth-century elite, a subject that has influenced theories of Copán's decline and the collapse of Classic Maya political structure in general. W. Fash's hypothesis about the late Late Classic situation in the Copán valley, particularly under Yax Pasaj, involves the growth of an elite class that becomes increasingly powerful and increasingly needs to be appeased by the ruler through the granting of courtly offices and the right to erect elaborate architecture and carve personal inscriptions. As Fash says, "the state's lifeline was its tribute, large portions of which were funneled through the largest, oldest, and most powerful lineages" (2001:176); he envisions a large number of elite males from these lineages, vying for the offices of the state

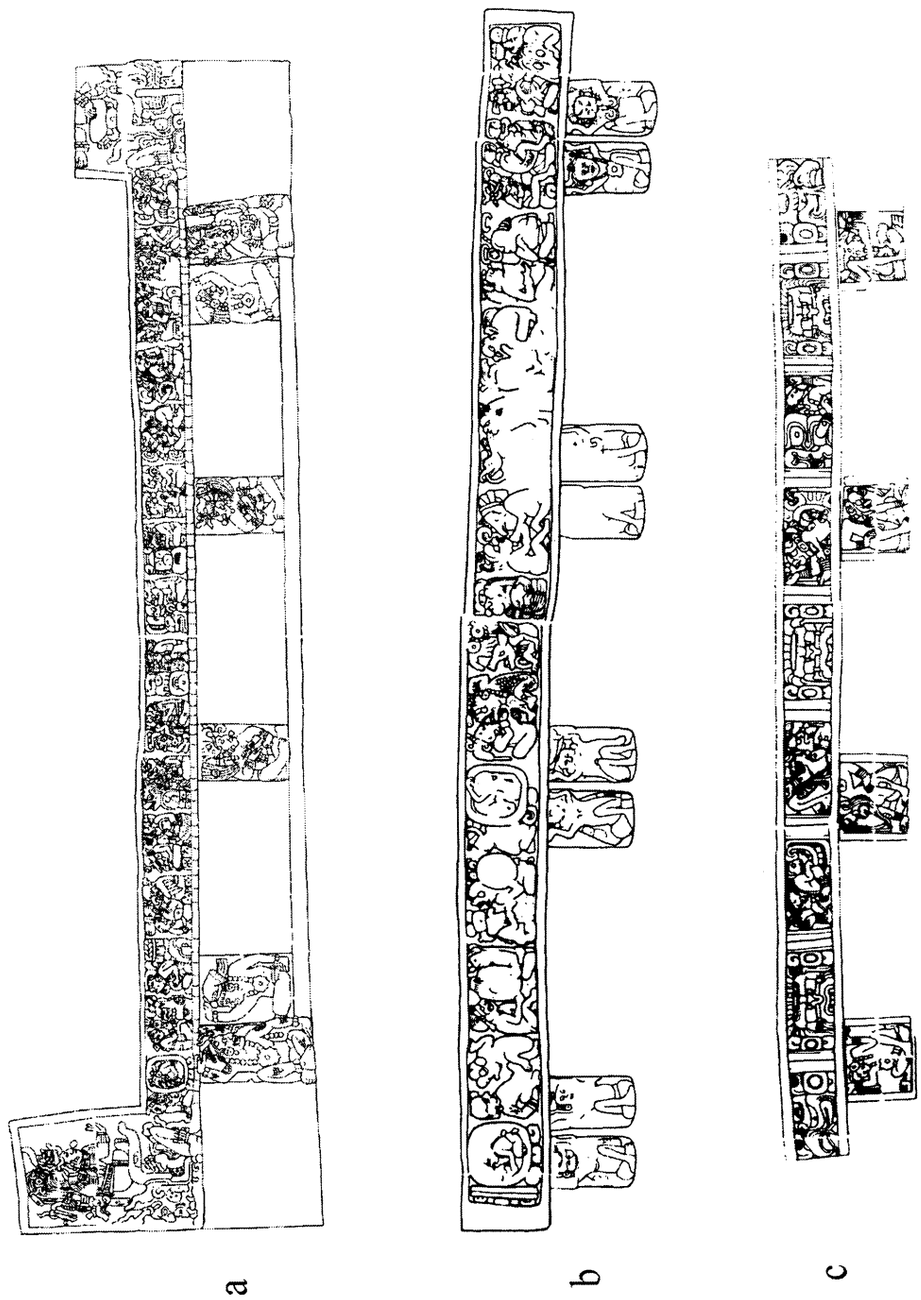


Fig. 5.42 Bakab-Starry Deer Caiman benches at Copán: (a) Hieroglyphic bench from Structure 9N-82. Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) Hieroglyphic bench from Structure 9M-146. Drawing by Barbara Fash; (c) Skyband bench from Structure 8N-66. Drawing by Barbara Fash.

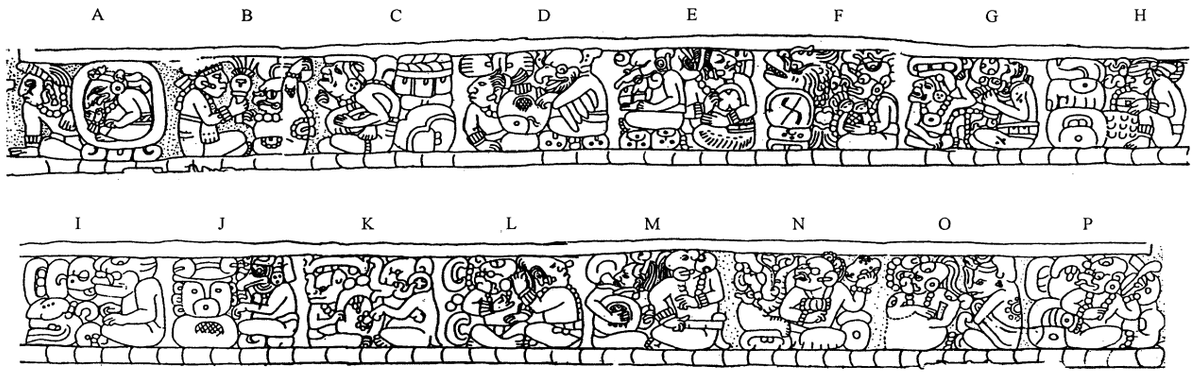


Fig. 5.43 Text of hieroglyphic bench, Structure 9N-82. Drawing by Linda Schele.

(ibid.). His ideas have been adopted by many scholars in explaining the Copán collapse; Martin and Grube, for example, talk about the "growing status among the local nobility" and say that "by 780 high-ranking lords were furnishing their palaces [that is, their *otoot* structures] with hieroglyphic benches every bit as fine as the king's own commissions" (2000:210). I submit, however, that one is hard-pressed to find support for Fash's hypothesis of wealthy, landowning competitive lineages in the sorry Late Coner ceramic situation described by Bill. That the hypothesized increasing autonomy, wealth, and competitiveness of the Copán Valley elites are not expressed in diversity and elaborateness of the fine serving wares that are usually considered a key part of elite display is very difficult to explain.

I believe that the data considered in the following sections will point to a somewhat different meaning for these *otoot* structures and for the political situation that has been extrapolated from them. Generally, I think the evidence points to a massive pull *toward* centralization and emphasis on central authority in the first part of Yax Pasaj's reign, not as a way of propitiating the interests of an elite with growing autonomy but as a way of bolstering a sagging system and an impoverished elite, possibly with support from outside the Copán valley.

V.3.2 The hieroglyphic bench texts in Las Sepulturas

V.3.2.1 Structure 9N-82, the otoot of Mak' Chanal, Xook, Koxoop Ajaw

The bench of Structure 9N-82 (Fig. 5.42a) is carved to represent a Starry Deer Caiman resting on the upraised hands of four bakabs, just like the interior chamber of 10L-22 and probably the north façade of 10L-11. Two other seated figures are carved on supports underneath the medial portion of the bench, identified by Schele as the dwelling owner and his father (Schele 1987a). The text (Fig. 5.43) has been discussed by Riese (Webster, W. Fash, and Abrams 1986:184; 1989:82-88); by Linda Schele and her associates in two *Copán Notes* (Grube and Schele 1987; Stuart, Grube, and Schele 1989); and by Jackson and Stuart (2001:224-228). The first four pieces deal principally with the date of the bench, while the last deals with the political connections of the dwelling-owners to the king of Copán and gives a full transcription of both bench texts, though it does not offer a comprehensive interpretation of either. Because pivotal transitional phases in the text are not well understood, more than one interpretation of the text is probably possible, as I explain below.

The Calendar Round date of the inscription at **A-B** has made for some difficulty: the day sign, whose coefficient is 11, is a seated animal of uncertain identification, but the presence of the jester-god headband caused Stuart, Grube, and Schele (1989) to identify it as an *Ajaw* sign rather than the *Ok* preferred by Riese. The coefficient of the month sign is 3, but the identification of the month itself has been problematic because it falls astride the eroded edges of two masonry blocks: it could be Yax, Keh, or Ch'en. While the pair of downcurving lines observable on the upper element are not usually found on Keh or Ch'en glyphs, the two options given by the other alternative, Yax, are either too early, in the reign of Ruler 15 (9.16.10.7.0), or late in Yax Pasaj's reign (9.19.3.2.0) after the erection of inscribed monuments has virtually ended. The two most likely placements are

11 Ajaw 3 Ch'en	**9.17.10.11.0**	July 6, 781
or		
11 Ajaw 3 Keh	**9.17.2.12.0**	Sept. 6, 773

Stuart, Grube, and Schele (1989) prefer the first option because the graphic composition of the glyphs on the bench resembles that on the 9M-146 bench, which contains an *uht-oom* "it will happen" future reference to the 9.17.10.0.0 period-ending. Similar composition is also found on Altar W', most likely from the courtyard in front of Structure 9N-82, whose date is 9.17.5.9.4. They also like the first date option because one of Yax Pasaj's titles on the bench text is *"'k'atun' kaloom-te',"* indicating that he is in his first *k'atun* of reign when the bench text is inscribed (Schele 1989b). Nevertheless, the second, earlier date also fulfills all of the foregoing criteria. In fact, on the 9M-146 bench, two of the four date possibilities (9.17.2.16.11, 9.17.3.16.15) are very close to the second possibility for the 9N-82 bench. Further, the 11 Ajaw 3 Keh date is only sixteen days after the dedication of Structure 11. The idea that the two benches

might be dedicated within four winals of each other and contemporaneously with Structure 11 should be considered.

The text continues at **C** with a standard *t'ab'[-ay] y-otoot* dedication phrase, followed by the name of the owner of the *otoot* (**D**) and his female (**E**) and male (**F**) parents. This section of the text is relatively unproblematic:

t'ab'[-ay]	*y-otoot mak' chanal*
it goes up?	**the dwelling of Mak' Chanal**

y-al ix k'in ajaw
he is the son of Ix K'in Ajaw

u-tz'ak-b'il? k'u[k'?] K'awiil
he is the son of K'u(k'?) K'awiil

The next phrase (**G-H**) is also a "relationship" phrase[88]:

u-mam	*[chuwen-skull figure]*
he is the grandfather of	**[chuwen-skull figure]**

y-ok'-ol? ch'ahoom
y-ok'-ol? ch'ahoom

The difficulty with this last phrase lies 1) in knowing whether Mak' Chanal or his father is the referent of the "grandfather" clause; and 2) in determining whether the *y-ok'-ol(?) ch'ahoom* phrase is part of the name of the grandson or a reference back to Mak' Chanal. I tend to think that Mak' Chanal is the grandfather in this neatly lined up series of relationship glyphs, and that the *y-ok'-ol ch'ahoom* title belongs to the grandson. The fact that a grandson is mentioned at all reminds me of the Chichén dedication texts – in particular, those by women for women, where a younger woman clearly sponsors the dedication of an architectural aspect of a god dwelling in the name of an older woman. In these cases, even though the older woman is named first, the younger woman takes the longer title string because she is the politically active and *contemporary* person.

The next phrase on the bench (**I-J**) again begins with a problematic pivot:

U-mu-TI'	**XO:K? ko-xo-pa AJAW-wa**
U-mu(h)?-ti'	*Xook? Koxoop Ajaw*
it is the *mu(h)?-ti'* of	Xook, Koxoop Lord

No one who has dealt with this text has proposed a reasonable meaning for the **mu-TI'** collocation. It is doubtful that it spells *mu:t,* "bird" or "omen," because the *ti'* variant used is the logographic one so commonly seen, for example, in the Lunar Series, and it wants to be read as a separate word, possibly "mouth," "opening," "passage," "gate," or "door" (see Wisdom 1950:186-7). I can only suggest that the inscription at this point refers back again to the architecture as it does in many other *otoot* dedication texts, again, particularly at Chichén: there, the Akab Dzib lintel text uses the word *ti'* most likely to refer to the door of the *otoot*. One wonders if the collocation on the Copán bench might not refer to a tomb entrance: Sanders (1989:96) thinks that by analogy with other residential groups, a major tomb should lie beneath the staircase of 9N-82, but excavations were not carried out because of plans for restoration. A pan-Maya gloss for *mu* and *mu'* is "brother-in-law" or "sister-in-law" or sometimes "younger brother or sister"; but that gives little help with the *ti'* ending. Wisdom (1950:107) does give an entry *muh* "well, deep hole (pozo)," probably related to the word *muhk*, "burial"; we might thus propose *muh-ti'* "burial edge or opening"[89] as a possible reading.

The possessor of this **mu-TI'** is given by a full-figure *xook* fish with the mirror infix in its forehead: the head of this fish can represent the syllable or ergative pronoun *u*, but that reading would be awkward here. Rather, as Schele points out, it is probably a name, logographic *xook*; further, this individual is probably shown on the mock bench support just below and to the right, where the seated figure holding a bloodletter also wears a *xook* fish in his headdress (Schele 1987a). The figure on the opposite mock support wears a quetzal in the headdress and has a smoking celt in his forehead, certainly representing K'u(k') K'awiil, the father of the dwelling owner (ibid.). The individual Xook is also called, in the next glyph block, Koxoop Ajaw. This locale is probably also mentioned on Altar W', a monument dedicated within 5-10 years of the bench, where we have the sequence

ma-k'a-ba CHAN-la?-IK'? ko-xo

That is, we have elements of Mak' Chanal's name as it appears on the bench text, and two of the elements of the Koxoop locale; he is almost certainly the Koxoop lord. It should be pointed out that there are extra elements that are not understood. The full-figure **CHAN** bird holds an *ik'* "black," sign – perhaps he is the "black Koxoop Ajaw" – and the *pa* and *ajaw* elements are missing. The Koxoop place is also mentioned on Quirigua Altar O', a monument commissioned by the 15th ruler, "Sky Xul" to commemorate the 9.18.0.0.0 period ending. That monument gives an unreadable event associated with the date 9 Manik 5 Yaxk'in 9.17.6.17.7, and the name **ko-xo-pi AJAW** *Koxoop Ajaw.* This date falls close to (three to four years later than) the best possibilities for the dates of both of the Sepulturas inscribed benches.[90]

It is interesting, since the great Quirigua king K'ak' Tiliw Chan Yopaat ("Kawak Sky") uses as one of his titles "Black Copán Ajaw," that Altar W' should refer (probably) to the "Black Koxoop Ajaw." One must wonder if Mak' Chanal and the occupants of Patio A are in some way connected with the Quirigua dynasty. Another interesting connection is the Xook name, since the name of Yax Pasaj's Palenque mother is *Ix Chak ... Xook*, as recorded on Altar U. Perhaps Mak' Chanal was someone from Yax Pasaj's mother's family.

[88] There is some possibility that the full-figure old man with shell pendant and raised hand at G does not read **MAM**; he is basically identical to the *bakab* or *pawahtun* figures that are carved on the bench supports, and could read *pawahtun*. In any case, a parallel is clearly drawn between the ancestors of the bench's protagonist and the *bakab*s that hold up the bench.

[89] Or, more adventurously, "hole-opening" – this recalls the idea of these dwellings as entry spots into the underworld.

[90] The Quirigua date 9.17.6.17.7 is 1547 days after the date I favor for the 9N-82 bench (9.17.2 12. 0), or 17 x 91 days, 17 quarters of the solar year (also 119 trecenas). One wonders if solstitial or equinoctial events are involved.

The text continues at **K** with another "pivot" glyph

U-"bat"-..-ku-b'a
u-"Copán?"-b'aah

followed at **L** by the straightforward title of the man who is a member of the court of Yax Pasaj, named at **M-P**:

y-aj-k'uhun Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat K'uhul "Copán" Ajaw K'atun Kaloom-te'
the *aj-k'uhun* of Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat, Holy Copán Lord, K'atun Kaloom-te'

In many Maya texts, the *u-b'aah* glyph is a normal part of the title strings of a ruler, and seems to act as a re-focusing device. In this case, however, the **b'a** glyph is preceded by a "bat" glyph, a **ku** syllable, and possibly another syllable on top of the **ku** sign that is not identifiable. This collocation may represent the Copán place name, or it may represent something else; either way, its presence probably alters the meaning of the *u-b'aah* expression such that we cannot exclude the possibility that it functions to relate *Xook Koxoop Ajaw* to someone else – namely, the *aj k'uhun* of Yax Pasaj – rather than to himself. That is, Mak' Chanal (if he is correctly identified as Xook Koxoop Ajaw) may not himself be the *aj k'uhun* of Yax Pasaj.

The difficulties with this text (aside from the eroded month glyph) can then be summarized as follows:

1 Lack of certainty of the original referent of the *u-mam* expression (if it IS *u-mam*) at G;
2 Lack of understanding of the **yo-k'o-lo** *ch'ahoom* glyph at H and *its* original referent;
3 Lack of understanding of the meaning of *u-mu(h)?-ti'*;
4 Lack of understanding of the *u-"Copán"-b'aah* collocation and whether it functions as part of a title string or as a relationship glyph.

Any one of these problem spots can cause trouble for the understanding of the inscription as a whole. For example, if *u-mu(h)-ti'* refers to the burial of the Koxoop Ajaw, then Mak' Chanal may well be dead at the time of dedication of the inscription, whose commissioner might be his grandson or other descendant.

V.3.2.2 Structure 9M-146, the otoot of the aj k'uhun of Ruler 15

The other bench, that from Structure 9M-146 in Group 9M-18 (Fig. 5.42b), is very similar to the one in 9N-82. Like the first bench, the seat rests upon the upraised hands of bakab-type figures, eight in this case, arranged in four pairs of small circular columns underneath: though they are somewhat eroded, it seems that each pair may be identical. One of the members of each pair wears the cut-shell pectoral found on the bakabs of 9N-82's bench, while the other sports a bifurcated tongue or possibly proboscis and a possible *k'an* cross in his forehead.

The first of the text's (Fig. 5.44) two Calendar Round dates (at **Glyphs 1 and 2**) is eroded: the day sign and the month coefficient are in doubt, while the coefficient of the day sign, 11, and the month sign, Pax, are clear. Schele (1989a) advanced a range of possibilities for the day sign and for the month coefficient, which has to be greater than 10 because of the "death" "percent-sign" on the arm of the full-figure number. Since both Ruler 15, K'ak' Yip-yaj Chan K'awiil, and Yax Pasaj are mentioned in the inscription, the date ought to fall into one of their reigns. Though Schele preferred the single possibility in the reign of Ruler 15 (9.16.10.13.10 11 Ok 13 Pax), I prefer, as I noted above, the two latest possibilities

9.17.2.16.11 11 Chuwen 14 Pax, *or*
9.17.3.16.15 11 Men 13 Pax

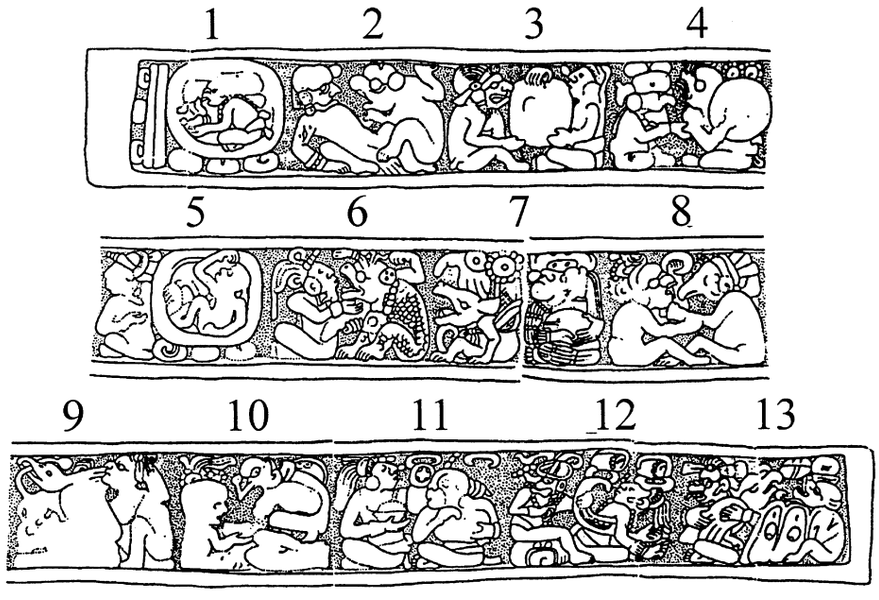


Fig. 5.44 Text of hieroglyphic bench, Structure 9M-146. Drawing by Linda Schele.

because of their proximity to the dedication of the 9N-82 bench and because they fall closer to the period ending referred to in the 9M-146 text.[91]

The **glyphs at 3 and 4a** are not presently readable, but may give information associated with the earlier date. At **4b** are the elements **u-to-..**, almost certainly *uht-oom* "it will happen," followed by the next Calendar Round date (**Glyphs 5-6**), also eroded but possibly 12 Ajaw 8 Pax, the period ending 9.17.10.0.0. The event associated with the period-ending is, appropriately, an incense-scattering (**Glyph 7a**) by Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat (**Glyphs 7b-8**). It is important to note that this event is a future event in the text and technically has not happened yet, though it is of course possible that the text was carved long after the scattering event. The text refocuses on the first date beginning at **Glyph 9**.

I-T'AB'-[ya?]	**yo-to-[ti?]**	**/..../**
i-t'ab'-[ay?]	*y-otoot*	....
and it goes up?	the dwelling of	So-and-so,

ya-K'UH-na	**K'AK' yi-pi-ya-ja CHAN**
y-aj-k'uhun	*K'ak' Yip-yaj Chan*
the Aj K'uhun of	K'ak' Yipyaj Chan

K'AWIIL	**"bat" AJAW**
K'awiil	*"Copán?" Ajaw*
K'awiil	"Copán?" Ajaw

Although the proper name is eroded, some have noted that it seems to have a beak or proboscis of some kind, like a mosquito, and that this person may be the *bakab* depicted on the bench supports with the bifurcated tongue. It is clear in any case that the dwelling belongs to an *aj k'uhun* of Ruler 15, the deceased king, rather than Ruler 16, who is cited as the agent of the future period-ending scattering ceremony. As Jackson and Stuart note, "[t]his curious juxtaposition indicates not only that *Aj k'uhun*s were closely associated with their rulers, but that the nature of this association was unique and personal enough that it was not automatically transferred from ruler to ruler" (2001:225). At the time of the inscription, Yax Pasaj had been in power for at least eleven years given the possibilities for the dates; the *aj k'uhun* of K'ak' Yipyaj would probably have been of mature age. Again, as with the 9N-82 text, there is no guarantee that this man was alive at the time of the dedication of the bench.

V.3.2.3 Considerations and problems in the interpretation of the Las Sepulturas otoot texts

The interpretation of these benches that has been advanced by W. Fash and that is commonly accepted (e.g., Schele and Freidel 1990:328-329; Sharer 1994:332; Martin and Grube 2000:210; Stomper 2001) holds that the texts "provide evidence for a visible weakening of centralized rule just before its [the dynasty's] demise. Descriptions of the public acts of the ruler at the hearths of his most important subjects were literally carved in stone, leaving a clear imprint in the archaeological record" (W. Fash 2001:160). Fash states that "Yax Pahsaj ...came to dedicate and christen CV-43 Structure A (Structure 9M-146) with a scattering ritual" (2001:161). Further, Fash believes that "Yax Pahsaj was preoccupied with confirming his authority throughout the valley by allowing his subordinates to erect inscribed monuments which emphasize their association with him" (W. Fash 2001:165). The evidence from the benches is used to support the interpretation that Structure 10L-22A, the so-called *popol naah*, signals a decentralization of power and that nobles were allowed greater authority than in previous times (W. Fash 2001:136). I have the following four points to make about this interpretation, the last of which will be made in its own section.

First, as I note in the introduction to this chapter, it is important to understand the difference between what the inscriptions clearly say and what archaeologists have inferred from them. In neither of the bench texts is Yax Pasaj's presence confirmed or implied at either the dedication or the locale. In the text of 9N-82, Yax Pasaj's name is part of the *aj k'uhun*'s title. This does not of course mean that he was not important in the text: his name takes up fully four glyph blocks. In the text of 9M-146, Yax Pasaj is cited as the agent of the traditional "scattering" act of offering that happens for a period-ending – in this case, one that has not yet occurred (9.17.10.0.0), if we accept that the inscription was not carved retrospectively. That is, the scattering statement serves as a time marker and a way of tying the *otoot* dedication into the larger chronological and ritual scheme. Second, there is no evidence one way or the other that erecting inscriptions was solely a royal prerogative and therefore was something that was only "allowed" for non-royal nobles by a king who gave express permission.

Third, if one accepts what I think is a very clean chronological scenario – that these benches may have been dedicated within months of each other, within days of the dedication of Structure 11, and shortly before Altar W' in Group 9N-8's Patio A – then Yax Pasaj may well have been at the height of his power rather than in its waning years when the dwellings are dedicated. Between 9.16.15.0.0 and 9.17.0.0.0, Yax Pasaj constructed Structure 21A, and in the next five years between 9.17.0.0.0 and 9.17.5.0.0, he was engaged in the massive refurbishment of Structure 11 and probably also of Structure 16; as well as in the creation of Altar Q, Altar D', Altar Z, and Altar GIII.

Perhaps significantly, at this time, Quirigua's Ruler 14, K'ak' Tiliw, was also still in full swing, having maintained a tradition of stela erection for 6 hotuns in a row, including the massive Stela E and then Stelae C and A between 9.17.0.0.0 and 9.17.5.0.0. Yax Pasaj acceded to power the year after K'ak' Tiliw oversaw the accession of a ruler at the site of Xkuy(?), a site that Copán's Ruler 13 had previously successfully attacked in the year 738 (around 9.15.7.0.0). Looper (1999) interprets the Quirigua texts that involve the site of Xkuy(?) to mean that K'ak' Tiliw and his successor "Sky Xul" carried on hostilities with Copán over a long period of time: this interpretation does not necessarily follow from the texts, but is rather an extrapolation based on the fact of Quirigua's dominance over a site that Copán attacked decades earlier. Copán and Quirigua may just as well be on good terms in this later segment of Quirigua's post-Ruler 13

[91] Baudez believes that the date is 11 Ajaw 13 Pax 9.17.17.2.0, but this is impossible because the period ending 9.17.10.0.0 occurs in an *uht-oom* "it will happen" phrase, indicating that the first Calendar Round date must fall before that.

independence. It is notable that K'ak' Tiliw and the two succeeding rulers at that site all take the Chan Yopaat title taken by Yax Pasaj and by two much earlier Copán rulers. It is clear from Matthew Looper's work (1995, 1999) that the two dynasties are interwoven from a very early time.

K'ak' Tiliw's monumental output certainly exceeds that of Copán's Ruler 14, and probably also of Ruler 15; and good relations with him, possibly even active support, may have had something to do with Yax Pasaj's early success. Since Yax Pasaj's father was not Ruler 14 or 15 (as given on the inscribed stone from Structure 22A), one has to wonder where he came from, and whether he might not be someone rather closely connected with Quirigua.[92] In any case, there are few indications, at least from the time period between his accession in 9.16.12.5.17 and around 9.17.10.0.0, that Yax Pasaj's power is waning. There is no question that early on he revitalizes the site center, and the changes and inscriptions in the valley may be part of that revitalization; the Koxoop-Quirigua connection is particularly interesting in this light. I will return to this line of thought later in the discussion of the archaeological evidence for the chronology and function of the valley *otoot*s.

Fourth, the evidence from the benches should not be seen as fitting into a proven previously existing model generated by the *popol naah* interpretation and its implications. This model holds that the hieroglyphs on the Structure 10L-22A façade paired with human figures are toponyms for political regions in the Copán valley that sent representatives to 10L-22A to hold council with the ruler, signaling a weakening of central authority (e.g., Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:69). That model is tenuous for a number of reasons, and it is necessary to discuss it in order to understand, in their own terms, the bench texts and the structures they appear in. I consider this in the following section.

V.3.2.3.1 The popol naah *hypothesis and its implication for the understanding of the suburban* otoots

Schele, Stuart, Grube, and other epigraphers (Schele, Stuart, and Grube 1991; Houston, personal communication 2002) realized as early as 1988 that the place glyphs that adorn the façade of Structure 22A (Fig. 5.45a,b; see also Fig. 5.7) were supernatural place names that appear in solid cosmological contexts on a number of monuments and particularly in scenes painted on vessels. B. Fash *et al.* incorporate this information into their 1992 article presenting the council house hypothesis by proposing the following explanations (1992:432-3):

1 The glyphs represent place names relevant to Late Classic Copán
2 The glyphs represent supernatural localities associated with particular lineages or even supernatural aspects with which specific lineages or sub-communities had come to be associated
3 The individuals portrayed above the hieroglyphs were charged with the rites and obligations needed for the perpetuation or care of certain designated supernatural realms
4 The places cited on Structure 10L-22A existed in the surface world, but may also have corresponding locales in the underworld

These hypotheses then seem to be condensed into a single hypothesis, "that the 22A glyphs represent names of localities (or particular lineages or sub-communities of the Copán realm associated with such localities)" (1992:433); and, as B. Fash *et al.* note, the hypothesis is "eminently testable through further excavations. We anticipate that as more inscriptions are uncovered in large residential compounds in the Copán Valley this hypothesis will find further support" (ibid.).

The idea that the great architectural compounds in the Copán pocket or in surrounding pockets of the Copán River might have been conceptualized as underworld locales is a fascinating one, and would have tremendous implications for the possible cosmological underpinnings of settlement patterns in the Copán Valley and elsewhere, and for political organization in general; but it has not been further elaborated by Copán project archaeologists. The fact that the 22A glyphs are supernatural place names has been largely phased out of the discussion: W. Fash and B. Fash (1996:141) say that we cannot know if there were real places associated with the supernatural place names even while they assume that the seated figures are representatives of real places. Later, the supernatural place names are mentioned in one sentence in W. Fash's 1998 article on dynastic architectural programs, and not at all in either of his editions (1991, 2001) of *Scribes, Warriors, and Kings*. There is no doubt that these glyphs refer to supernatural locales, as Wagner (n.d.[1998]) has recently confirmed, and it is a circumstance that absolutely must be explained if the *popol naah* hypothesis is to survive.

A second problem with the *popol naah* hypothesis is that the archaeological tests devised for it have not provided supporting evidence. Webster's excavations in 8N-11, Ashmore's excavations in 8L-10 and 8L-12, Maca's excavations in 9J-5 (Maca 2002), and Saturno's excavations in Rio Amarillo (Saturno, personal communication 2002) have not produced examples of any of the glyphs found on the 22A façade. These complexes are the most monumental in the valley, and are the sorts of places that were expected to produce evidence for the hypothesis (B. Fash *et al.* 1992:433); indeed, the search for sculptural evidence for the *popol naah* idea was a primary motivator for initiating the latter two excavations in the first place (W. Fash 1998:252).

The sole sculptural support for the hypothesis has been found in Andrews V's excavations in Group 10L-2, where a tenoned fish sculpture was found axially cached in the central bench of the final version of Structure 32; several other fish fragments were also found in the fill, probably from the façade of Structure 32-2nd, the previous building (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:68-69). The excavators compare the tenoned sculpture to the very similar fish in the **ka/KAY-NAL** glyph on the western pier of the south façade of Structure 22A, and note that there was also a carved fish

[92] The idea that Yax Pasaj may have come from outside the city might explain why he so rabidly associates himself with the site's patron gods and emphasizes his place in the Copán dynasty in his first monuments (Structure 21A, Structure 11 bench step and inscriptions, Altar Q).

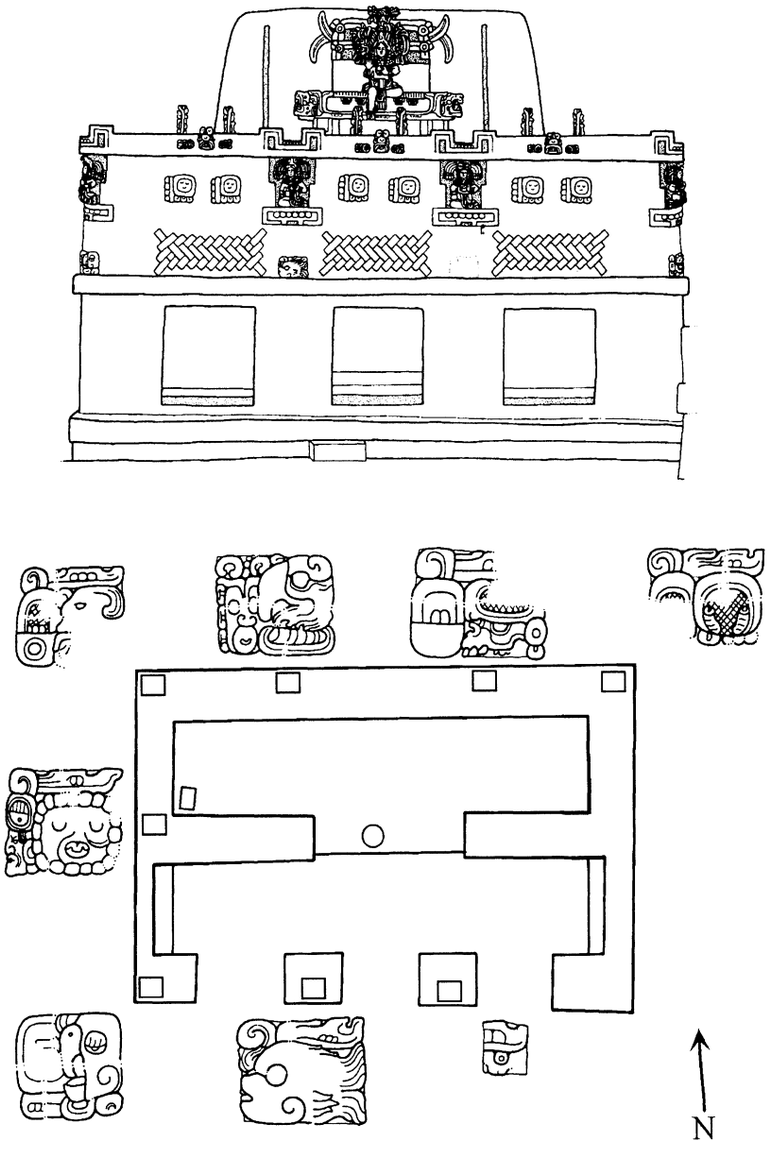


Fig. 5.45 Copán Structure 22A: (a) façade reconstruction by Barbara Fash; (b) location of supernatural place-name glyphs around façade. After B. Fash *et al.* (1992:Fig. 13).

on the upper façade of Structure 10L-31. They believe (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992; Andrews V and Bill, n.d.) that Plaza A of Group 10L-2 was the center of the "fish" place, and that it was known as such from a very early time. It is notable that none of these fish represent an actual glyphic place name, and that, as Wagner (n.d.) notes, the iconography of Structure 32-2nd may well have borne water iconography like the latest version did, with its six waterlily monster masks and six individuals wearing tied waterlily headdresses (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:67). The fish and waterlily are closely associated in many iconographic contexts. Unfortunately, even if Structure 32 does represent the *"fish"-nal* place, it does not follow that the *popol naah* hypothesis is supported because the "supernaturalness" of the place name remains unexplained.

Another problem with the *popol naah* hypothesis comes from a piece of epigraphic evidence that W. Fash (1998:251) cites, derived from sculptural motifs on the 22A facade that include the *sak* glyph with *ajaw* face (Fig. 5.46a): Fash treats this motif as a glyph reading *"sak nikteil nah,"* a term for council house in Maya dictionaries (W. Fash 1998:251). There is no glyphic evidence on the façade for the *naah* reading; rather, Fash combines an iconographic motif with its presence on a structure (*naah*) to produce the phrase. On Structure 22A, the motif has been reconstructed as part of the roof ornaments, placed between the vertically-tenoned open serpent jaws that serve as roof merlons. The *sak-ajaw* "white flower" glyph is used in the glyphic phrase *k'a-ay u-sak-"ajaw"-ik'-il* "it dissipates, his white flower breath," a common glyphic expression for death, and is regularly seen coming out of the mouth or nostrils of the *chapaat*

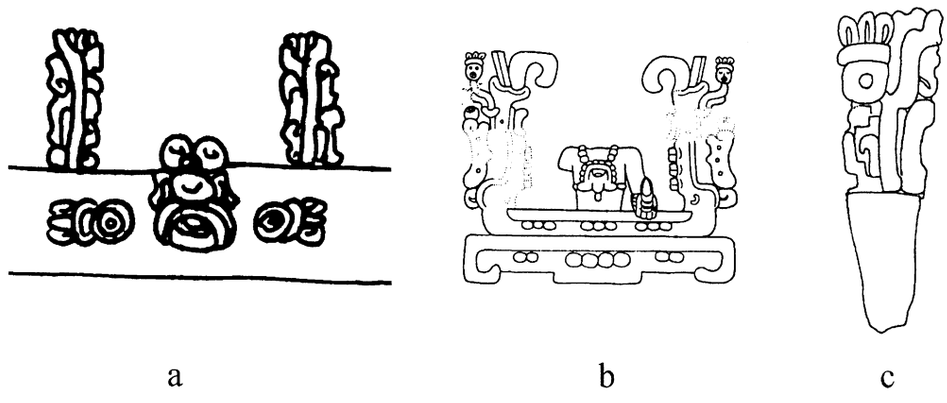


Fig. 5.46 Flower-breath *chapaat* "centipede" motif at Copán: (a) as reconstructed on the façade of Structure 22A (sketch after B. Fash et al. 1992:Fig. 15); (b) *chapaat* and flower-breath motif from Structure 9N-82, after W. Fash 1989:Fig. 64); (c) roof merlon from Structure 18, sketched after Baudez (1983:Fig. M-25b).

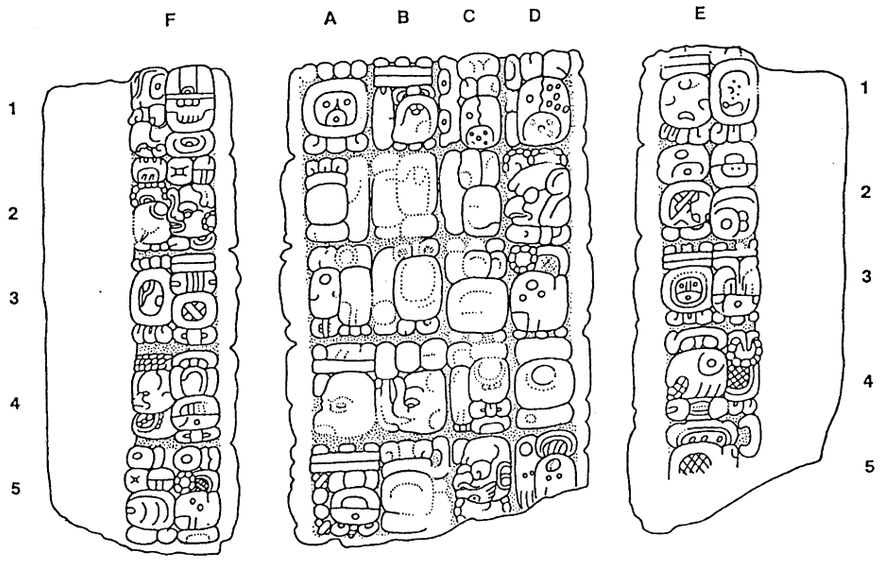


Fig. 5.47 Inscribed stone from Copán Structure 22A. Drawing by Barbara Fash, with David Stuart and Linda Schele.

"centipede"-serpent. It seems to refer to a flowery, perhaps fragrant breath that may have represented some aspect of the Maya soul, one that exited the body at death (Houston and Taube 2000:276-70).[93] The *chapaat*-flowery-breath combination is found on Structure 9N-82's medial façade with a human figure emerging from it (Fig. 5.46b), and also appears as a roof ornament on Yax Pasaj's Structure 18, where the *sak-ajaw* flower and the *chapaat* jaws are carved as one piece (Fig. 5.46c). If the *sak-ajaw* flower motif marks Structure 22A as a council house, then it similarly marks Structures 18 and 9N-82 as council houses.

Another piece of problematic evidence is the mat motif found ten times just above the medial molding of the building (see Fig. 5.45a): it is "read" as *pop* and the *popol naah* term is derived from it. Wagner (n.d.) doubts that this motif represents a mat, arguing that the nine segments of each mat design are comparable other iconographic depictions of nine knots. She further relates these nine segments to the epithet B'olon Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw and translates it "the nine knotted lords," positing that the device is a reference to dead ancestral lords. The most common iconographic context for the knotted device to which she refers is on the loincloths of kings, though it also appears in headdresses and above bundles, particularly in sacrifice contexts; it can have varying numbers of knots. The mat device on the 22A façade seems to be a separate device, however, and I think that it probably *is* a woven mat; but its nine segments are interesting given the presence of the nine seated lords, and the calendar glyph 9 Ajaw, discussed below, on its façade. I refer back to these nine segments and the B'olon Tz'akab possibility below.

Wagner further notes, with regard to epigraphic evidence, that the inscribed stone inside Structure 22A contains a dedication phrase for a *wayib'*, and that it may refer to the structure itself. This stone (Fig. 5.47) is not a freestanding monument, but a tenoned, T-shaped architectural element

[93] It is not inherently death-related: for example, on the Palenque Palace Tablet, it forms part of a parentage statement by characterizing a ruler as the "white flower breath" of a great serpent, the Chak Chit ... Kan, who is the impersonation identity on that Tablet of the ruler's father, Pakal.

that the excavators speculate may have functioned as a throne back (B. Fash *et al.* 1992:427). It was discovered in the southwest corner of the rear chamber of the building. It is perhaps not possible to know whether its original placement was inside the structure, perhaps mounted in its rear wall, or in some other building. The stone dates to the reign of Yax Pasaj and its text involves that king and the two enigmatic characters Nuun Yajaw Chan Aj Jol and Yax K'amlay. Without going into the detail of the text, it relates the erection (*tz'ap*) of a stone object by Nuun Yajaw Chan on 9.18.5.0.0 to the erection (*tz'ap,* again) of a *wayib'* – a real structure, presumably – on another date. This latter date is problematic, in part because of the arrangement of the numerals in the distance number that leads to it. One possibility for the erection of the *wayib'* is 9.15.12.0.0 8 Ajaw 13 Yaxk'in, a date in the reign of Ruler 14: the problem is that the *wayib'*, named in the text at C1 as *Ek' ... Wayib'*, "Venus/Star [...] Wayib'," is said to belong to Yax Pasaj, not to Ruler 14. This dating problem remains to be resolved: Stuart has also proposed the date 9.16.12.0.0, based on a different reading of the distance number. This date is only 5 winals before Yax Pasaj's accession, and may simply be the result of a rounded-off distance number: the practice of rounding off distance numbers to the nearest *tuun* occurs elsewhere on this same monument and is known from other late Copán texts (e.g., Altar U: Schele, Stuart, and Grube 1991).

If Stuart's date is right, then the erection of the *wayib'* may coincide more or less with Yax Pasaj's accession, a preferable solution given that it is said to belong to him. I will note in passing that this text provides the only instance of which I am aware where a demonstrably human, historical figure possesses a *wayib'* structure: in all other instances, the *wayib'* belongs to a deity, but the 10L-22A inscription demonstrates that this need not be the case. One might wonder if kings had special buildings for sleeping, or perhaps for dreaming, given the documented importance of dreaming as a curing and shamanic tool in Mesoamerican religions: the dreams of a divine king could have been regarded as of great importance to the realm.

Because the original provenience of the monument is not known, Wagner's idea that its text refers to Structure 22A probably cannot be proven; but if she is correct, then we have a native classification of Structure 22A that does not seem to accord with the *popol naah* hypothesis. It should be noted that the summit human figure on the roof comb of 22A wears large star or Venus glyphs in his headdress, making an interesting connection with the "Star" name of the *wayib'*. Further, if Wagner is right, the identification of the builder of the structure as Ruler 14 is problematic; and it is still problematic even if she is not right, as I discuss below.

Its excavators have slotted Structure 22A into the reign of Ruler 14 based on two lines of evidence. The first is stratigraphic: excavations in the area between Structures 26 and 22/22A provided a stratigraphic sequence for the constructions, detailed in Larios, Fash, and Stuart (1994). They provide the following stratigraphic sequence:

1 The penultimate versions of Structure 10L-26 (10L-26 3rd and 2nd)
2 The final form of 10L-22 (10L-22 1st)
3 Structure 10L-22A and the final version of 10L-26 (1st)
4 Structure 10L-230 (the Structure 26 annex)

That is, although they do not say this explicitly, the excavators were unable to differentiate the chronological position of the final version of 10L-26 (item 3), built by Ruler 15, from that of Structure 10L-22A, except to show that both came after Ruler 13's Structure 22 and before the 10L-230 annex. Stratigraphically, then, the possibilities for builders of Structure 22A are Rulers 13-16 (Structure 22 commemorates the first k'atun in rulership of Ruler 13: since he reigned for 43 years, he presumably would have had plenty of time to erect another building). No later publications make any reference to the chronological fogginess of Structure 22A's position according to the stratigraphy, nor do Larios, Fash, and Stuart claim any stratigraphic *terminus ante quem*.

There are a series of assumptions built into the argument for Ruler 14 that have not been articulated; they derive from the 9 Ajaw day cartouche that decorates Structure 22A's façade (see Fig. 5.45a). The first assumption is that the 9 Ajaw date represents the date of a single period-ending, a perfectly plausible but not inescapable conclusion. The next step in B. Fash *et al.*'s argument is to assume that the 9 Ajaw represents a hotun (five-*tuun* interval) ending, rather than some other period ending; and the last is to assume that it represents a hotun ending upon which the building was dedicated. Available 5-year-interval 9 Ajaw period endings between the construction of Structure 22 and the approximate time of Yax Pasaj's death are the following:

9.15.15.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Xul
A period-ending in Ruler 14's reign

9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol
A period-ending in Ruler 16's reign

Of these two, the first is thought to be more likely because by 9.19.0.0.0, Yax Pasaj was doing very little, leaving one with the date in Ruler 14's reign.

It is not, however, necessary to assume that the 9 Ajaw represents a hotun ending, although this is the most common kind of period-ending celebration, at Copán and elsewhere. Rulers did commemorate important *tuun*-endings as well, and there is evidence that this was done in Yax Pasaj's reign: as I show in the section on Structure 18, the 6 Ajaw date on that building's east and west façades almost certainly refers to the *tuun*-ending 9.18.11.0.0 6 Ajaw 3 Sak, two days after the Long Count date recorded in its front chamber. Other precedents for non-period ending Ajaw dates upon which important events occurred can be found in the stelae of Ruler 12. 9 Ajaw *tuun*-endings between the dedication date of Structure 22 and the approximate death date of Yax Pasaj are

9.14.9.0.0	9 Ajaw 8 Mak
9.15.2.0.0	9 Ajaw 3 Yax
9.16.8.0.0	9 Ajaw 13 Zip
9.17.1.0.0	9 Ajaw 13 Kumku
9.17.14.0.0	9 Ajaw 8 Muwan
9.18.7.0.0	9 Ajaw 3 Keh

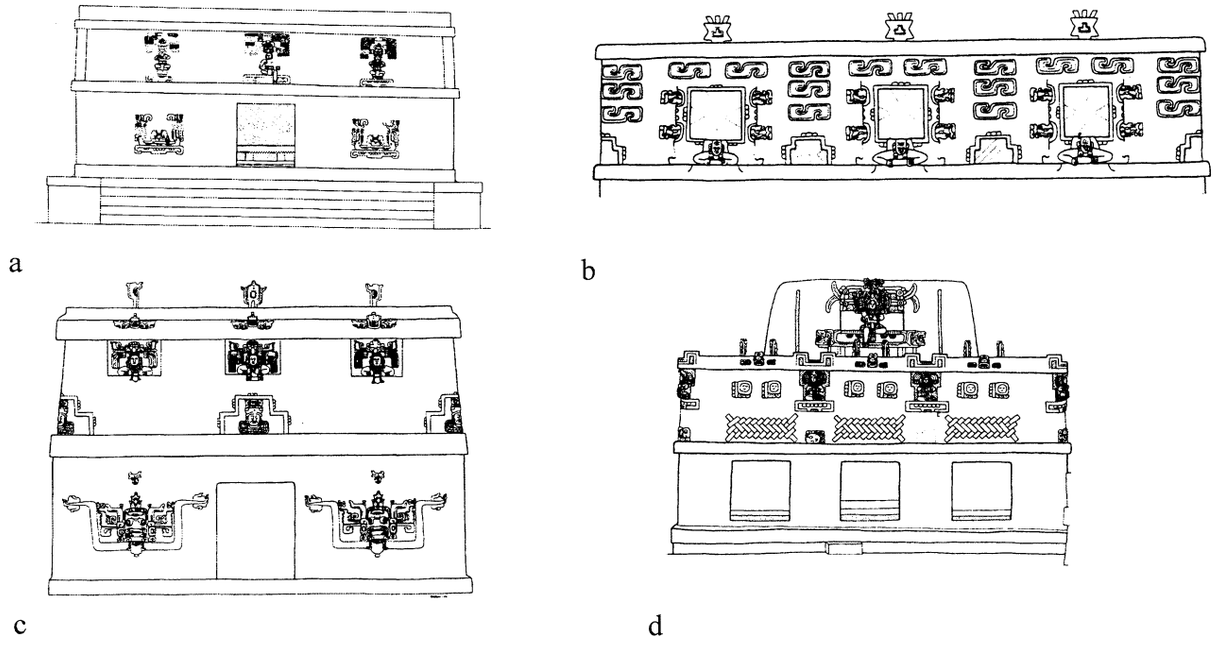


Fig. 5.48 Comparison of reconstructed facades from Yax Pasaj's reign. All reconstructions by Barbara Fash. (a) Structure 9N-82; (b) Structure 8N-66S; (c) Structure 10L-29.

There is perhaps no reason not to try to build a case for any one of these dates save for 9.18.7.0.0, which is a little late in Yax Pasaj's reign. 9.14.9.0.0 and 9.15.2.0.0 are both in the reign of Ruler 13 at a time when he is very actively erecting stelae and buildings, and both dates are after the bench date in Structure 22, as they should be since 22A is the later structure. 9.16.8.0.0 is in Ruler 15's reign in between the dedications of Stelae M and N; and 9.17.1.0.0 and 9.17.14.0.0 are both in the reign of Yax Pasaj.

I think that if one is going to accept that the day cartouche on the façade of Structure 22A is 9 Ajaw, and that it represents a period-ending upon which the building was dedicated, then there is actually a fairly good case to be made for 9.17.1.0.0 as the relevant period-ending; and that even without that cartouche, there is no reason why the building cannot be attributed to Yax Pasaj. That date would be particularly interesting, for at that early point in his royal career, Yax Pasaj was engaged in a massive building spree. 9.17.1.0.0 9 Ajaw 13 Kumku is in fact, as far as I am aware, the only *tuun*-ending commemorated on Yax Pasaj's incensarios (Stuart 1992:178), which otherwise cite his 6 Kaban accession date or the 3 Eb seating of Yax K'amlay.[94] In fact, when I asked Stuart to consult his notes about the record of this date on an incensario, he found that there were at least fifteen and possibly a score of incensarios that bore either the 9 Ajaw 13 Kumku date, or the half-day after recorded as 10 Ajaw 13 Kumku (Stuart, personal communication 2002): although the latter is of course an "impossible" date, the practice of "turning over" the tzolkin position before the haab is well known in the Maya area, and may indicate a noon or midnight ritual. There must have been great importance attached to this date. The incensarios seem to be mostly the War Serpent censers discovered around Structures 17 and 18, referred to in the Structure 18 section; they beg for a new study.

Further, 9 Ajaw was the first Ajaw day (at 9.16.12.6.0) to occur after Yax Pasaj's accession (three days earlier at 9.16.12.5.17). One might wonder if the 9.17.1.3.5 9 Chikchan 13 Zip date recorded in the Structure 11 panels has something to do with this structure: the associated "road" event is unclear, but it is 5 trecenas (260 ÷ 4) after the 9.17.1.0.0 tun-ending.

It is notable that the Structure 22A mosaic façade as reconstructed by Barbara Fash is very similar to the reconstructed facades of other buildings of Yax Pasaj's reign, in the use of half-quatrefoil motifs so prominent on his altars, tripartite divisions of the façade, figures emerging from window-like niches or motifs, figures seated on *naah* glyphs, and roof merlons (also shared by Structure 18). Structure 9N-82's (Fig. 5.48a) text dates it to the reign of Yax Pasaj; Webster *et al.* (1998:336) believe that Structure 8N-66 (Fig. 5.48b) dates to the late eighth century, and therefore to the reign of Yax Pasaj, particularly since it has a skyband bench like that in 9N-82; and Structure 10L-29 (Fig. 5.48c), though not directly dated to Yax Pasaj's reign, occupies the north end of a courtyard whose principal building is dated to Yax Pasaj's reign.

Further, the depiction of seated figures above place glyphs or name glyphs is a tradition unique to Yax Pasaj's monuments, as on the carved bench-step of Structure 11, the façade of Structure 9N-82, and Altar Q. On the Structure 11 step (see Fig. 5.14), some of the twenty figures sit on place glyphs, including the important patron gods who sit on the names of their homes – e.g., Mo' Witz and Tukun Witz; and some sit on their name glyphs – e.g., the dead rulers B'alam Nehn (Ruler 7) and K'ak' U-ti' Chan (Ruler 11). The bench

[94] It is perhaps worth noting that 9.17.1.0.0 9 Ajaw 13 Kumku is exactly 90 Venus cycles after the 9.9.15.0.0 8 Ajaw 13 Kumku period-ending, which is 15 days after the accession of Ruler 12.

therefore depicts a supernatural assemblage composed of patron gods and important ancestors.

The most interesting glyph on the Structure 11 step for our purposes here is that under the second figure to the left of the central inscription, who sits on the glyph "19 K'awiil." 9 K'awiil (B'olon K'awiil) is the most common epithet for the patron god or group of gods at Copán, so this 19 K'awiil is unusual; but perhaps it can be explained as a reference to the assemblage of beings on the step. If we assume that Yax Pasaj is the first figure to the right touching his own name glyph, as on Altar Q, then there are nineteen supernaturals left.

Nearly everyone that discusses the *popol naah* hypothesis and the 9 Ajaw glyph notes that the 9 Ajaw may refer as well to the nine seated lords on the facades of the structure. Seen in this light and in light of the 19 K'awiil and nineteen seated lords on the Structure 11 step, the nine-segmented mat device on the 22A façade and Wagner's "B'olon Tz'akab" epithet become more interesting. Ch'orti' glosses for *tz'ak* include "join, splice," and Yucatec glosses include "knot, generation, things that are stacked": B'olon Tz'akab is the Colonial Yucatec name for the god K'awiil, and has been translated as "Many Generations," rather than "Nine knots," but the two glosses are intimately connected, and the nine-segmented mat device may yet turn out to be a rebus for this name.[95] The assemblage of nineteen supernaturals on Structure 11 are the 19 K'awiil or 19 Tz'akab, stacked generations, just as the nine seated lords on Structure 22A may be the 9/B'olon K'awiil or B'olon Tz'akab. This is significant because B'olon K'awiil is one of the most important patron gods or groups of gods in the texts of Copán; and it is possible that they are depicted on Structure 22A. If the mat device signifies a house of assembly, it is probably an assembly-house for supernaturals, important ancestors and patron gods, like Temple 11. The nine figures on the 22A façade are seated on *naah* glyphs, in "houses" in the most important locales in the Maya underworld.

In summary, Structure 22A may be a *wayib'* built by Yax Pasaj for a group of nine gods near the period-ending 9.17.1.0.0 9 Ajaw 13 Kumku; this interpretation would fit into the general character of Yax Pasaj's inscriptions, which obsessively refer to and incorporate Copán's patron gods and great royal ancestors. It is possible that at some future time a way may be found to date Structure 22A independently of its 9 Ajaw cartouche: one possibility would be to look at the composition of its plaster surfacings. If it is truly a structure built under the reign of Yax Pasaj, then it probably was constructed very near to the time of 10L-21A (on the other side of Structure 22), and its plasters and mortar might very well be similar or identical in composition. In any case, until the time when such a test can be made, the date of the structure should be considered uncertain. Whomever the builder and whatever the date of Structure 22A, the *popol naah* hypothesis has not panned out archaeologically, textually, or iconographically, and should not be used as an interpretive framework for the hieroglyphic bench texts.

[95] The intimate connection of the god K'awiil with stacks of nine knots is shown by a Tikal obsidian cache, discussed by Wagner because some of the pieces of obsidian are carved with the nine-knotted device; she does not observe, however, that the great majority of the pieces in that cache are incised with portraits of K'awiil.

V.3.3 The archaeological context of the suburban *otoot* structures

V.3.3.1 The rationale for classification of uninscribed structures and previous classification efforts

Before returning to evaluate the interpretation of the bench texts as constituting evidence for a visible weakening of centralized rule just before the dynasty's demise, I will move on to look at the archaeological evidence from the inscribed structures and structures like them in the Sepulturas area of Copán. I group these structures together based on overlap in native classification, bench iconography programs, floor plans, and spatial and temporal positioning, and I give Fig. 5.49 as a preview of what I will be talking about.

The initial equation is that of Structures 9N-82 and 9M-146 (Fig. 5.49a,b), which have identical floor plans and *bakab*-supported benches containing the dedication of the *otoot* of an *aj k'uhun* or possibly of the grandfather of an *aj k'uhun*. A third structure, Structure 8N-66 (Fig. 5.49c), can be included in the group because it also has a *bakab*-supported bench with a skyband motif, paralleling the 9N-82 bench's Starry Deer Caiman, whose body is usually a skyband. Although the floor plan of 8N-66 is not identical to that of the first two buildings, I consider them to be two variations on the same plan. The floor plans of 9N-82 and 9M-146 consist of a central one-door chamber flanked by two side chambers, each with a single door facing out the short sides of the building: each room has a bench across the full length of the wall opposite the door. In the case of 9N-82, the central chamber was at one time connected to the east chamber by a narrow door, later blocked off.[96] The floor plan of 8N-66C is also has a central chamber with bench, but in this case the two side chambers are accessed through the central chamber rather than through side doors.

The 8N-66C plan is the same as that of 10L-22 (Fig. 5.49d), the *otoot* of Ruler 13 as the maize god impersonator and the first known structure to exhibit the bench plus *bakab*-supporting-Star-Caiman/skyband theme. The same floor plan is found in 10L-32 (dubbed the residence of Yax Pasaj by its excavators), and in 9M-194B and -195B (Fig. 5.49e,f). All of these buildings – 9N-82, 8N-66C, 9M-146, 10L-32, 9M-194B/195B, and 10L-22 – occupy the head of a major courtyard group. All of them have higher quality masonry than most of the surrounding structures, and are on high platforms. Finally, all of them except for Structure 22 probably date to the late eighth century, to the reign of Yax Pasaj, as I discuss in the following sections.

The similarity between these structures has been recognized by several Copán archaeologists and dealt with in somewhat different ways. William Sanders observes in his summary of the *House of the Bacabs* monograph that most of the buildings investigated in Las Sepulturas "consist of rooms

[96] A nearly identical plan can be found elsewhere in Group 9N-8, in Structure 9N-69, the only other building in the group to have significant associated mosaic sculpture: this structure differs only in that the west chamber has no independent access.

almost fully occupied with high, spacious masonry benches, and these rooms are relative free of refuse" (1989:90); he believes that they are equivalent to modern *casas*, with primarily dormitory functions (ibid.). He develops a classificatory scheme (Types A, B, and C) for these "dormitories" based on a series of variables, including amount of masonry construction, quality of stone dressing, roof-type (corbeled, beam-and-mortar, thatch), substructure height, and floor plan (1989:90). His **Structure Type A** has the following characteristics:

- usually built completely of masonry with dressed stone walls and either a corbelled or a beam-and-mortar roof (though some may have been of thatch)
- well constructed and placed on high substructures
- floor plan with a central room and two lateral chambers

Two subtypes are incorporated:

- in **Type A1**, one lateral room has no exterior doorway and connects directly with the central room, while the other has its own separate access on the short side of the building and no direct access to the central room. In some cases the room having direct access to the central room does not have a bench, but the other room always does.
- in **Type A2**, both lateral chambers have direct access to the central room and no independent access; neither of the lateral rooms has a bench.

Type A1 includes 9N-82-center, as well as 9N-74B, 9N-69, 9N-97, and 9N-91; it would also include Structure 9M-146 in Group 9M-18, the other inscribed *otoot*. **Type A2** has no representatives in the group, but would include 10L-22

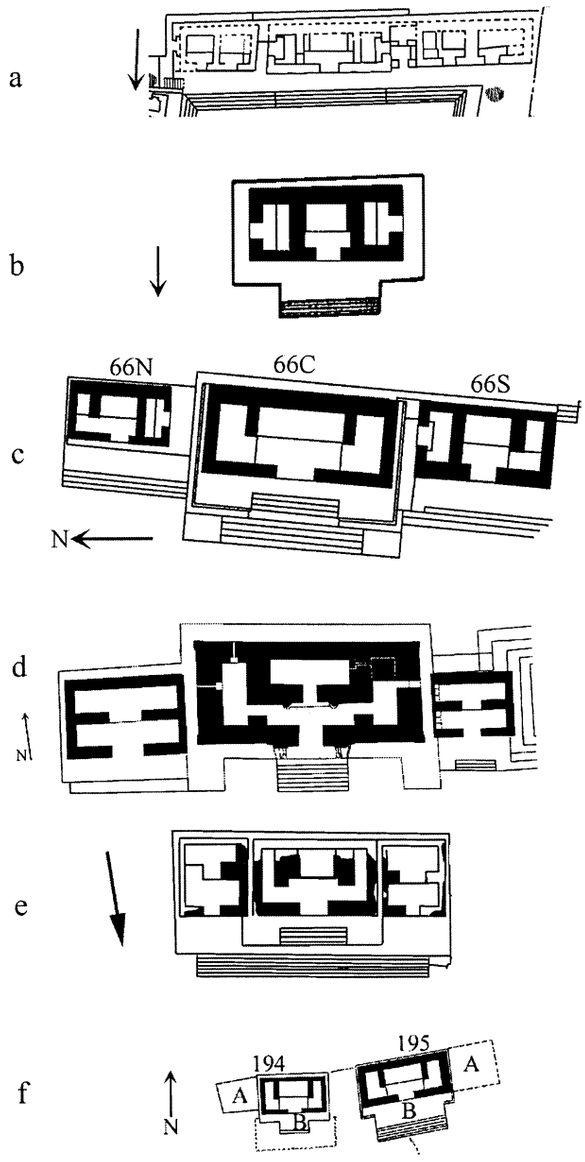


Fig. 5.49 Vertical comparison of all of proposed Copán *otoot* structures. Not to scale. (a) 9N-82; (b) 9M-146; (c) 8N-66; (d) Structure 22 with 22A and 21A flanking; (e) Structure 10L-32; (f) Structures 9M-194B and 9M-195B.

(Structure 22), 10L-32, 8N-66C, and 9M-194B and -195B. **Type B** incorporates buildings with a tandem room arrangement, each room with its own access to the front terrace and no mutual communication (1989:91), and includes the side buildings of 9N-82 (9N-82W and 9N-82E).

Sanders notes that Types A and B seem to be limited to high-status compounds (1989:91), though this restriction may be a function of choosing high-quality masonry construction as a criterion for inclusion in the type: that feature is of course absent in low-status compounds. In this respect, Sanders remains constant to the Harvard typology principle of classifying structure groups according to elaborateness, size, and quality of construction. Nevertheless, his Type A captures the two variants suggested by the above-described epigraphic data, the shared bench sculptural formats, and their accompanying building plans.

Julia Hendon (1991) has adopted a somewhat different terminology that bypasses some of the Harvard typology-linked problems of Sanders' classification by relativizing some of the criteria. Her **"dominant structures"** are noticeably better built than the rest of the structures in their patios, with higher substructures and more compact superstructures, their floor plans can encompass a good deal of variation, and they are frequently on the north or west sides of their patios. They tend to be associated with tombs more often than other structures; and they have less associated midden material, with more emphasis on food-serving than food-preparing. Finally, Hendon sees a hierarchy of dominant structures within multi-patio groups, such that absolute size cannot be a defining criterion of dominant structures (1991:906). She believes that the form and associated artifacts of dominant structures indicate that they are residences and "domestic" structures, and that their better construction and decoration suggest higher social rank within a patio rather than different function. She believes that the larger size of the main rooms may indicate that they were used for meetings. Although she says that very elaborate structures such as 9N-82C and 9M-195B may have had the most public function of any of the dominant structures, she believes they were still, on the basis of form and associated artifacts, used as "living spaces" (1991:906).

In contrast, the structures in my group encompass little variation in their floor plans, they often occur on the south sides of their patios, and only one has a contemporary tomb associated with it. Although other structures in their multi-patio groups may echo their plans somewhat, I believe that they have a distinct role in the group and should not necessarily be seen as simply the most elaborate example in a hierarchy of similar buildings.

We can now look at the way that individual archaeological projects have characterized the small group of structures in the proposed *otoot* grouping. I will begin with the two inscribed structures and then look at the other members of the group.

V.3.3.2 Structure 9N-82: Archaeology and hypotheses about function

Structure 9N-82 ("House of the Bacabs", or the "Scribe House") (Fig. 5.50) and the other buildings in Patio A were excavated and reconstructed between 1980 and 1984 under PAC II, by a team which included David Webster, Elliot Abrams, and William Fash, under the direction of Sanders and Webster; restoration work was directed by Rudy Larios V. The central structure is very large, at 15 by 6.5 meters; nearly all of the interior space of the three rooms is occupied by the massive benches. Heavy plaster was on all floor and bench surfaces, and red was probably the predominant interior color. The structure was vaulted and the roof also heavily plastered, and stood around seven meters high. The bench and all components were made from green tuff; a thick (6-7cm) cap of red-painted plaster covered the seat, and a thin layer of blue plaster covered the carvings. The bench was not initially excavated because of its good preservation, but when it was later explored before being removed to the new museum, no burials or caches were found (Webster 1989:30-31). Only a few sherds and obsidian blades were found in the building, though an unburied, flexed skeleton with no grave goods was found on a pile of debris that had accumulated in the alcove created by the walling off of the eastern room (Webster 1989:25-26).

The western building, 14.2m x 5.4m, originally had two rooms, one of which was later subdivided; each had a large back bench and a lower side bench. No artifacts were found inside it, and the paucity of vault stones led the excavators to hypothesize a pole-and-thatch roof (Webster 1989:24). The eastern superstructure was less well-constructed, less well-preserved, and shorter than the western building, and had no modifications, but the many vault stones and huge plaster fragments indicated a vaulted roof (Webster 1989:25). All three buildings are built on a substructure that covered an earlier Coner-phase building, and it was in the final-phase construction fill that the full-round sculpture of the scribe figure was found (Webster 1989:24).

The reconstruction of the façade of the structure (Fig. 5.51) puts eight headdressed figures on the four sides, three on the north and south facades, and one each on the east and west facades. The northern and southern figures sit on *naah* glyphs; the east and west figures may have, but this element is not preserved. The northern façade below the medial molding shows two figures emerging from the open maw of the flower-breathing *chapaat*; each has a paint pot and probable stylus in its hands. Neither head was preserved, so we do not know whether they were represented as deity faces or not. Both figures wear the same beaded flower element – upside down, as a pectoral – as that found in the headdress of the central entablature figure: this is the same pectoral worn by the scribal god from the fill of the structure.

W. Fash (1989, 1991) has interpreted this façade sculpture to mean that 9N-82-2nd and -1st are both "houses (or 'temples') of Pauah Tuns" (1989:71; 1991:78) and that they are to be understood as monuments to a lineage of scribes whose patron was the Pawahtun god.[97] In his view, the entablature would have represented historical individuals of the living world, while the lower façade would have represented the

[97] Although W. Fash associates the buried scribal god with the earlier version of the structure, it was found in the construction fill for the latest episode, such that there is no guarantee that it came from the earlier building: it could have been broken and buried as an offering upon the construction of the new building.

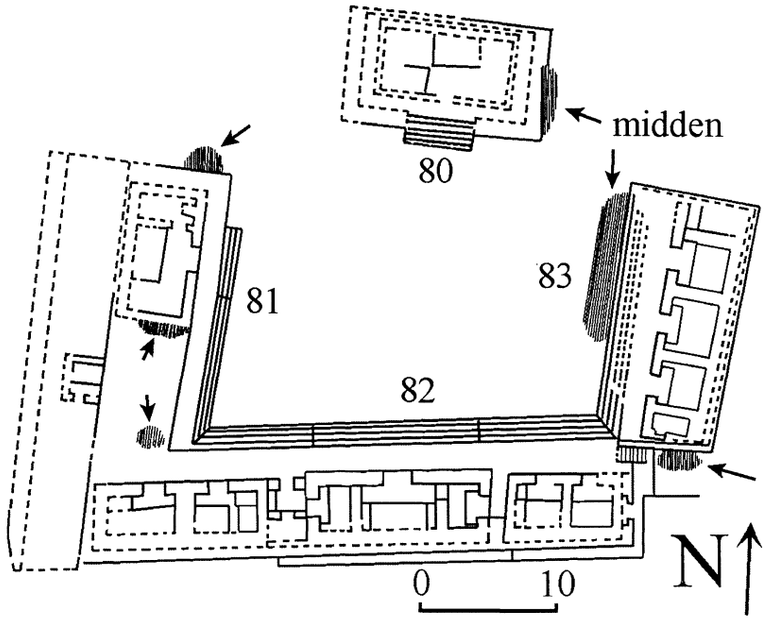


Fig. 5.50 Patio A, Group 9N-8, Copán. After Webster (1989:Fig. 7).

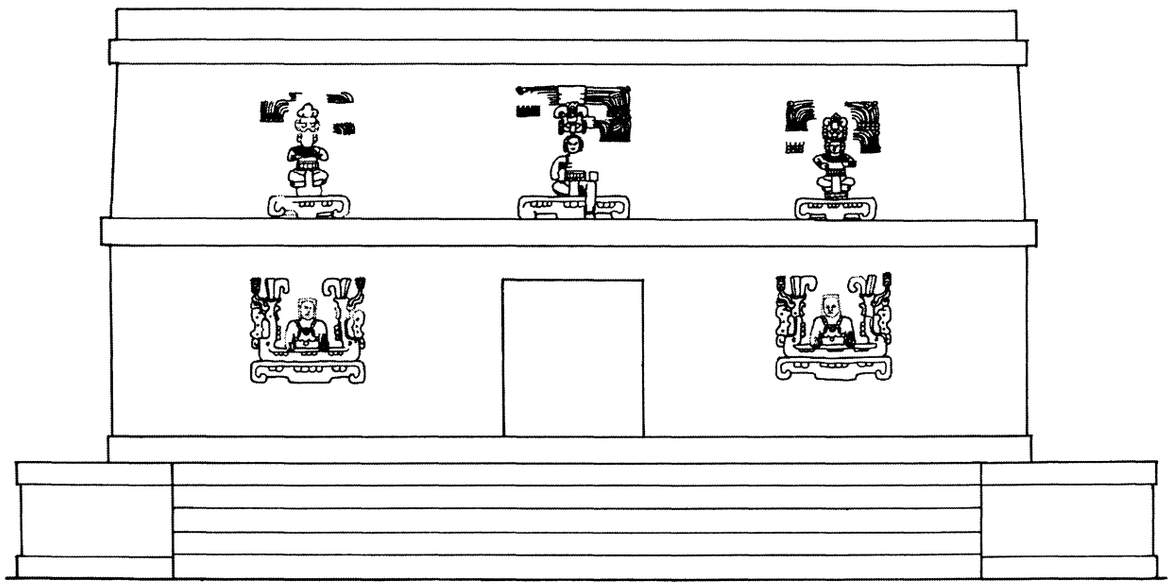


Fig. 5.51 Façade reconstruction of Copán Structure 9N-82, from W. Fash (1998:Fig. 12).

supernatural world (1989:67). He believes that the central entablature figure represents the lineage head. Later, W. Fash calls this structure a "profusely decorated *palace* structure serving as the *residence* and *temple* of the patriarch of the lineage which occupied the site" (emphases mine) (W. Fash 2001:154).

Some midden material was discovered in Patio A (see Fig. 5.50). A sheet midden two meters wide stretched for six meters in front of Structure 83 and included Coner-phase ceramics, obsidian, manos and metates, and animal bone; another midden was found off the east wall of Structure 80; another, discovered off the north wall of Structure 81, was rich in sherds, including imported Ulua Polychrome ceramics; and a concentration of artifacts including whole smashed Coner-phase vessels, sherds, obsidian, and ground stone implements was found at the base of the small stairway in the corner between Structures 82 and 83 (Webster 1989). The bearing of these deposits on the function of Structure 9N-82 and the surrounding buildings can only be assessed if their dates are known: this is difficult because the achievements of Bill in refining the Late to Terminal Classic ceramic chronology have not yet been applied to these materials. As noted in the above section on these chronological problems, Webster believes that the materials from Patio A can be said to reflect Late Classic residential functions, even though the material from the latest living surfaces is "generally not of Late Classic date" (1989:39).

Webster believes that elite residential functions were carried on in this patio up until AD 1000, not by squatters, but by a continuous elite lineage. In my view, some kind of bridging argument must be made to show why the garbage of late occupants that has been discovered within the confines of the most elite patio in Group 9N-8 should be taken to represent continuity of function of the Late Classic buildings whose occupants who *did not* leave garbage within the confines of their patio; otherwise a change in function cannot be ruled out.

The hypothesized functions for Structure 9N-82 are thus

1 "a *primary residential function*" including "a throne room, two dormitories, a connected shrine, and a storage room; it was the residence of the head of an expanded household that included members of a minimal lineage and unrelated clients...". (Sanders 1989:105);
2 a lineage *monument* and *temple* of Pawahtun deities (W. Fash 1989, 1991);
3 a *palace, residence,* and *temple* of the lineage patriarch (W. Fash 1991, 2001);
4 a highly decorated and extremely finely constructed *version of a residential structure* (Hendon 1991:906); a residence and a *"domestic" structure* (ibid.) (all italics mine).

Note that in this range of proposed functions, nearly every typical archaeological structure classification is covered, including residence, palace, temple, and monument.

V.3.3.3 Structure 9M-146 in Group 9M-18: Archaeology and hypotheses about function

Structure 9M-146 (Structure A of CV-43 in the old system) was investigated in 1976 and 1977 as part of the Harvard University-Copán Valley Settlement Pattern Project under Gordon Willey and Richard Leventhal. It is part of Group 9M-18 (Fig. 5.52), which incorporates the patios formerly designated CV-43 through CV-47. Structure 9M-146, with the *otoot* dedication bench, is the focal structure of patio CV-43, the tallest (about 4m high), largest, and most elaborate building in the group: it shares its floor-plan with Structure 9N-82 (save for the lack of the single connecting door into the side chamber in the latter structure, later blocked off).

Clearing operations revealed plaster floors, finely constructed superstructure foundation walls, and a substructure of well-cut stone; Leventhal says the structure may have been vaulted but does not say what the evidence is (1979:101). The clearing operations also showed that the structure, unlike 9N-82, was never altered after its initial construction. A trench was dug completely through the building to sterile soil, revealing that, again unlike 9N-82, 9M-146 was constructed in a single phase. No burials were found inside or associated with the structure, though a single cache of shells and pieces of stingray spines was uncovered at the base of the trench. Each of the three rooms of the building was painted a different color: the east room was red, the west room was black, and the central room in the northern area was left white, while the bench was painted green (Leventhal 1979:101). The color scheme corresponds to Maya directional color symbolism, where west is black, east is red, north is white, and the center is green.

Leventhal argued that the structure was not residential, but ceremonial, and felt that this color symbolism was strong confirmation. He also believed that the bench inscription confirmed this interpretation (though the understanding of the text that he used is now outdated); but more importantly, he felt that the failure of the trench to locate any burials indicated a non-domestic function, since ethnographic evidence indicated that the Maya often buried their dead under their houses (Leventhal 1983:65). He also assumed that the stingray spine cache emphasized its religious nature. He identified most of the other buildings in the group as domestic, noting, for example, that mano and metate fragments were common in the trash deposits of all the structures except for 146 (1979:97), though no structure was identified that he believed could have been a kitchen. Burials were also common in the trash deposits, but again,

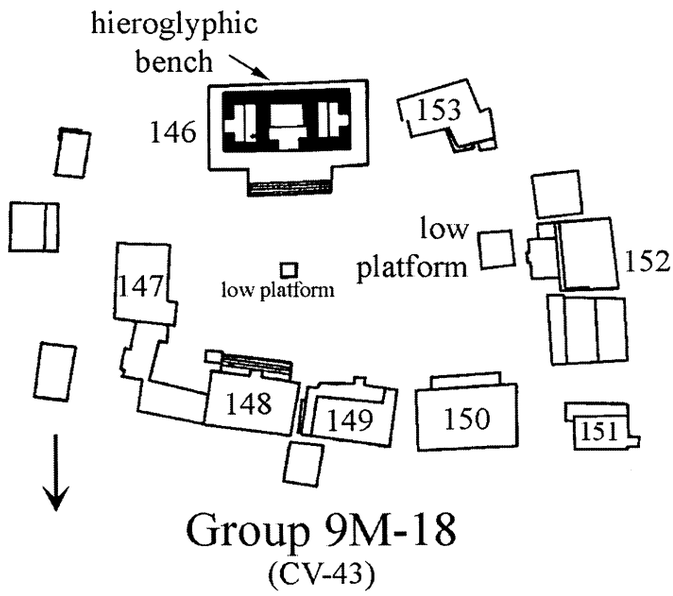


Fig. 5.52

Copán Group 9M-18.
Redrawn after Leventhal (1983:63).

none were found behind 146 (ibid.). Leventhal characterized it as a ritual building, a shrine, or a possible administrative structure in a plaza otherwise surrounded by domestic buildings (1979:101-2); and later called it a "family shrine" (1983:65).

Leventhal identifies a *different* structure, Structure 152 (Structure B in the old terminology), as the probable residence of the head of the household, based upon the size of that structure, the presence of a bench, and the discovery of the richest tomb of the complex during trenching through its central portion (1979:100). He later cited the existence of narrow walkways between the various structures (including between the three sections of Structure 152) as well as the lateral expansions of various structures as "solid evidence for the probable domestic function of these buildings" (1983:64). The function of Structure 9M-152 would then in Leventhal's scheme be analogous to the function of Structure 9N-82 as identified by Sanders (1989:105), W. Fash (1991, 2001), and Hendon (1991:906), even though the obvious formal parallel is with Structure 146 with its identical plan, bench, dominant position, emic classification, and noble title of its owner.

Using the initial functional categories developed from the range of features mentioned above, Leventhal and Baxter (1988) later conducted a study to determine whether the associated ceramics of these buildings reflected those determinations. They used the predetermined function of five structures and their associated ceramic assemblage as the basis for a discriminant analysis which would assign the remaining structures to one of the predetermined groups. The structures used were Structure 146 (religious), Structure 152 and 148 (elite residential), and Structure 139 and 140 (servants' quarters). This method seemed fairly successful at assigning buildings that the investigators expected to be elite residences to the group defined by Structures 152 and 148. For the group defined by Structure 146, however, the structures assigned to the group were unexpected, and included small secondary and ancillary structures. Leventhal and Baxter try to explain this circumstance by noting that the concept of a single-function structure is probably simplistic; that the ceramic types chosen might be poor functional indicators; and that it might simply be impossible to create appropriate data sets for comparison. Nevertheless, they feel that the grouping is a viable one that can be tested with future research, along the way suggesting that the buildings grouped with 9M-146 may have served as storage facilities for ritual paraphernalia (1988:68).

It is difficult to evaluate just what the results of the study are telling us about how the *otoot* structure 9M-146 might differ from the others in its group. First, the authors provide no information on the provenience of the ceramics other than to note that they do not come from construction fill; second, although they say that all ceramics used are Coner phase, this phase is still poorly defined chronologically; third, only two ceramic types, Copador Polychrome and Raul Red were ultimately used to create the discriminant function because the others were unable to distinguish the structures. This last problem might be a serious one, since the text of 9M-146 indicates that it ought to date to well after the period characterized by Copador Polychrome ceramics. Nevertheless, it is important that 9M-146 was ceramically distinguishable at all from structures that the excavators wanted to classify as residential.

Leventhal has therefore come up with a very different function for 9M-146 than that assigned to 9N-82, even though these buildings can be said to be formally indistinguishable. Some of Leventhal's lines of evidence are convincing, primarily the color-coding of the rooms of the structure, and the ceramic differentiation of the structure from other buildings that he believes to be residential.[98] It is significant in terms of Becker's (1982) critique of the Harvard typology as a poor reflection of native cognitive units that Patio A of Group 9N-8 (Type 4) and Group 9M-18 (Type 3) have emically identical structures.

Some additional published information about the group's ceramics can be addressed. Hendon (1991:907-908) indicates that there is evidence for differential use of fancy ceramic types (i.e., fine wares) in various Sepulturas groups. The fancy ceramic assemblage from Group 9N-8's Patio A (home of Structure 9N-82) has the highest percentage of imported fancy ceramics in the Sepulturas area at 11.5%. The local Copador Polychrome constitutes only 19.6% of Patio A's assemblage, other local fancy Cream Paste wares make up 30.7% (giving a total of 50.3% Cream Paste wares), and Surlo types (a Polished Black/Brown ware) make up 38.1%. Group 9M-18, on the other hand, has only 2% imported fancy ceramics – fewer imported ceramics than even the smallest patios in Group 9N-8 – and 75% Copador Polychrome, with a total of at least 83% Cream Paste wares (Hendon 1991:907-08). Taken at face value, it might be said that what is important here is that the emic structure type transcends these probable economic differences expressed by differential access to imported ceramics as well as the possible social differences expressed by differential use of local fancy ceramic types.

Bill's revised ceramic typology and chronology adds another level of significance to these figures, however. If she is correct that the Cream Paste polychrome tradition all but disappears in the Late Coner, then it looks as if at least 83% of the fine wares present in Group 9M-18 are Early to Middle Coner wares – before AD 750. Very few of the fine wares then remain to represent the post-750 period – that is, the period during which Structure 9M-146 was almost unquestionably constructed, and when the Sepulturas elites are supposed to be at their most powerful. Similarly, Patio A of Group 9N-8, though its proportions of local fine wares are very different, has 50.3% Cream Paste wares. It is possible that that much of the fancy ceramic assemblage from Patio A is Early to Middle Coner; the ceramics that correspond to the elaborate Late Coner architecture should be re-evaluated to determine whether they are characterized by the fine, decorated wares that should be emblematic of elite display and competition.

[98] One might hope that because this compound is smaller and less elaborate than Patio A of Group 9N-8, refuse disposal practices might be slightly more relaxed or slightly more direct, since one could dump garbage off the back of a building without it ending up in another patio, and that therefore the evidence from middens might be somewhat more reliable and more likely to represent the Late Classic/dynastic-era use of the patio.

V.3.4 Extending the *otoot* identification to other Sepulturas buildings

I now want to look at the group of structures that I believe to be formally indistinguishable from the "labeled" *otoot* structures and that also have archaeological data associated with them, including Structure 8N-66C, Structure 10L-32C, and Structures 9M-194B and 9M-195B.

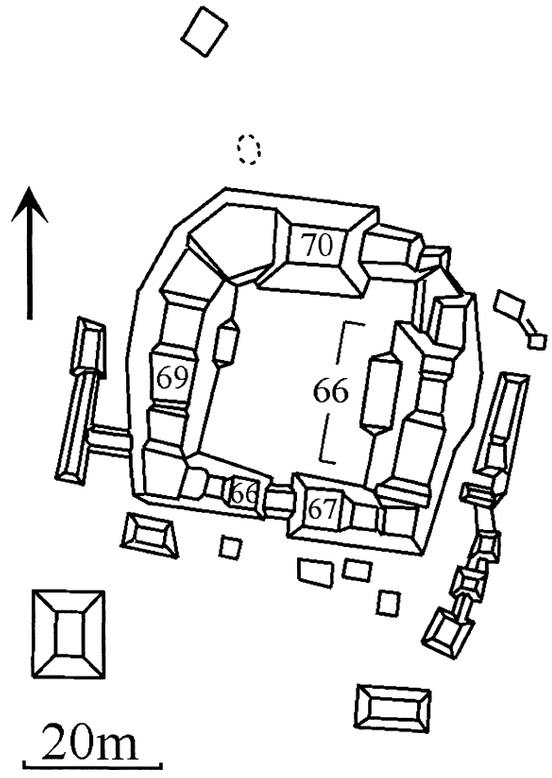


Fig. 5.53 Copán Group 8N-11, preliminary map. Redrawn after Webster *et al.* (1998:324).

V.3.4.1 Structure 8N-66

Buildings in Group 8N-11 (Fig. 5.53) were excavated in 1990 and in the summer of 1997 by Penn State University archaeologists under David Webster. Excavated structures included Structure 66 (N, C, and S), Structures 50-51 directly behind 66, and a small corner of Structure 67: there is therefore no data on the structures of the other three sides of the patio. As noted above, Structure 66C has a bench, which, though uninscribed, shares the theme of the skyband (expressed more elaborately at 9N-82 as the Starry Deer Caiman) supported by bakabs (see Fig. 5.42c for comparison). My hypothesis is that this structure was considered by the Maya to be the same kind of building as 9N-82 and 9M-146. The configuration of Structure 66 is very similar to that of 9N-82: the central structure is flanked by another structure on each side. In each case, the central structure is built first, then the structure to its left (not the viewer's left), and then the structure to its right, such that the central structure would have been at least briefly alone at the head of the patio. This circumstance is important in later consideration of the "lone" *otoot* structures 9M-146 and 9M-195 as initiations of an ultimately unfulfilled architectural template.

The central building, Structure 66C (Fig. 5.54), is constructed of well-cut stone coated with lime plaster, and is reached by a monumental stairway with unusual flat, sloping balustrades; together with the substructure, the building would have been 10 meters higher than the plaza floor (Webster *et al.* 1998:325). The southern building (the central structure's left hand) was built at around the same time or shortly after (1998:329) and was also vaulted, though it was constructed at a lower level, with a substructure 2.4 meters lower than the central building (Fig. 5.55), and was significantly smaller. Webster *et al.* (1998) note heavy middens behind both structures. The northern building, which the excavators believe was built last, was less impressive and more poorly preserved, and was also constructed at a lower level, 2.7 m lower than the center. Its floor plan is a mirror image of the southern building, just as in the side buildings of 9N-82. Structures 50C, 50S, and 51, the three connected buildings containing 8-9 rooms behind and to the east of the 66 complex, are characterized as "ancillary" structures by the excavators (Webster *et al.* 1998:328): they believe that they were built in the same general episode as the 66 complex but, along with 66N, slightly later because of the virtual absence of pre-Coner sherds in the 50-51 fill. Although the masonry quality was poorer in 50-51 than in 66, it was still well-built and "much superior" to that of the Type 1 sites found outside the urban core (ibid.).

The group as a whole is late: all patio soundings revealed Coner ceramics in all strata, and no more than two paving surfaces were found in any part of the plaza (ibid.). It is very different from the other patios associated with the *otoot* structures, in its short history and single-patio monumental construction.

Both the northern and central buildings of Structure 66 had one previous phase that was nearly completely razed to construct the substructure and superstructures of the later buildings. Webster *et al.* (1998:329) say that the earlier structures seem to have had roughly the same form as the later buildings, but little of the lower courses of the walls remained. Their alignment at 21.5° east of magnetic north is significantly different from that of the final-phase buildings at 10.5° east of magnetic north; that is, the alignment of the patio seems to have changed substantially at the time of the construction of 66C and 66S.

66C and 66S were heavily sculptured on all sides, particularly on the entablature, in a refined style "fully comparable to that of late royal sculpture in the Copán Principal Group" (Webster *et al.* 1998:336). Barbara Fash has studied the 800 mosaic fragments recovered and has produced a façade reconstruction for 66S and some motif reconstruction for 66C. The roof ornaments of the central structure are stylized eccentric flints; rattle motifs occur on the entablature, and a solar cartouche similar to that on 10L-29 in the Principal Group repeats six times around the building. The near life-size sun god portrait that occupies the middle of the cartouche wears a knotted rope around his neck: Webster *et al.* (1998:332) compare the device to that on one of the figures seated on the 10L-22A façade and

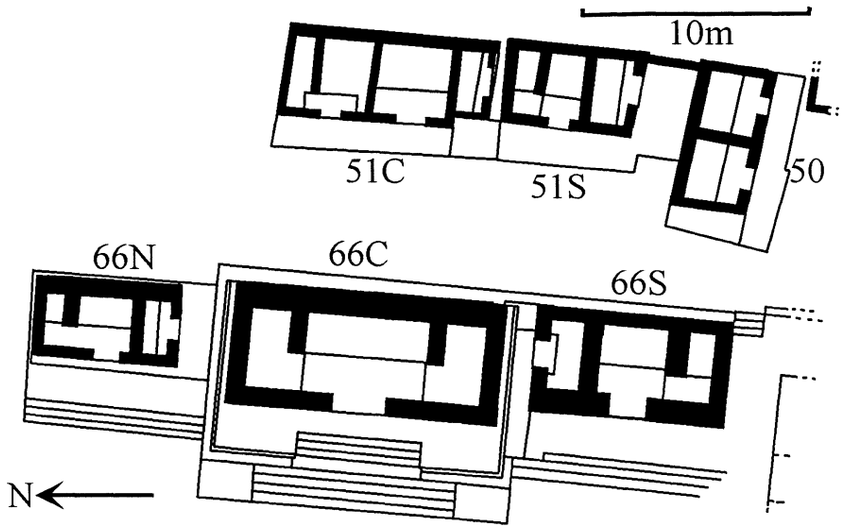


Fig. 5.54 Copán Structure 66, with Structures 50 and 51. Redrawn after Webster *et al.* (1998:325).

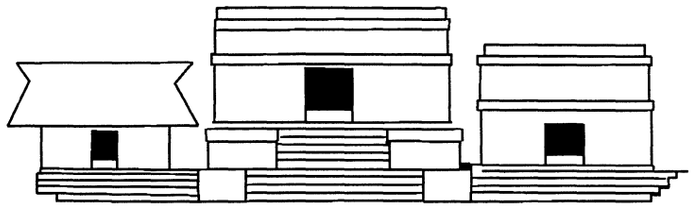


Fig. 5.55 Schematic illustration of facades and relative heights of Copán Structures 66A,B, and C. Redrawn after Webster *et al.* (1998:Fig. 7).

suggest a possible affiliation between the two structures. The knotted-rope device, however, is also found on the neck of Yax Pasaj as he dances on top of the foliated quatrefoil opening on the northeast jamb of Structure 18, and thus cannot be construed as a unique affiliation.

The skyband bench (Fig. 5.56) is carved with personified versions of celestial phenomena, including the moon, a personified *ak'bal* "darkness" glyph, a sun god emerging from a solar cartouche (see Taube 1983 for definitions and versions of these cartouches), and a scorpion-tailed Venus god looking much like the maize god. Either end is marked by the bird-head variant of the chan "sky" glyph, followed by the "sun" version of the "monster" head, which also occurs as the central glyph. This is the same "monster" head found on the bench of Structure 18 and many Copán altars. The two outer *bakab* bench supports are the standard God N versions with cut-shell pendants, while the inner two supports are other gods. [99]

B. Fash has been able to produce a fuller reconstruction of the façade of 66S (see Fig. 5.48), and it is unusual that these two buildings, built extremely close together in time if not contemporaneously, both have such elaborate sculptural programs: the same is not the case at 9N-82, nor at 10L-32, another very similar building. The overall configuration is extremely similar to reconstructed buildings of Yax Pasaj's reign.

Webster *et al.* (1998:334) comment that the sherd assemblage generally reflects food storage, preparation, and serving, with 77% of all sherds representing basins and jars. Though few vessels with obvious ritual functions were discovered, earlier work by Evelyn Rattray found incensarios in the group (location unspecified) (ibid.). The basin and jar forms were concentrated around the 50-51 complex, where few fine wares and serving vessels were found. In contrast, Structures 66C and 66N have higher proportions of fine wares and serving vessels (bowls and plates). Most of the

[99] The scheme is in fact much like that of the four supporting gods on the Tablet of the Sun at Palenque, where two aged gods wearing cut-shell pendants (one God L, one a sun god variant) hold up the central device, while two smaller gods act as pedestals for Kan B'alam in his older and younger versions. The small god on the right under the older Kan B'alam is probably the same as the god on the right on the 66C skyband bench, while the god on the left is the Pax/te' god; he resembles the left-hand god on the sky bench, with the mirror signs on his body and the mirror infix in his forehead, but the skyband god has a lower jaw, unlike the te' god on the Sun Tablet. It can also be noted that the imagery of that tablet overlaps significantly with the imagery on 66C: the central image of the Sun Tablet is basically a solar cartouche in the form of a shield with the night sun in the middle of it, whereas the apparently dominant motif on 66C is also the solar cartouche; and the crossed spears behind the Sun Tablet shield are tipped with flints that emerge from the mouths of a skeletal chapaat/serpent, reminiscent of the eccentric flint roof ornaments on 66C.

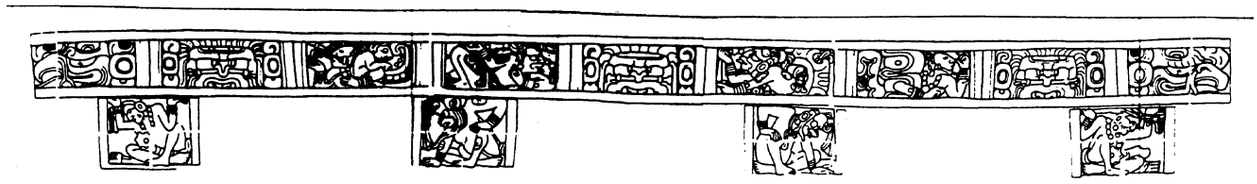


Fig. 5.56 Skyband bench in Copán Structure 8N-66C. Drawing by Barbara Fash.

midden material was found around 50-51 and in the corridor between 66 and 50-51; and much less debris was found on the superstructure surfaces in the former than the latter. Overall, Webster *et al.* note that "despite the obvious elite status of the inhabitants of the group, locally-produced fine wares comprise only 15% of the Coner assemblage, and imported ceramics, either from the Maya Lowlands proper or from non-Maya regions to the east, were extremely rare (<1%)" (1998:334). They further note that the proportions of cream paste wares (including Copador polychrome, Gualpopa polychrome, and Chilanga polychrome) were similar in 8N-11 and in the set of eight rural commoner sites analyzed by Gonlin (1993), 21% and 19% respectively (Webster *et al.* 1998:334); and that there are strong artifact similarities between the 50-51 complex and the set of Type I domestic rural structures excavated by them in 1985-86 (1998:335). That is, little seems to distinguish this massive group ceramically from very small "commoner" groups elsewhere in the valley.

The mortuary remains included 26 individuals in 24 burials: most of these were rough stone cysts beneath plaza floors or simple pits in middens, with few grave goods. Rattray's earlier excavations (of which there is no published account) discovered two masonry tombs beneath the south façade of Structure 70 at the north end of the plaza; but notably, no tombs were found in Structure 66, though shallow, perhaps late, midden burials were concentrated along the rear of Structure 66N (Webster *et al.* 1998:335).

Chronology, as always, presents a problem. The floors of Structure 66 appear to have been kept clean until the collapse of its vaults; and the obsidian hydration dates from the sheet midden behind it fall very late, causing the excavators to date the use of the structure until at least the mid-eleventh century and possibly as late as the mid-twelfth century. Nevertheless, they judge from the architectural layout and quality of the final phase of the Structure 66 complex that it was probably built very late in the eighth century, and therefore in the reign of Yax Pasaj (1998:336).

Webster *et al.* conclude that Structure 66S (66 South), *rather than 66C*, the central structure, is the "probable domicile of the resident lord, functionally equivalent to the House of the Bacabs (Structure 9N-82)... which has a similar floor plan" (1998:339). As for 66C, they first speculate that it is the residence of a war captain (1998:332); and later in the paper wonder if the lord of the Skyband Group might have maintained the building as a political/ritual building separate from his residence (1998:339). Equating 66S with 9N-82C is problematic, because there is a clear parallel in the centrality, greater height, central skyband bench supported by bakabs, and formal plan exhibited by 8N-66C and 9N-82's central building; and because the coherence of the *otoot* group derives not only from the central structures but from their role in the configuration created by the two lower flanking structures. The most interesting qualities of Structure 66 and the Skyband Group for this thesis emerge only with comparison to the other groups, which I reserve for the end of this section; but I note for the moment that the excavators generally consider this structure to be part of a residential complex, though not necessarily itself residential in function.

V.3.4.2 Structure 10L-32

Structure 32 (Fig. 5.57) is uninscribed and its central bench is not carved; but its floorplan is essentially the same as that of 8N-66C, 10L-22, and 9M-194B and 9M-195B. Further, it repeats the scheme of having two lower flanking buildings whose plans are identical to one another, and it was heavily sculpted in the same tradition as the other buildings in the group. I propose that it was built to mimic the arrangement of 22, 22A, and 21A in the East Court of the Acropolis, where Yax Pasaj (as I suggest above) may have flanked Ruler 13's *otoot* with two lower structures of identical plan (though not identical size); in fact, Structure 32 is due south of Structure 22 and faces it as if in mirror image.

Patio A of Group 10L-2 and Group 10L-2 in general are characterized by the excavators (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992; Andrews V and Bill, n.d.) as the royal residential area of Yax Pasaj. Patio A abuts the south end of the acropolis, and one would have looked down upon it from the rear of Yax Pasaj's Structure 18. It has a fairly deep depositional history, with its beginnings in the early Acbi phase, an intermediate phase in late Acbi or early Coner, and the final phase probably in the reign of Yax Pasaj (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:67). Structure 32-1st, the final phase building, was "always the dominant building on the plaza as well as the most elaborate" (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:83), and is underlain by two previous phases.

The first phase (32-3rd) seems to have been a single room on a platform, facing north like the later two phases: it had no caches or associated burials. The second phase (32-2nd), though mostly destroyed by the last building, had a broad north-facing stair and possibly one or two rooms under the central room of 32-1st, rather than three rooms in a line. It contained a tomb under a small chamber between the main stair and the rooms, though it was looted in antiquity. Andrews V and B. Fash characterize 32-2nd as a funerary temple, not a residence (1992:68). The fill of the latest structure contains sculptural fragments attributed to this earlier building, which include a fish in a dedicatory offering

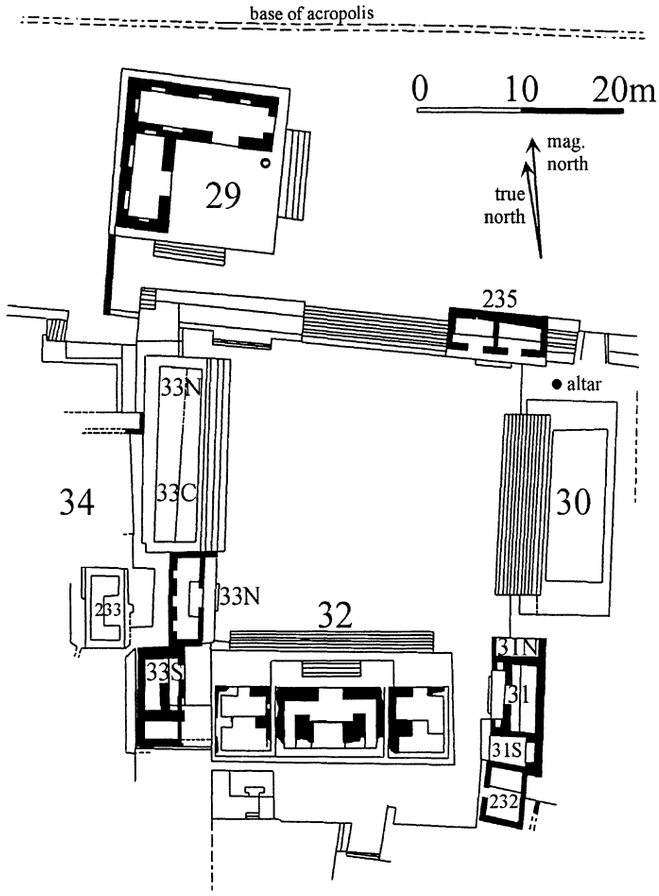


Fig. 5.57

Patio A of Copán Group 10L-2, showing Structure 32. Redrawn from Andrews V and Fash (1992:Fig. 3).

(mentioned in the section on the *popol naah* hypothesis), a human head with a waterlily headdress, and vertical waterlily roof ornaments (1992:68-9).

The final phase structure had six seated male figures wearing waterlily headdresses high on the entablature. It is not clear from the published sources whether these motifs were spread over all three buildings of Structure 32 or only on the central building. B. Fash has reconstructed the figures as sitting on six long-nosed monster heads with waterlily ear assemblages, with an additional four snub-nosed monster masks adorning some part of the lower façade. Andrews V and B. Fash note that the stones for the latest building were cut specifically for this construction and not re-used from earlier ones, and that the architectural quality of the building suggests that extensive resources and skilled laborers were available to its owner, "probably more than had ever been available to previous nobles residing in Group 10L-2" (1992:68).

Andrews V and B. Fash note that a major trend in Patio A was a "tendency to replace domestic, private buildings with constructions intended for more public, ritual, or religious use" (1992:82). They observe that 32-1st was not designed to hold a tomb and "probably served a wider administrative, ritual, and ceremonial function than its predecessor, a funerary temple of lineage shrine, and may therefore have been a more public building than 32-2nd" (1992:83). They view the side rooms/buildings as possibly for sleeping, but not likely to be domestic "given the probable ritual function of the main room" (1992:68).

Based largely on non-architectural inscriptions that are considered to be associated with the building, Andrews V and Bill (n.d.) later identify Group 10L-2 as the residence of the ruler and Structure 32 as his building. They believe that the stone fish cache in the 32-1st bench shows that Yax Pasaj was from this group and that he considered himself a member of the corporate group symbolized by the fish. As discussed above in the section on the *popol naah*, the fish does not conclusively support this idea, nor is there textual support for it: none of the inscriptions found in Group 10L-2 mention a "fish place." Andrews V and Bill (n.d.) also characterize 10L-32 as "domestic, the house of the ruler," a functional shift from the earlier (1992) interpretation.

The three inscriptions associated specifically with Structure 32 are Altar F', a rectangular altar inscribed on one side and carved with a stack of nine "sacrificial" knots on the other; and CPN 19222, a broken altar about 50cm high. Another altar, a large round stone, was found in the midden off the northwest corner of Structure 10L-30.

Altar F' has been used by the excavators to date the structure. It was found by the Peabody Museum in 1892 in the debris behind 10L-32, and the Tulane project excavated another fragment of it as well as CPN 19222 from the superstructure collapse debris behind the same structure. The excavators surmise that both originally rested on the bench in 10L-32. Altar F' has a very difficult text, but probably records a date 9.17.4.1.11 2 Chuwen 4 Pop as well as a later date, and therefore the excavators date the structure to AD 775. In order to promote consistency, I note that Andrews V and B.

Fash (1992) consider it permissible to date Structure 32 with an inscribed stone found in its collapse; but B. Fash *et al.* (1992) do not use the stone found inside of Structure 22A as evidence for the date of that structure. The text of Altar F' involves a probable god, Y-ahk' Chaak and an event that takes place in the presence of Yax Pasaj.

The other altar, CPN 19222, is very eroded and though it has many recognizable glyphs, they cannot be woven together into a coherent story. The 10L-30 altar records a "changing" episode of the god Y-ahk' Chaak accompanied by his lords – probably referring to a supernatural assemblage – as well as the probable location of this act. It also records the "first seating" of the god, who is referred to as the *ch'ab-y-ak'ab-il*, probably a kind of ritual offspring, of Yax Pasaj, a two-k'atun lord at this time.

Certainly, there are a number of references to Yax Pasaj on these monuments; but since Andrews V and Bill (n.d.) do make the claim that "the monuments identify Group 10L-2 as the residence of Yax Pasaj and Structures 10L-30 and 10L-32 as his buildings...", it is worthwhile to make it clear that the texts of these monuments do not actually state this. Rather, their conclusion is an inference made from the presence of monuments with his name on them (and to some extent from the supposed content of the inscriptions, which is still quite poorly understood).

The current accepted idea about Group 10L-2 is that it is a royal residential zone. Hypotheses about the function of Structure 32 have emphasized both a ritual nature, not connected to a funerary function (Andrews V and B. Fash 1992:68) and a domestic function as the house of Yax Pasaj (Andrews V and Bill n.d.). It is notable that the excavators feel that a significant change in function occurred between 10L-32-2nd and 10L-32-1st, with a corresponding change in the available resources and wealth of the builders.

V.3.4.3 Structures 9M-194B and 9M-195B (Group 9M-22A)

The final structures to be considered as members of an emic class of structures were excavated in 1981, in Phase 2 of the Proyecto Arqueológico Copán (W.T. Sanders and D. Webster, directors) under the supervision of James Sheehy. The excavations and interpretation of the group are described in Sheehy 1991, who gives an account of its construction episodes in relative time; and Hendon (1987, 1991) analyzes many of the artifacts. These publications are the principal sources for the following discussion.

Group 9M-22 (formerly known as CV-26) contains three patios (A, B, and C): Patio A (see Figs. 5.58 and 5.59, ahead) is the largest and is the locus of the two structures discussed here. It has a relatively short depositional history compared to Group 9N-8, with ceramics dating to the Late Acbi phase (dated to AD 600-700 by Sheehy 1991, but to AD 500-600 by Bill 1997). Only two loci (concentrations of rocks, ceramics, animal bone and charcoal) are known in Patio A for the Late Acbi (Sheehy's Time Spans 10 and 11). Time Spans 8 and 9 are represented by Copador polychrome ceramics in conjunction with some slight evidence for perishable structures: Bill's chronology would place this occupation in the Early Coner – that is, earlier than 750 and possibly earlier than 700. The patio was therefore occupied in the Late Classic before the construction of masonry buildings. Sheehy provides no further information on the kinds of ceramic types that were found in association with the architecture of later periods.

Structures **194B** and 197-3^{rd,} two masonry buildings, were constructed at or around the same time in Patio A in Time Span 7. The plan of 194B is the same as that of 195B, 8N-66C, 10L-32C, and 10L-22: a large central bench is enclosed by walls that are flanked by smaller, slightly elevated side chambers. It was vaulted, and nine odd pieces of worked stone found distributed symmetrically around the structure may evidence some exterior decoration. No cordholders or niches were detected (Hendon 1987:258), and no burials are associated with 194B.

In Time Span 6 (Fig. 5.58), the construction of a cobbled floor placed Structure 194B at the head of a formally delineated plaza area whose western edge was defined by Structure 193-2nd. At this time, Structure 197 was rebuilt as a single-room structure (197-2nd) on a higher substructure, and Structure 196 was constructed to the north: the second richest burial with two polychromes and an obsidian blade (also the first cist grave of the group) was found by the south wall of the latter structure.[100]

Structure 195B was built during the next construction episode, Sheehy's Time Span 5 (Fig. 5.59). It was built directly to the east of 194B and replicated its plan, although it was much larger: it would have been the tallest structure in the group, except for possibly the final phase of Structure 197 (Sheehy (1991:9) is uncertain). It was also vaulted, and the rooms and benches of both 195B and 194B were coated with stucco and red specular paint. Cordholders were present in the central room, so that the door could have been blocked from view (Hendon 1987:261).

195B was associated with 350 pieces of relief sculpture. Sheehy (1991:8) describes the principal motif as a "Sun Jaguar" that recurs eight times around the building façade (whether lower façade or entablature is not specified): his reconstruction drawing seems to represent one of the "monster masks" so prevalent in Yax Pasaj's reign. Also associated were two beautifully sculpted and tenoned human heads, a tenoned jaguar head, and a tenoned bat head (Hendon 1987:260), as well as more "monster masks," at least one with the three-circle "cave" sign on its forehead. The "monster masks" are reconstructed on the lower part of the building, much like Structure 32.

Structure 9M-195B is the only structure in the Sepulturas group discussed in this chapter to have a tomb associated with its latest (though in this case, *only*) phase. A vaulted tomb, the richest burial in the group, was found beneath its stair and terrace, containing four vessels, as well as jade, shell, and obsidian; and two other burials, one a small child

[100] It is unclear from Sheehy's report whether the platform boundaries as he draws them were in existence at this time: if they were, then Structure 194B was at the head of a smaller formal area within a larger formal area delineated at the east by 197 and 196. In any case, the masonry phase of this patio, formerly at most a collection of perishable structures, is initiated by the construction of 194B and 193.

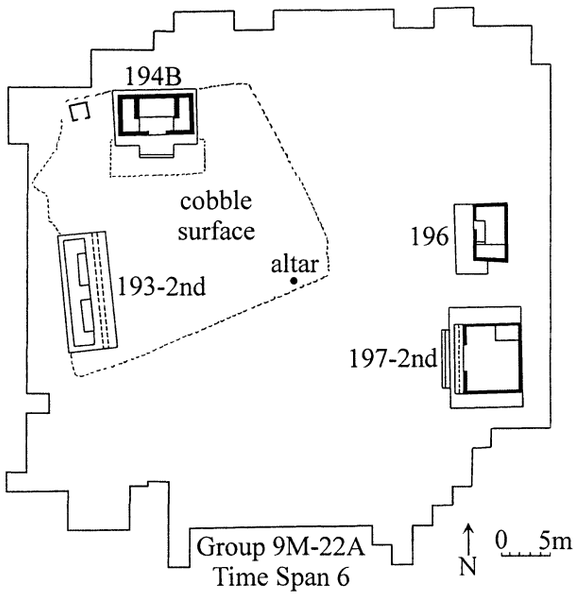


Fig. 5.58 Copán Group 9M-22, Time Span 6. Redrawn from Sheehy (1991:Fig. 4).

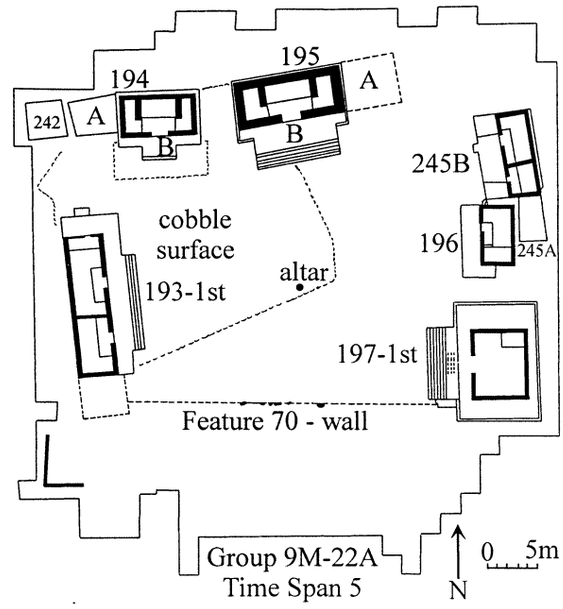


Fig. 5.59 Copán Group 9M-22, Time Span 5. Redrawn from Sheehy (1991:Fig. 5).

with a candelero and the other a single skull in a separate feature, were found beneath the superstructure.

At the time of 195B's construction, Patio A takes on a fresh configuration, emphasized by the erection of four new structures, the modification of two others, and the construction of a wall along the south boundary of the patio. The construction of the wall, Feature 70, delineated a south boundary of the new patio, which Structure 195B stands at the head of, clearly the central focus and, with its mosaic façade, the dominant structure in the patio. This total reorientation of the patio is accomplished in a *single* construction episode, if Sheehy is correct in his interpretation of the stratigraphy.

The construction from Time Span 4 was much less significant: Structure 193-1st-A was built, a platform with a possible cobble superstructure (Hendon 1987:261) was added to the east side of 195B (Structure 195-A); a bench was attached to the north side of 195; a platform was added to 193-1st-A; and the wall on the south was enlarged. Time Spans 3 and 2 involved minor expansion beyond the south wall: the most interesting construction is a third vaulted structure (Structure 199) from Time Span 2, which was of poorer quality, lacked sculpture and a fine-stucco coating, and had a single cist grave underneath its stair with no offerings.

Neither Structure 194B nor 195B has associated middens, although 195B has a possible refuse deposit in the patio in front of it. The only two known middens from Patio A occur behind Structure 193A-B (Hendon 1987:487); other structures had "collections of primary refuse" on various of their surfaces. The contexts that Hendon uses to analyze the use of 194B and 194A are principally surface contexts, and include artifacts from the patio, platform, room, and stair surfaces. The contexts from 195B and 195A include the patio surface east of the stairs, the surface of 195A, the central room of 195B, and the ledge in back of 195B (Hendon 1987:262). The only activity that Hendon identifies for 194B and 194A is storage: both areas had an unusually high number of storage jars as part of the associated assemblages. 195B in contrast is identified using surface materials as proportionally richer in cooking and food preparation artifacts; and the assemblage from the ledge behind it was dominated by serving vessels; whereas 195A had abundant cooking/grinding and ritual artifacts.[101] The activities identified for 195B, then, are cooking and maize grinding, food preparation and short term storage, and food service. For 195A, they are cooking and maize grinding, and ritual activities with food service (Hendon 1987:514).

The problem with these determinations, of course, is that the artifact concentrations from which they are derived may well be very late deposits; and that the Coner phase ceramics with which they are presumably associated are undifferentiated over a long time span. Structure 195B, the most elaborate and best-constructed building in the patio, is perhaps the last structure that one would expect to see associated with cooking, maize grinding, and food preparation, at least during its initial time of use during the late dynastic period. It would be very interesting if this turned out to be the case, but I think it is clear that until the ceramics from the various 9M-22 Patio A lots are reassessed in the new typological and chronological system, very little can be said about the use of these structures, at least from the artifact assemblages: there is, for example, no guarantee that pre- and post-dynastic lots are not being considered as contemporary.

[101] Hendon (1987:490) defines ritual artifacts as including plates, plain cylinders, cylindrical censers, ladle censers, figurines and whistles, fancy cylinders, and cylinder/dishes).

Sheehy's interpretation of Patio A is that Structures 194B, 195B, and 199 represent successive generations of lineage heads. He believes (1991:16) that 194B was built by the descendant of a lineage head, who may have lived in Patio B, to inter his father (although no burial was associated with the structure): although he provides no information about Patio B, it is clear that Sheehy has reason to believe that it is chronologically earlier than Patio A. He believes that 195B would have been built by the third-generation lineage head to inter the builder of 194B and that the sculpted human heads represent the two earlier figures. He hypothesizes that the authority to commission relief sculpture was granted by the king upon the occasion of the lineage head's accession to some court office. The fourth generation family head might have occupied 195B "to exploit its symbolism" (1991:16). Structure 199 would have been built later, by a fifth lineage head of diminished status. Sheehy does not use the term "residential" to refer to these structures, but rather conceives of them as the foci of households.

For my purposes, what is most notable about this group is that two buildings of the same formalized and symmetrical plan are built side by side; that each is a single-phase construction, not a refurbishing of an old building; and that each inaugurates a new configuration of the patio in which it is clearly the dominant and central structure. The absolute timing of the construction of each of the buildings is not possible to determine: Sheehy relies on obsidian hydration dating, which as noted above has not been generally accepted as a valid indicator of absolute dates. Given the sculptural style of 195B, the solid dating of 9N-82 and 9M-146 to Yax Pasaj's reign, and the almost certain dating of 10L-32 and of 8N-66 to Yax Pasaj's reign, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Structure 195B also dates to Yax Pasaj's reign. Re-analyzing the lots from this group using Bill's refined typology should provide significant resolution on the development of the group.

The ceramic figures provided by Hendon for the fancy ceramics of 9M-22 are very different from those from 9M-18: she lists 14% Copador Polychrome (as compared to 75% for 9M-18) and 46% other cream paste local wares. There is a large percentage (36.8%) of Surlo represented, but this Polished Black-Brown ware is represented in both Early and Late Coner types which were chronologically undifferentiated at the time of Hendon's analysis. Any understanding of the timing and nature of intense elite activity in this area will depend on a deeper understanding of the ceramics.

V.3.4.4 Summary of extended otoot group classification

The texts of Structures 9N-82 and 9M-146 present us with an identical emic classification, that of the *otoot* of an *aj k'uhun*. There can be little doubt that they are meant to be the same kind of place, in spite of the conflicting conclusions of the archaeologists who excavated them. Structure 8N-66 is critical for expanding the definition of the group, because, with its skyband-bakab bench, it links together the two variants on the same floor-plan: the skyband-bakab bench theme ties it to 9N-82 and 9M-146 on one hand, and to Structure 22, the *otoot* of Ruler 13, on the other. I propose that Structure 22/21A/22A, Structure 8N-66C/N/S, Structure 9N-82C/N/S, and Structure 32C/E/W represent an emic template of a three-part building, where the central structure is built first and the lower mirror-image side structures are added later, possibly as resources allowed (see Fig. 5.55); and I suggest that Structures 9M-146 and 9M-195, which have no flanking buildings and are single-phase structures, were in the first phases of fulfilling this template. 9M-194, the smaller, earlier version of 9M-195, could have been built during the reign of Ruler 13, contemporary with Structure 22; perhaps it had an analogous role.

V.3.5 The valley *otoot* structures: Yax Pasaj's renovation of major Sepulturas groups

The reason I have emphasized the comparative developmental histories of the Groups discussed above (Fig. 5.60) is that I think that these histories are critical for understanding *what* the *otoot* structures are and *why* they were built. The archaeology of this group of structures combined with the implications of the Bill ceramic typology presents a set of parallels between them that I think overwhelmingly points toward the involvement of a central organizing power – namely, the rule of Yax Pasaj. I propose this as a hypothesis that can be tested primarily through the re-analysis of the ceramics associated with already-excavated buildings. In what follows, it will be necessary to accept that all of the structures were built during the reign of Yax Pasaj, an idea for which there is no contrary evidence that I can find, but which will ultimately have to be re-evaluated ceramically.

First, it can be argued that this group of *otoot* structures was constructed within a circumscribed time period. Depending upon which Calendar Round dates one thinks most likely for the bench texts, 9N-82 and 9M-146 may have been dedicated within as little as ninety-one days (or as much as 7 years) of each other. Andrews V and B. Fash (1992) date Structure 32 to AD 775 using a date on Altar F', around two years after the dedications of the bench texts. If they are correct, then all three structures may have been built between 9.17.0.0.0 and 9.17.5.0.0 (ca. AD 771-776), the period of Yax Pasaj's greatest activity, early in his reign:

9.17.2.12.0	9N-82 bench	10 Sep 773
9.17.2.16.11	9M-146 bench	10 Dec 773
9.17.4.1.11	Altar F' (10L-32)	3 Feb 775

Webster *et al.* (1998) place the construction of 8N-66C in the late eighth century, easily within the reign of Yax Pasaj. For 9M-194B and 9M-195B, more precise dating must await further analysis, but the quality of construction, sculptural excellence, and style of 9M-195B parallel those of the other valley structures from Yax Pasaj's reign.

A second observation about the *otoot* group is that the construction of each building marks a period of major renewal, reconfiguration, or disjunction with its patio as it previously existed. This is least obvious in Patio A of Group 9N-8, because 9N-82 was constructed over an earlier structure whose outlines and orientation are unclear (Webster 1989:32), and because the patio apparently retained the same general orientation. Nevertheless, 9N-82 was a much more elaborate structure than its predecessor and represented a massive increase in labor investment and resources available to the builder. The comparison with 9M-146, the other *otoot*

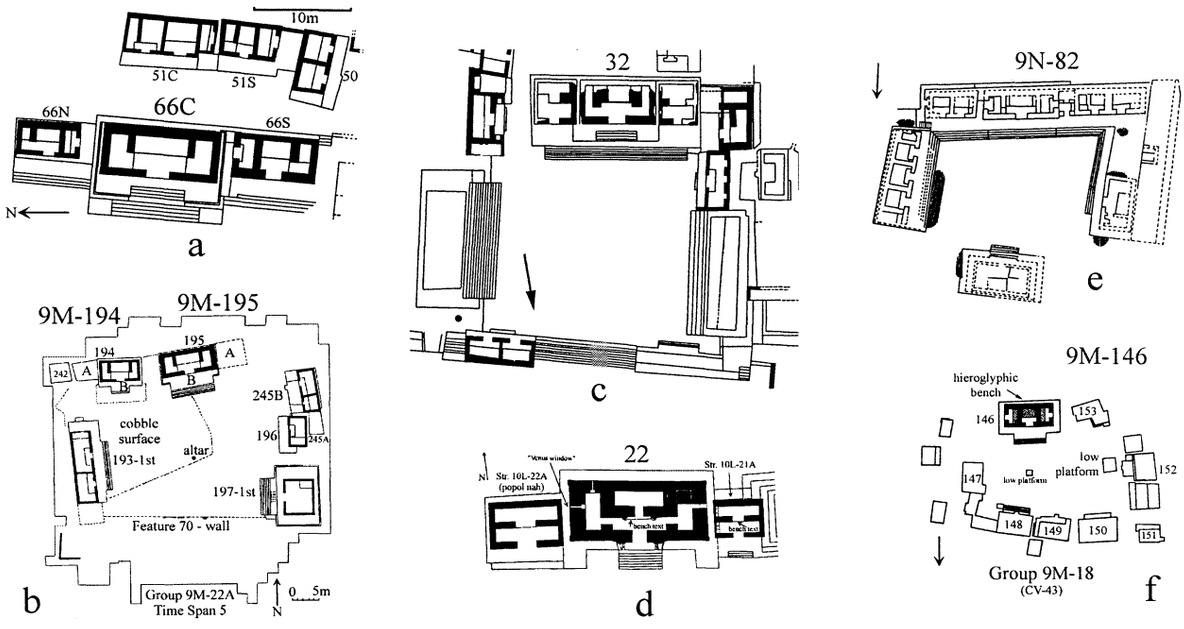


Fig. 5.60 Comparison of groups containing proposed *otoots*: (a) Structures 66, 51, and 50 from Group 8N-11; (b) Group 9M-22; (c) Group 10L-2, Patio A; (d) Structures 22, 22A, 21A; (e) Group 9N-8; (f) Group 9M-18.

of an *aj k'uhun,* is instructive: this building is a single phase structure inserted in the late eighth century into the open end of a pre-existing patio. Although I have not been able to find an explicit statement of the developmental depth of Group 9M-18 or the number of phases associated with any of the buildings (in, e.g., Leventhal 1979, 1983; Leventhal and Baxter 1988; Willey, Leventhal, and W. Fash 1978), Leventhal does mention a thick ash stratum below Structure E2 (9M-149) associated with "an earlier occupation of the site" (1979:98). Further, masonry tombs associated with Structure B (9M-152), Structure E1 (9M-148), and a small platform in the plaza between 9M-146 and 9M-148 contained good whole examples of Copador Polychrome pots, demonstrating according to Bill's typology that these structures are probably earlier than the late dynastic date given in the bench inscription of 9M-146. It looks, then, as if 9M-146 was inserted late into a pre-existing patio that already had some significant masonry construction. Its previous focus was most likely Structure 9M-152, the locus of the richest grave: this was a niched, slab-roof masonry tomb containing a young man, fourteen vessels, more than fifty jade beads, a jade pendant and two carved jade ear ornaments. The construction of 9M-146 thus may have rapidly altered the original orientation and changed the focal point of the patio in a single construction episode.

9M-194B and 9M-195B are both single phase buildings that, as I discussed above, inaugurate new phases of their patios as the new focal structures; 9M-195B in particular reorients the entire patio toward itself. Further, the sculptural elaboration of 195B is in terms of investment of labor, expertise, and resources far beyond anything previously seen in that patio. In Group 8N-11, 8N-66 covers an older building phase, but the rapid development of 8N-66C, S, and N represents a disjunction with the earlier structures 8N-66C-sub and 8N-66N-sub: the final phase construction shifts the orientation of the building a full ten degrees, and, as in Patio A of Group 9N-8, the first side structure, 66S, is built to the left hand of the central building, rather than over the pre-existing 66N-sub on the right hand.[102] Finally, for Structure 32, the excavators hypothesize a significant change in function from 32-2nd to 32-1st, in part because of the presence of the vaulted tomb in the earlier phase and in part because of the significantly increased resources available to the builders of the final phase. The construction of Structure 32 essentially turns the focal building of a (relatively) modest patio into a replica of the north buildings (22A, 22, and 21A) of the East Court on the Main Acropolis.

Third, elaborately sculpted buildings, whose stonework is of a quality and theme comparable to those of the Principal Group, occur in relatively modest contexts, the Type 3 groups 8N-11, 9M-18, and 9M-22. Webster *et al.* in particular note the relative poverty of the ceramic assemblage of 8N-11, stating that the proportions of local finewares recovered from 8N-11 are similar to those recovered from the rural commoner sites (1998:334). Bill has demonstrated that in Late Coner times, Cream Paste polychrome production all but ceases, the diversity of fine wares in general declines drastically, decorated vessels become rare, and quality decreases in those that continue to be produced. In Group 8N-11, those decorated fine wares that do continue and that are represented in Late Coner middens in other parts of the site – the non-locally produced Ulua/Yojoa polychromes – were "extremely rare" (Webster *et al.* 1998:334). This ceramic situation is puzzling in light of the massive architectural investment that took place in this group late eighth century.

[102] It is not known (Webster *et al.* 1998:329) if there is a subphase under 8N-66S.

The question that must be asked is the following: how do we reconcile the poverty of fine wares in these late assemblages with the architectural richness of late buildings in the same group and with the hypothesis that powerful competitive elite lineages were responsible for them?

I think that the hypothesis that deserves to be tested, using the increasingly refined ceramic typology and the already-excavated ceramic assemblages from these groups, is that the elite situation at the beginning of Yax Pasaj's reign was one of comparative material impoverishment and perhaps even architectural inactivity (particularly since the death of Ruler 13, though it might be impossible to achieve enough chronological resolution through ceramics to evaluate the latter suggestion). The rapid construction of magnificent buildings with standardized plans and elaborate sculptural facades of the quality of those on the central acropolis therefore stands out as an endeavor that was centrally planned and carried out by an agency with greater wherewithal than any single lineage group would have possessed. I suggest that there is an alternative to the view of the late dynastic Copán political landscape as one of powerful lineages competing for royal favors and offices and constructing lineage monuments to themselves with their own resources with the permission of a king whose power was on the wane. Rather, the construction of the *otoot* buildings may represent an effort on the part of Yax Pasaj to effect some kind of revitalization or to imprint the elite landscape with a new stamp. With his unknown father and Palenque mother, and with his possible connections to Quirigua during the reign of K'ak' Tiliw, Yax Pasaj may have been a relative outsider who in the initial years of his reign had the backing to pull off major construction episodes both in the valley and in the Main Acropolis. The possibility that he may have been a very young king following two previous, not exceptionally powerful, and possibly genetically unrelated kings makes the possibility of "foreign" backing even more probable.

Interestingly, Maca (2002) has independently come to a nearly identical conclusion based on his excavations of Group 9J-5, a Type 4 site in the foothills northwest of the Principal Group, and based also on his observations regarding the settlement pattern in the valley. Specifically, Plaza A of Group 9J-5 was very rapidly reconfigured from a set of unconnected buildings into a U-shaped unit of fine-masonry structures on a massive terraced platform: this alteration most likely took place "within years" of the dedication of the bench in Structure 9N-82 and the re-configuration of the south end that patio into a similar U-shaped unit (2002:292). Maca's data from 9J-5 concerning the amount of labor invested in this episode suggest to him that it surpassed what would have been possible for the group's inhabitants, given the access to resources suggested by other types of remains in the group, including burials and ceramics.

In a series of papers and in his doctoral dissertation (2002), Maca has argued for periodic renewal of the boundaries of the city on a grand scale. Four cardinally-located architectural groups, including 9J-5 and 9N-8, seem to have had the U-shaped form imposed upon them in the late eighth century; and Maca argues that this was "a framework that was sanctioned and executed by the dynasty, specifically as a means of community regeneration, cosmological renewal and socio-political re-integration. It had to have been done periodically and it is no wonder that its most monumental and unique expression appeared during the dramatic instability of the late 8th century" (2002:293). Whatever the precise nature or intention of this massive refurbishment of the Copán countryside, the archaeological context of the *otoot* structures suggests that it may have been even more thoroughgoing than Maca initially suggests, extending even into the plazas of smaller, so-called "Type 3" groups.

Others (e.g., Sanders 1989) have noted the similarity between the layout of the north end of the East Court of the Main Acropolis and the south end of Group 9N-8. The similarity holds equally for Structures 8N-66 and 32, and one can imagine 9M-146 and 9M-195B as the initial stages of the construction of this template in Groups 9M-18 and 9M-22. If we entertain the idea that Yax Pasaj may have built Structure 22A, as I argued in a previous section, we can hypothesize that he creates the template by flanking the Structure 22 *otoot* of Ruler 13 with two structures of unequal size but identical plan. In effect, then, the construction of these three-part structures in the major suburban architectural complexes amounts to creating small replicas of the East Court throughout the valley.

V.3.6 The function of the Sepulturas *otoots*

Certainly, the function or role of these structures takes on an added dimension if the new ideas about the late dynastic political scenario in Copán can be shown to have some merit through further studies; but we can still address function/role separately. As should have become clear in the discussions of the archaeological assessments of these buildings, nearly every possible alternative for their functions has been proposed, save for "kitchen" or "ancillary structure." If we accept that these structures do form a coherent group, then we must evaluate what the Maya meant by calling them the dwellings of *aj k'uhuns*.

The main problem with all of the functional determinations that rely on associated artifact assemblages is that of chronology. Once deposits such as patio sheet middens, middens from corridors between buildings, and terrace/room-surface refuse are re-analyzed with the more refined ceramic typology, it will likely turn out that many of the ceramics are Late Coner 2 – post-dynastic – and thus cannot be taken as evidence for the dynastic-period use of the structures. Although Webster (1989) argues for continuity of activities between the full Late Classic and the time period represented by terminal middens, the change in trash disposal practices cannot be ignored. If upon re-analysis of the sherd assemblages it turns out that patio and terrace trash is contemporary with the dynastic use of the surrounding structures, then we will have to re-evaluate our notions of the living standards and hygenic practices of the Maya elite. At this time, I think that the structure-use picture generated by combining midden and surface contexts containing materials of the Coner phase as an undifferentiated block of time can only be a confusing one.

Other criteria used by archaeologists to guess at function are equally confusing: for example, Andrews V and B. Fash (1992) use the presence of a tomb in 10L-32-2nd to identify

the structure as a funerary monument, rather than a residence or an administrative area; whereas Leventhal (1983, 1988) uses presence of burials to identify *residential* function, and the lack of them as evidence for a ceremonial function. Tombs and burials certainly do not seem to be necessary or prominent components of the *otoot* structures, contrary to Hendon's (1991:906) assertion that "dominant" structures are usually the sites of the tombs in a compound. Only one of the buildings, 9M-195B, has a burial associated with its final phase. 9N-82 has a modest burial associated with a subphase at its northeast corner, and 10L-32 has a vaulted tomb in its immediate subphase; whereas 8N-66, 9M-194, and 9M-146 have no detected burials. The major burial loci in Groups 8N-11, 9M-18, and 9N-8 Patio A are not their dominant structures. There is very little solid theory about the reasons for placing non-royal burials or tombs in one sort of building or the other. It is possible that few advances will be made in this area until DNA studies become sophisticated enough to be able to pinpoint family relationships. In any case, burials seem to be an unreliable way to deal with building function.

Iconography has been a principal source for speculation on function. For example, W. W. Fash (1989, 1991) relied on the façade sculpture of 9N-82 to identify it as a temple to Pawahtuns as scribal deities. He also viewed it as a monument to the local lineage because 1) a device in the headdress of the entablature's central figure matched the pectoral of the lower façade figures as well as that of the scribal god buried in the fill of the final phase; and 2) because the person in the grave associated with the substructure wore a bar pectoral like that of the central figure on the entablature (although this bar is found in a number of sculptural contexts at Copán) (W. Fash 1989:68-71). The other *otoot*, however, has no burial to associate it with the local lineage, and no iconography to work from save for the color scheme of the three chambers and the bench carving; at the same time, since that the two structures are emically characterized in the same way, 9M-146 can provide some perspective on 9N-82.

I think that the late appearance of 9M-146 inside a patio where residential areas were already established, together with its internal color scheme replicating the colors of the world directions, is a good argument for its special character. I noted in the section above that the owner of the dwelling is the *aj k'uhun* not of Yax Pasaj but of the previous king: he may have been deceased at the time of the inscription, or he may have been alive; but I think that what is going on is that this dwelling, like others in the Maya area, is the seat of his identity as an ancestor or potential ancestor. Like Structure 22, Structure 44 at Yaxchilán, and Structure 1 at Bonampak, he may even own this dwelling as the impersonator of a god, just as Mak' Chanal may "own" 9N-82 as the impersonator of a scribal god. Mak' Chanal may also have been dead at the time of the 9N-82 inscription. In the next chapter, I show at Chichén Itzá that contemporary, powerful women dedicated sacred spaces to their immediate ancestors, their mothers and grandmothers; a similar phenomenon may be taking place in Copán during Yax Pasaj's reign. Here, however, Yax Pasaj integrates the concern with dedication of sacred dwellings into a global plan for the renovation of the Late Classic cityscape; the "owners" of the dedicated dwellings may even have been carefully chosen, and in that light, the possible connections of Mak' Chanal to Quirigua or to Yax Pasaj's mother take on added interest.

What little is known about Structure 8L-74 from Group 8L-10 may be said to support the existence of the group I propose here. A fragmentary inscription composed of fallen stucco medallions was discovered along the front of that structure: the inscription dates to two days after the death of Ruler 13 at the hands of Quirigua, and dedicates with an *och-k'ak'* statement that ruler's *otoot.* I agree with Ashmore (1991:213-214; Ashmore and Sabloff 2002:204-205) that the inscription was probably posthumous, erected during the reign of Yax Pasaj, to whom the excavators attribute the building (Ashmore 1991:213). That is, once again, we may be seeing a dwelling for a deceased and extremely important ancestor-*cum*-god. Although none of the structures in the group were excavated, the only tombs found there were not associated with 8L-74, but with Structures 8L-72 and -77. Further, the principal body of sculpture was associated with 8L-74. Ashmore notes that the assymetrical distribution of the sculpture along the front of the structure suggested two distinct sculpted buildings (Ashmore 1991:209), a pattern reminiscent of the side-by-side sculptured buildings of 8N-66C and 8N-66S. The southern building motifs included a stingray spine, large deity masks, and a Principal Bird Deity, while the northern building's façade supported the medallion inscription (Ashmore 1991:209). The available plans of the unexcavated buildings suggest that this structure could easily have been a three-part structure, and I would guess that the central building has the text. It will someday make an appropriate test excavation for the thesis proposed here.

V.4 Summary of results of chapter

If the hypothesis that Yax Pasaj constructed these *otoot* buildings as part of a coherent plan turns out to have merit, then we might propose that in the apparently unstable climate of his reign, he studded the landscape with dwellings for a number of deities and/or important ancestors or ancestors-to-be, using the model of the East Court to create sacred precincts throughout the city. Indeed, it seems that the pre-existing context into which the dwelling was set was not of great concern; rather, the architecture around them differs wildly in terms of depth of occupation and number of surrounding patios. Some of these groups may have been primarily the living spaces of extended families, where as others, such as 8N-11, a monumental group built in a relatively short time, may have been built as religious sites from the beginning. The nobles or their noble ancestors may have been woven into this plan both as caretakers of gods and as their ritual embodiments. I cannot help wondering if there is a "bread and circuses" component to Yax Pasaj's proposed strategy; that is, in times of economic and social hardship, one might respond by intensifying religious observance and pageantry, both as a hopeful propitiation of the gods and as a distraction for an unhappy kingdom.

There may be some similarity between the distribution and function of these god or "noble-as-ancestor" dwellings at Copán and at Chichén Itzá. At Chichén, the dwellings of important lineage and site-wide gods, as well as probable recent ancestors, are found in large architectural compounds along major sacbes that radiate out from the site center. One of the main purposes of the texts that identify these buildings

is to link important nobles to these gods as probable caretakers. Perhaps the suburban *otoot* structures similarly recognize the stewardship of important gods, both lineage gods and aspects of greater Mayan deities, by local nobles who impersonate them ritually. There is sketchy evidence that some ancestors or *otoot* "owners"/dwellers may have been imposed: the connections of Mak' Chanal Xook Koxoop Ajaw with Quirigua or Palenque deserve further consideration.

The evidence for this line of thought is obviously not conclusive. It relies on a chronological framework that is incompletely demonstrated, and upon analogy with Structure 22 at Copán and Structure 44 at Yaxchilán. It does not use archaeological evidence in a particularly direct way to get at function. In my view, however, *in situ* deposits and trash deposits near these most elaborate structures will not tell us about how they were used during the dynastic period unless and until true contemporaneity can be demonstrated. It is to be hoped that better ceramic chronological control over associated deposits will provide a more precise picture of the activities in the patios discussed in this chapter; but even if we identify deposits as characteristically "residential" in a compound like Patio A of Group 9N-8, we are still unable to distinguish the "residential" trash from a compound oriented around one or more elite nuclear families from that of a compound inhabited by people who, for example, care for a god and its dwelling, cooking food for themselves and for the god, weaving clothes for themselves and for the images housed in the god dwelling.

I think that there is as of now no conclusive archaeological evidence that any of the *otoot* structures were the principal living homes of Copán nobles, either on the Acropolis or in Las Sepulturas. Rather, their primary ethos was as places for the care and feeding of gods and deified ancestors, the making of sacrifices and offerings, and the practice of ritual transport. A theme that connects Yaxchilán Structure 44 and possibly Palenque House E with Copán Structures 22, 9N-82, 9M-146, and 8N-66C is that of the Starry Deer Caiman or skyband held up by *bakab*s in the context of royal and noble *otoot*s. As I discuss in the chapter on Yaxchilán, Structure 44 is explicitly conceived of as a Starry Deer Caiman and a place of ritual transformation. I suspect that the Copán structures are similar, and that entering them was akin to entering the belly of a cosmic serpent for reasons of ritual transformation. The combination of *chapaat* jaws and "white flower" elements in the roof ornaments of Structure 18 and in the arrangement of elements on Structure 22A suggests strongly that many god dwellings as the gullets of cosmic monsters exuded this flowery breath. 9N-82 has been called the "House of the Scribes," but if one was going to derive a name for the house from its iconography, one could just as well choose "Sak Bak Nah/Noh Chapaat Naah," the "White Bone Great? Centipede House": the combination of the gaping *chapaat* skull with white flower breath emerging from its nostrils, and the *naah* glyph directly below it, could be read as a glyphic compound. In line with the conceptualization of these buildings as great serpents and places of transformation, we can note that the inscriptions and iconography associated with Structures 11, 18, 22, and 9N-82 all refer in some manner to "openings."

These structures may also have served other functions, but there is very little archaeological, epigraphic, or iconographic evidence to demonstrate them. They were built to be in, but they were also built simply to be, to exist, as permanent seats for the cosmological identities of kings and nobles, as their ideal dwellings, as places where by their separate nature, they belonged. If more of the great complexes in the direct vicinity of the Principal Group are excavated and documented, I suspect that they will prove to be good candidates for the living residences of the kings, queens, and royal families.

CHAPTER VI: THE DEITY DWELLINGS OF CHICHÉN ITZÁ AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

VI.I Introduction

Addressing the identification, nature, owners, and ritual and political associations of *otoot* structures at Chichén Itzá involves most of the site's inscribed monuments. Of the approximately thirty-five texts at Chichén (see Table 6.1), all but two, the carved "ballcourt stone" and the recently discovered stela, can be considered "architectural" inscriptions: that is, they are carved or painted on stone door lintels, panels, glyphic bands over doorways, columns, and vault keystones. Almost all of the monuments were inscribed during a period of around three decades between 10.0.2.7.13 (A.D. 832) and ca. 10.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 890) (See Table 6.2). Seventeen of these monuments, spread over seven major structures in the southern part of the site, contain references to *otoot* "dwellings." The structures whose inscriptions include *otoot* references are Las Monjas, the Temple of the Four Lintels, the Temple of the Three Lintels, the Akab Dzib, the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, the Temple of the Initial Series, and Yulá Structure 1 (Fig. 6.1). In the Temple of the Initial Series, the lintel containing the references is not in its original location.

In this chapter I expand upon David Stuart's recent insight (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:177) that most *otoot* structures or spaces at the site are "owned" by supernatural personages rather than by "historical" or human ones. I then draw out the implications of that fact for the nature and function of the buildings and for the site's political and religious organization. In the sections that follow, I first look at epigraphic and linguistic issues that are specific to Chichén and that affect the interpretation of the texts. Second, because of the highly formulaic nature of most of the inscriptions, I give an account of the general design of the inscriptions. Third, I proceed structure by structure, showing that there are a number of cases where *otoot* structures demonstrably belong to gods or supernatural beings, and that in most other cases it can be inferred that the structures *most likely* belong to supernaturals. Since the Temple of Four Lintels and Las Monjas texts are very formulaic and their content very similar, I discuss them thematically rather than one by one. Each structure's section addresses its epigraphy, examines what is known archaeologically of the structure, and then integrates the results of the epigraphic analysis with the available (often sparse) archaeological and contextual information. Fourth, I provide a brief discussion of another architectural term at Chichén that often overlaps with the *otoot* designation. This section concerns a main sign that is marked with the webbed pattern found on waterlilies and turtle carapaces in Maya iconography: I therefore refer to it throughout the structure-by-structure discussion as the "carapace" glyph, but I eventually propose that it refers to a kind of "enclosure." Finally, I consider the implications of patterns of dwelling ownership and dwelling ritual for Chichén's political organization, with a focus on distinguishing the usefulness of these texts for archaeologists' purposes from their purposes for the ancient Maya who made them.

The structure and content of some of Chichén's inscriptions have close parallels in the texts of Palenque's Cross Group, especially where the latter describe the "possession" of the Cross Group shrines by known gods in turn "possessed" by human figures. The precision of the parallel, described in the body of this chapter, leaves little doubt as to the general correctness of Stuart's reading. The identification of many *otoot* owners as supernaturals – gods or ancestors – rather than as historical figures contemporary with the texts has implications for Chichén Itzá's political organization, long thought from ethnohistoric and, later, epigraphic data to entail an innovative, late form of government known as *mul tepal*, or "joint government" (Grube 1994a:323-324; Krochock 1998; Schele and Freidel 1990; Tozzer 1957). A principal line of evidence for this idea is the great number of personal names in the site's texts and the lack of divine king titles in the form of traditional Emblem Glyphs. Since the re-interpretation of the names of structure owners in dedicatory phrases significantly trims down the number of historical personages and augments the number of supernatural ones, I reconsider the *mul tepal* hypothesis in the final sections. Generally, I find evidence for three strong male historical characters in the inscriptions – K'ak'upakal, K'inil Ko..l, and Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan" – who never appear as "companions" to other people in the texts, and who give every indication of being contemporaries; and for one strong female character, Ix K'ayam. Each of these names has its own physical distribution on the site: K'ak'upakal's name is the most widely distributed among the city's inscribed buildings, whereas those of K'inil Ko...l, Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan," and Ix K'ayam are confined to certain areas. Every other male named at the site is either a less important noble or – either demonstrably or arguably – a supernatural personage. Of the six female figures besides Ix K'ayam who appear in the texts, two are probably contemporary humans, while the others may be important and possibly deified though recent ancestors.

VI.2 Epigraphic and linguistic issues specific to Chichén

In this chapter I rely heavily upon the work of a number of scholars, and the claims I make represent the exploration and fleshing out of previous ones. It is already well known that the monuments generally deal with the ritual dedication of buildings (Schele and Freidel 1990:357; Grube 1994a:325; Schele and Grube 1995:127-140; Krochock 1991, 1998). Three generations of scholars have labored to identify the personages, both supernatural and historical, that appear in Chichén's texts, including David Kelley, Clemency Coggins, Michel Davoust, William Ringle, Nikolai Grube, David Stuart, Erik Boot, Ruth Krochock, and, most recently and strikingly, José Miguel García Campillo, in his (1995) dissertation on personal names and toponyms in the inscriptions of Yucatan. The complexity and richness of the texts and the issues involved are such that I must accept some of the work of other scholars without much argument, particularly in the case of the determination of the Calendar Round and Long Count positions of the abbreviated dates on Chichén's monuments (Thompson 1954; Kelley 1968, 1976, 1982; Schele and Grube 1995:127-140; Krochock 1998).

Much of the study of Chichén's texts has been bound up with their apparent distinctiveness from the larger southern lowland tradition. Thompson pointed out early on that Yucatecan inscriptions in general lack the Initial Series dates,

distance numbers, numbered k'atun references, and Emblem Glyphs typical of southern lowland texts. He also remarked on the "comic strip" character of Chichén's texts, noting that "[g]lyphs in Yucatan, with few exceptions, are asymmetrical, slovenly laid-out and poorly carved, so that they leave the impression that little care was taken in seeking a pleasant appearance" (1977:262). Other problems with Chichén's texts are both format- and content-related, and include the unconventional ordering of syllables within glyph blocks and the apparent paucity of historical information – births, deaths, accessions to power, wars, and captive-taking – familiar from other Maya sites (Grube 1994a:325).

Identifying the precise language affiliation of Chichén's texts is a fundamental difficulty in dealing with them, and the problem has only recently achieved a degree of focus. I

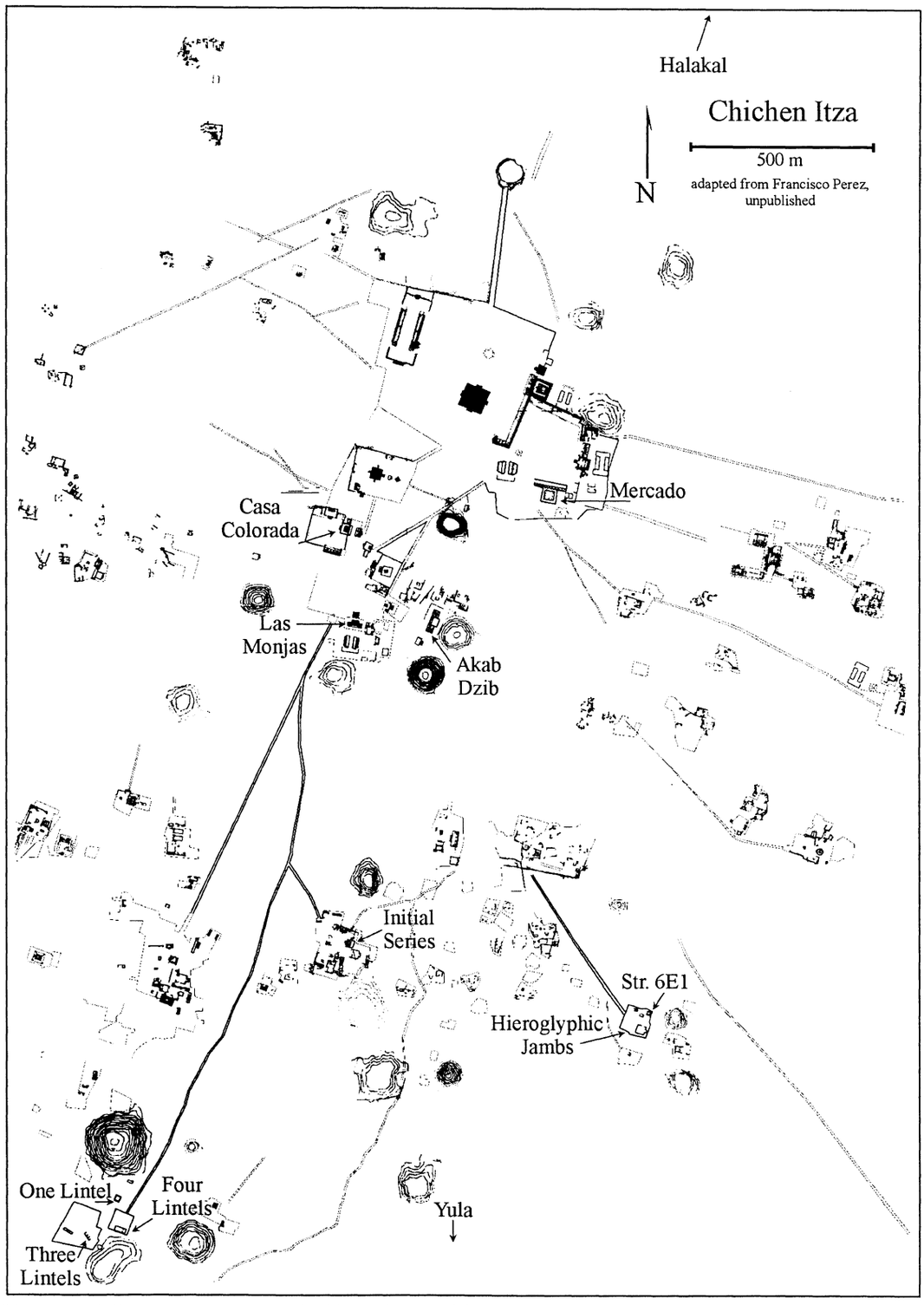


Fig. 6.1 Map of Chichén Itzá, showing buildings discussed in the text. Adapted from map provided by Francisco Pérez, INAH Site Coordinator, Chichén Itzá.

address it here because the presumed language affiliation of the texts determines which languages, grammars, and dictionaries are turned to for the meanings of vocabulary and patterns of verbal or nominal inflection. The language affiliation has typically either gone un-addressed because of the tacit embracing of the "multilingual" approach to Maya languages in the decipherment process (discussed in Chapter 1) (Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2000:321), or has been assumed to be Yucatec (Ringle 1990:241-2; Krochock 1998:99; Schele and Freidel 1990).

García C., in his recent (2000) work on Chichén's texts, has approached the language of the inscriptions by first compiling a lexicon of words that are spelled in the site's texts, and then identifying them to either Yucatec or Ch'olan language groups. In his final analysis, he finds that 12.5% of the words are of Ch'olan origin, 21.1% are of Yucatecan origin, 62.5% cannot be pegged to one or the other language, and 3.8% are only documented in other Maya languages. García C.'s conclusions are that Chichén's texts reflect an "acrolect" – a high language used by "socio-culturally elevated classes" – with a Yucatecan base and a well-entrenched intrusion of Ch'olan lexical elements. He finds that the hypothesis of Houston, Stuart, and Robertson (2000) positing an Eastern Ch'olan-affiliated prestige language for all Maya texts probably does not apply to Chichén Itzá (2000:169). His systematic approach to this difficult problem is useful and thorough, and I do not reject his conclusions out of hand: as he notes, not only do a number of words in Chichén's texts seem distinctively Yucatec, but some do not appear in the inscriptions of any other site (2000:168).

A number of problems with García C.'s conclusions nevertheless leave me unwilling to discard the Houston-Robertson-Stuart hypothesis for Chichén. Although they do not elaborate in their article what their ideas would mean for Chichén Itzá specifically, those ideas imply that the language recorded by Chichén's glyphs is the same as that recorded in the rest of the lowlands. They also suggest that the inscribed monuments should evidence some percolation of local spoken language into the texts. My initial difficulty with García C.'s analysis is that of the 22 words for which he posits exclusive Yucatec affiliation, at least four (*koh, mab, nik, suhuy*) are of dubious transcription, whether because of erosion or lack of phonetic evidence; three are used only in

TABLE 6.1 MONUMENTS AND THEIR LOCATIONS AT CHICHÉN ITZÁ

Location	Monument	García Campillo (2000) designation
Great Plaza (original location uncertain)	Great Ballcourt Stone	TGC-1
Osario	Architectural column	TGC-2
Casa Colorada	Hieroglyphic band	TGC-3
Caracol	Circular stone	TGC-4
Caracol	Panel	TGC-5
Caracol	Hieroglyphic band	TGC-6
Las Monjas Second Story	Lintels 1-7	TGC-7-13
Las Monjas East Wing	East Wing lintel	TGC-14
Las Monjas East Wing	Vault keystone 12	TGC-15
Akab Dzib	Akab Dzib lintel	TGC-16
Hacienda Chichén (secondary context, reused as watering trough)	Watering Trough Lintel	TGC-17
Temple of the Initial Series	Lintel	TGC-18
Structure 6E1	South column	TGC-19
Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs	West Jamb East Jamb	TGC-20 TGC-21
Temple of the One Lintel	Lintel	TGC-22
Temple of the Three Lintels	Lintel 1 Lintel 2 (destroyed) Lintel 3	TGC-23 TGC-24
Temple of the Four Lintels	Lintel 1 Lintel 2 Lintel 3 Lintel 4	TGC-25 TGC-26 TGC-27 TGC-28
Tomb possibly between Casa Redonda and Hacienda, excavated by E.H. Thompson before 1921	Vault keystone 1	TGC-29
Halakal (possibly removed from Halakal structure in Colonial times and re-used in nearby plantation house (CIW Yearbook 30, 1931:106)	Lintel	TGC-30
Yula Structure 1	Lintels 1 and 2	TGC-31, -32
Structure 5B18, Old Chichén	Hieroglyphic step	

TABLE 6.2:	HIEROGLYPHIC DATES AT CHICHÉN WITH GREGORIAN EQUIVALENTS		
Monument	*Long Count*	*CR date*	*Gregorian*
Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs			
West Jamb	10.0.2.7.13	9 Ben 1 Sak	4 Aug 832 (Krochock 1998:45)
East Jamb	?		
Casa Colorada			
Glyphs 2-4	10.2.0.1.9	6 Muluk 12 Mak	15 Sep 869
Glyphs 10-12	1 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		869-870
Glyphs 17-19	1 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		869-870
Glyphs 27-29	10.2.0.15.3	7 Akbal 1 Chen	16 June 870
Glyphs 33-34	1 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		869-870
Glyphs 47-48	1 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		869-870
Glyph 51	2 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		870-871
Glyph 54	3 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		871-872
Yula Structure 1			
Lintel 2	10.2.4.2.1	2 Imix 4 Mak	6 Sep 873 (Boot, in García C. 2000:152; Krochock 1998:74)
Lintel 1	10.2.4.8.4	8 Kan 2 Pop	7 Jan 874
Initial Series Building			
Lintel 1 und.	10.2.9.1.9	9 Muluk 7 Sak	30 July 878
Lintel 1 front	10 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		878-879
Temple of the Three Lintels			
Lintel 3	10 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		878-879
Akab Dzib			
Lintel und.	11 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		879-880
Lintel front	1 tuun K'atun 1 Ajaw		869-870
Las Monjas Second Story			
Lintel 1, Lintel 7	?		
Lintels 2-6	10.2.10.11.7	8 Manik 15 Wo	8 Feb 880
Temple of the Four Lintels			
Lintels 1,3,4	10.2.12.1.8	9 Lamat 11 Yax	13 July 881
Lintel 2	10.2.12.2.4	12 Kan 7 Sak	29 July 881
Caracol Panel			
A1-B1	16 tuun 1 Ajaw		884-885
N5-M6	1 tuun 12 Ajaw		889-890
pA9 (lateral face)	17 tuun (1 Ajaw?)		885-886

calendrical expressions (*wo', ichil,* and *-pis*); two appear elsewhere in the southern Maya area (*nuun, sak*); one can be assigned a reasonable Ch'olan meaning (*ti'il*); and several are verbs the transcription of whose roots is uncertain because of unfamiliar suffixes (*k'ul, hol, k'uch*). Further, at least four of them (*kit, nachil, yajawal, sabak*) are probable titles, kin terms, proper names, or place names, which are exactly the sort of vernacular words one would expect to appear in hieroglyphic texts which talk about local individuals and places.

In fact, the *most* diagnostic markers of the language of the script ought to be not lexical – since the various language alternatives share much basic vocabulary (as García C. demonstrates) – but grammatical, since Yucatecan and Ch'olan languages exhibit some mutually exclusive patterns of nominal and verbal inflection. Colonial and modern Maya documents and modern-day spoken Maya present a comparable if more extreme version of this situation. These documents and languages adopt many Spanish words, especially personal names, toponyms, and words for things that did not exist in the pre-Hispanic world; but the patterns of nominal and verbal affixation are often fully Maya, even in cases where the root itself has been adopted from the foreign language. Similar situations occur today in spoken language in Boston's restaurants, where Hispanic and

Brazilian workers interact intensely: for example, one can often hear a Salvadoran conjugating Portuguese verb roots (*fal-* from *falar* "to speak" or *fic-* from *ficar* "to remain, get") using Spanish pronouns and verb endings *(ellas ficaron triste, yo falé con ellas)*: that is, lexical items are adopted while the grammar of the base language remains stable.

If the base language of Chichén's inscriptions were Yucatec, then I would expect that roots would exhibit Yucatecan patterns of affixation, even if the texts incorporated root words borrowed from Ch'olan. Some verbs at Chichén do take suffixes that are not common at southern Maya sites – *-ki*, in particular, which appears on the *lu-*"bat" "carving" verb and in other contexts (e.g., Las Monjas Lintel 1a:B1) (García C. 1996). García C. has argued for the function of this suffix in Yucatec terms, though he has not considered its possibilities in Eastern Ch'olan contexts; nor has he considered that it may function as a morphosyllable **-IK**. García C. (2000) has also proposed a number of Yucatec glosses for glyphic elements with particular grammatical functions – glosses that need to be evaluated in a comparative context, a task for which this study is not suited.

The number of test cases for either Ch'olan or Yucatecan verbal inflection is not great, because the variety of verbs in Chichén's texts is limited by the restricted content of the inscriptions. There *are* nevertheless a number of verbs on Chichén's monuments that take purely Ch'olan inflections: **PAT-wa-ni** *pat-wan-i* (Akab Dzib underside:D3; see MacLeod 1984 for initial identification of *-wan* as a Ch'olan positional suffix); **TZAK-ji** *tzak-ij* (Casa Colorada Glyph 20); **pu-lu-ji-ya** *pul-ji:y* (Casa Colorada Glyphs 30-31); **jo-ch'o-bi-ya** *joch'-bi:y* (Casa Colorada Glyph 13); and a possible **at-hi-ya** *at-(a)j-i:y?* (Hieroglyphic Jambs West:B7). The most common verbal inflection, *-aj* (as in *k'al-aj*, "is bound") has associations that are as strongly Ch'olan as Yucatecan (Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 2000:325). As a final note, it is interesting that some epigraphers and scholars have accepted fully or partially some version of the idea that the founders of Chichén Itzá were Itzá-lineage migrants from the Petén (Schele and Mathews 1998:201-203; Ball and Taschek 1989; Boot 1995, 1997:79; Krochock 1998:23-37). If this scenario proves true, it will not be surprising if Classic Maya as the Eastern Ch'olan-affiliated language of the inscriptions was brought north with the migrants, who incorporated Yucatecan personal and place names and important local titles.

In sum, the problem of the linguistic affiliation of Chichén's texts is not settled. Its resolution needs to take place in the context of careful, linguistically-informed considerations of patterns of nominal and verbal inflection. García C.'s work on the lexicon of Chichén's inscriptions forms an excellent basis for future analyses of the problem. It is also useful for its full transcriptions, transliterations, and translations of all texts; and it allows any researcher to cross-reference all personal names and many words between all of the monuments of the site, greatly facilitating the speed of penetration of the texts. Ruth Krochock's dissertation on political rhetoric at Chichén is also indispensable for its reproduction of building plans, for the consideration of dates in texts, and for an interesting set of interpretations. She also provides transcriptions, transliterations, translations, and interpretations of all of the texts; however, my own differ greatly in many instances.

VI.3 What Chichén's lintels do

VI.3.1 The lintel text "formula"

Of eighteen lintels with carved undersides, fifteen begin with a formula that is essentially a Primary Standard Series modified for architecture. The texts begin with the "PSS Introducing Glyph" **a-..-ya,** and follow with a "dedicatory" expression, a possessed architectural object, the owner of the object (usually a god), and, in some cases, the owner (a human) of the owner of the object. The object can be an *otoot*, a lintel *(pakab-ti')* of an *otoot*, the "carving" of the lintel, or the hieroglyphs *(woj-il)* themselves. The exceptions to this pattern are the Akab Dzib and Halakal

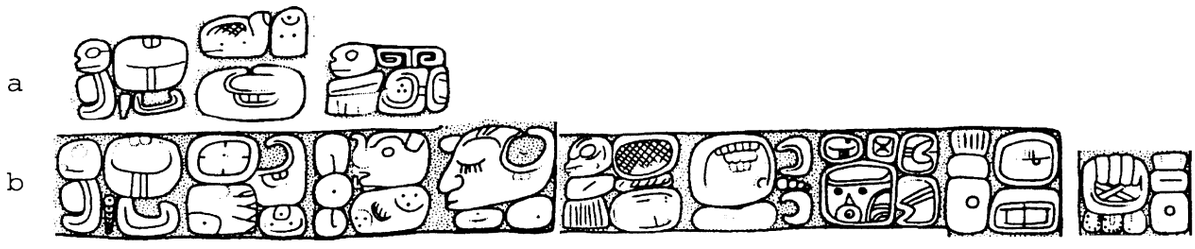


Fig. 6.2 Primary Standard Sequences in Chichén's lintel texts: (a) *a-..-ya k'al-aj u-woj-il*, Las Monjas Lintel 1:A1a-c; (b) *a-..-ya k'al-aj y-u-"bat"-lu-najal? u-pakab-tuun-y-ajaw-ti'-il y-otoot*, Las Monjas Lintel 4:B5-E2.

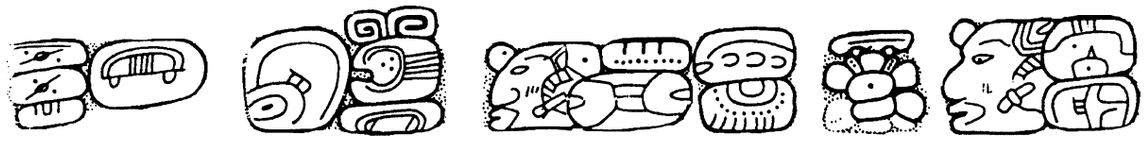


Fig. 6.3 Las Monjas Lintel 7 front A-C: *ha-i u-woj-il Ix Tok Le.. u-mim Ix ..-k.*

lintels, which nevertheless contain some of the same thematic materials as the other fifteen, though their texts are not identically structured; and the "Watering Trough" lintel, which is so eroded as to be illegible.

Some examples of the general pattern follow. The lintel undersides over the two lateral chambers of Las Monjas begin (Fig. 6.2a)
:

a-..-ya	*k'al-aj*	*u-woj-il*
PSSIG	**is bound**	**his/her glyphs**

The lintels over the northern five chambers of the same structure are more expansive, beginning by specifying the **calendar round date** and the **number of the *tuun* in a particular k'atun Ajaw**. They then continue, almost identically, but with a different direct object (Fig. 6.2b):

a-..-ya	*k'al-aj*	*yu-*"bat"-lu-*najal*
PSSIG	**is bound**	**the "carving"[103] of**

u-pakab'-tuun y-ajaw-ti'-il	*y-otoot*
the lintel of	**the dwelling of...**

Other versions of the same passage in the monuments of other structures skip the PSSIG and *k'al-aj* verb, and modify the inflection of the **lu-"bat"** "carving" expression:

u-"bat"-lu-*naj*-**ki**	*u-pakab-ti'-il y-otoot*
gets carved	**the lintel of the dwelling**

This same textual format is shared by lintel undersides in Las Monjas, the Temple of the Four Lintels, Temple of the Initial Series, Structure 1 at Yula, and the Las Monjas East Wing; and on some lintel fronts, in the Temple of the One Lintel, Temple of the Three Lintels, Temple of the Four Lintels, and Structure 1 at Yula. Other non-lintel monuments like the East Hieroglyphic Jamb of Structure 6E3 also use the same format. The Akab Dzib lintel underside, though its textual and iconographic format is different, talks about the "forming" (*pat*) of a carving; and its front edge dedicates a probable door of a dwelling, using the *pet* "embrace" verb.

Of nineteen carved lintel fronts (the long rectangular area that faces out from the structure's door), almost all contain architectural references, and several share textual patterns. I underscore the difference in context between lintel undersides and lintel fronts because the lintel front texts are usually shorter, they face outward, and they give either summary sorts of information, or slightly different kinds of information than is found on the undersides. For example, the front of Lintel 7 of Las Monjas states simply (Fig. 6.3):

ha-i u-wojil Ix Tok Le..
this is the writing of Ix Tok Le...

u-mim Ix ..k
the grandmother of Ix ..k

[103] The **lu-"bat"** "carving" verb and noun are not deciphered, and the inflections here are so poorly understood that I give only approximate glosses, for the purpose of giving an English sense to the Maya text, making it easier to follow.

together with some short (difficult) supplementary information about the woman and the structure that is not found in the main text.

V.3.2 Binding, divining, opening, and burning: Ritual actions in Chichén's threshold rites

At Chichén Itzá, therefore, there are a substantial number of consistently formulaic inscriptions in similar architectural contexts – usually lintels over doorways, but also, in the case of the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, on doorjambs. These are "threshold" contexts like those I discuss in other chapters. Chichén's texts constitute some of the best evidence for dedicatory texts as particular ritual speech genres, as I describe below.

K'al is the most important dedicatory verb at Chichén Itzá, and I have already discussed it as a verb of ritual binding/bounding and protection. The variant of the verb that is most commonly used at Chichén (at least twelve times) consists of the *k'al* hand with a superimposed *k'in* sign (Fig. 6.4a). This is an unusal variant of the verb. The stripped-down form of the *k'al* verb is, as Stuart (1996:155-8) has shown, the hand superfixed with the "mirror" element (Fig. 6.4b). As with other "hand" verbs, such as *ch'am-K'awiil*, "take-K'awiil," the object of the verb can be superimposed over the superfix. Thus, for example, superimposing the *tuun* sign over the *k'al* hand *gives k'al-tuun*, "stone-bind" (Fig. 6.4c). One might suppose, then, that superimposing the *k'in* sign over the *k'al* hand would give *k'al-k'in*, "day-bind" or "sun-bind," perhaps involving the completion of a period defined by the movement of the sun.

The *k'in*-over-*k'al* sign may simply be read *k'al,* however. Purely phonetic spellings at Chichén (Fig. 6.5a) substitute in the same contexts as the bare logographic form at Xkalumkin (Fig. 6.5b) and as the *k'in*-over-*k'al* verb at Chichén (Fig. 6.5c). Further, Grube (1990) discusses a series of verbal substitutions for the *k'al* "flat-hand" verb that occur on Chocholá ceramic vessels; these incorporate the *k'in* sign in addition to a range of variants that use the chan "sky" logograph, the *tuun* logograph, and the "star" logograph, together with an *-aj* or *-laj* verbal inflection. Garcia C. (2000:74) also depicts a number of these substitutes from ceramics and from northern lowland monuments (e.g., Fig. 6.5c-e); a particularly apt comparison to the Chichén *k'al* verbs is Fig. 6.5c from a text from Tzocchén, where the *k'al* hand is superfixed by the "star" logograph and takes the *-laj* inflection like the rest of the *k'al* verbs at Chichén. These are still poorly understood, but may be straightforward substitutes for the *k'al* glyph in its "hand" form.

There *is,* however, an instance of the *k'al* glyph at Chichén that might encourage us to leave open the question of the direct substitution of these variants for the *k'al* verb, and to consider the possibility that the *k'in* superfix is meant as a direct or incorporated object. On the Initial Series lintel text (Fig. 6.5f), the *k'in* component over the *k'al* hand is not clear, and may be missing, leaving only the stripped-down "mirror-sign" form of the verb. Further, the direct object of the verb directly follows it (rather than being incorporated into the verb itself): this object is *9 "Muluk" k'in*. It is possible that the reading is *k'al-aj 9 "Muluk" k'in*, and that it refers to the ritual binding of the day 9 Muluk. For now, though, I take

a b c

Fig. 6.4 The *k'al* verb at Chichén Itzá: (a) from Las Monjas Lintel 4:C5; (b) the "stripped down" form of *k'al* in the expression *u-k'al-aw tuun*, from Stuart (1996:155); (c) *u-k'al-aw-tuun*, Pomona Panel 1, from Stuart (1996:155).

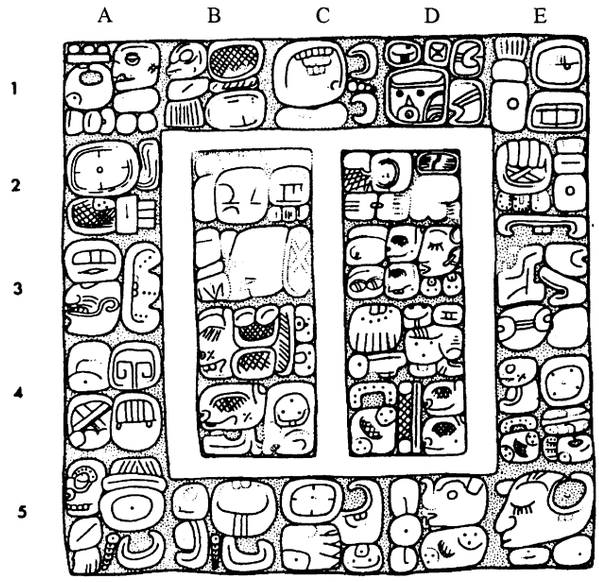


Fig. 6.6 Las Monjas Lintel 4. Drawing by Ian Graham.

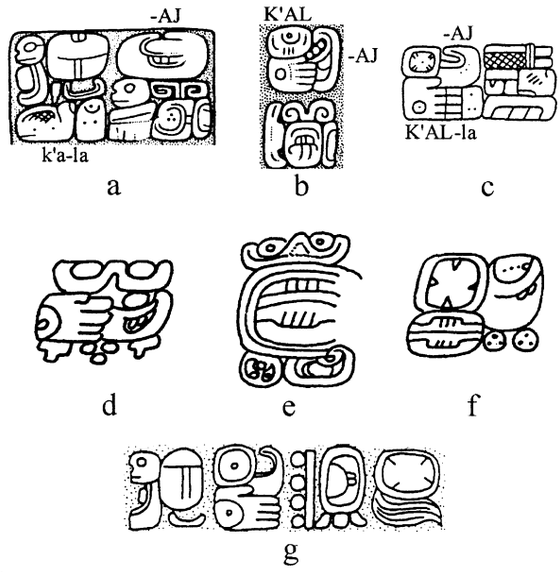


Fig. 6.5 Possible spelling variants of the *k'al* verb: (a) **PSSIG k'a-la-AJ u-wo-jo-IL,** Las Monjas Lintel 7:A1 (b*) k'al-aj u-wojil,*; Xkalumkin Panel 5:A1-2. CMHI 4:183; (c) *k'al-aj tu-woj-il,* Yula Lintel 2:A3-B3; (d) *k'al-aj?* On Tzocchén Miscellaneous 1 (Garcia C. 2000:Fig. 2.31c); (e) *k'al-aj?* From Xkalumkin Column 4 (Garcia C. 2000:Fig. 2.31d) (f) *kal-aj?* From Chochola-style vessel (Garcia C. 2000:Fig. 2.31h); (g) *k'al-aj 9 Muluk k'in*, Chichén Itzá Initial Series Lintel: D1-D2.

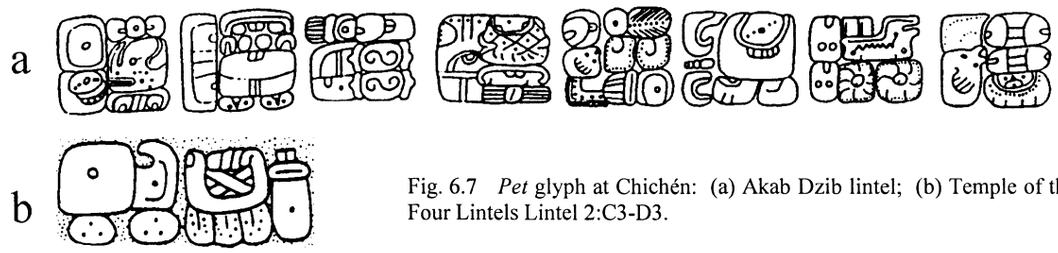


Fig. 6.7 *Pet* glyph at Chichén: (a) Akab Dzib lintel; (b) Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 2:C3-D3.

the *k'in*-over-*k'al* verb as *k'al*, with the caveat that something more complex may be involved.

A good example of the inscriptions as efficacious ritual speech in doorway or "threshold" contexts at Chichén is Las Monjas Lintel 4 (Fig. 6.6). Lintel 4 is one of five lintels over the doors of the northern chambers of that structure; its glyphs outline the edges of the monument and are read from the top left counterclockwise to the bottom right, and then continue from the top left clockwise to the bottom right. Lintel 4's text gives the date of the ritual, and then says

PSSIG k'al-aj y-u..-najal
PSSIG is bound the carving of the

u-pakab'-tuun y-ajaw-ti'il y-otoot
lintel, the lord of the door of the dwelling of..

The text describes the bounding or binding of the stone, where the glyphs themselves effect this binding by traversing the lintel's perimeter: the words themselves bind and protect the threshold space.

The verb *pet*, "to embrace" or "to encircle," is used in a similar threshold context in, for example, the Akab Dzib lintel text, where it is the inner doorway of the structure that is embraced (Fig. 6.7a):

pet-aj u-cha-ohl-ti'
is embraced the second door

The same verb is found in the text of Lintel 2 of the Temple of the Four Lintels, where the dwelling itself is embraced (Fig. 6.7b):

pet-laj y-otoot
is encircled his dwelling

The idea that the glyphs embody ritual speech that was considered to have its own ritual efficacy and agency may be reflected in some interesting epigraphic evidence for the personification of the lintels themselves as the "lords" of the doors. The evidence involves the way that possessed nouns are strung together and the way they are framed by possessive pronouns and partitive suffixes. That is, the object of the dedicatory verb in each Las Monjas lintel text inscriptions is the lintel, but the term for it is rendered in slightly different ways. One finds at least three forms (Fig. 6.8a-c)

1. [verb] *u-pakab'-ti'-il* *y-otoot* (LM2)
2. [verb] *u-pakab'-tuun* *y-ajaw-ti'-il* *y-otoot* (LM3,4)
3. [verb] *u-pakab'-tuun-il* *y-ajaw-ti'-il* *y-otoot* (LM5,6)

In the first case, the *u-..-il* frames *pakab'-ti'*, "door cover" (i.e., lintel). In the second case, *u-..-il* frames the entire phrase *pakab'-tuun-y-ajaw-ti'*, and might be construed as an incorporated noun "covering-stone-lord-of-the-door," implying that the lintel is thought of as the lord of the door. In the third case, however, the partitive *-il* suffix is inserted after *tuun* as well as after *y-ajaw-ti'*, implying at least three separate nouns, "the covering-stone of the lord of the door." Is the "lord of the door" the lintel itself, the dwelling owner, or the dedicator of the lintel? I think it is worth considering that the lintel, as a conveyor of ritual speech and as the actual physical object that achieves the "bounding," "binding," or perhaps "framing" of the door, is personified as the door-lord. As I have discussed in previous chapters, doors are after all carved as great animate mouths at many other sites, and this is reflected in the term used at Chichén for door, *ti'* "mouth." Why should these mouths not, then, convey ritual speech?

The concern with ritual protection of thresholds is evidenced by another phrase that occurs at least five times in Chichén's texts in both Las Monjas and the Temple of the Four Lintels. The basic phrase is *y-il-iw utzil*, "he sees goodness" or "he sees abundance," and it can have a number of indirect objects. For example, on the front edge of Las Monjas Lintel 2, we have (Fig. 6.9a)

y-il-iw utzil ta k'uh K'ak'upakal
he sees goodness for? the god, K'ak'upakal

and on the front of Lintel 2 of the Temple of the Four Lintels, we have (Fig. 6.9b)

y-il-iw utzil ta otoot y-ajaw Yab-?
He sees goodness for the dwelling, Yab...'s lord

The indirect objects of the verb *-il* in these phrases can be "gods" or "dwellings." I suspect that "seeing" here is "divining," since the verb *il* or *ila* "to see" is used in a number of Mayan languages to render the term for the kind of divining that determines the appropriateness of certain days for certain events, or for the divining involved in curing someone. The Tzotzil shaman, for example, is the *h'ilol*, the "seer," who performs curing and dedication ceremonies (Vogt 1976); a cognate term, *ilan*, exists in Ch'ol and is

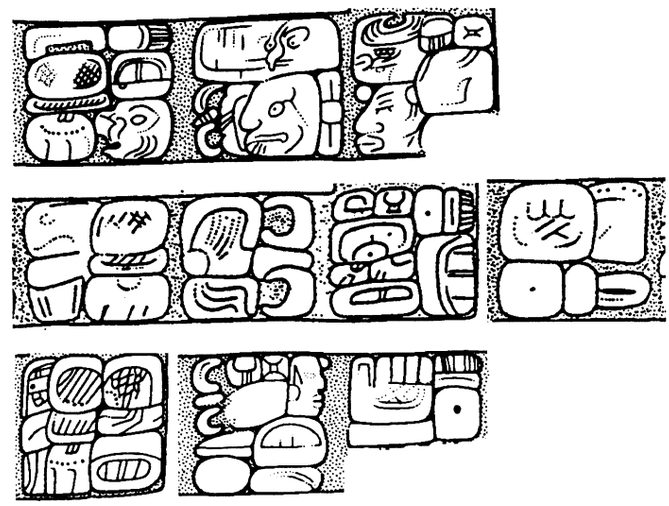


Fig. 6.8

Lintels as door lords: (a) Las Monjas Lintel 2:C5-D5; (b) Las Monjas Lintel 3:C5-B1; (c) Las Monjas Lintel 6:E5-C1.

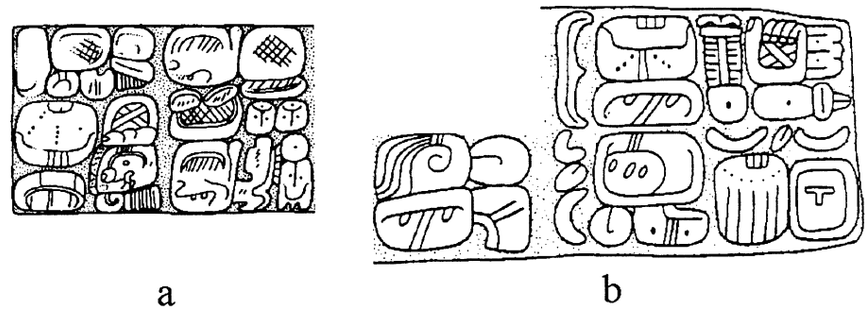


Fig. 6.9

"Seeing" expressions at Chichén: (a) *y-il-iw utzil ta k'uh...* (Las Monjas Lintel 2a:A1-A2); (b) *y-il-iw utzil ta y-otoot* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 2a:D2-F1).

a b c

Fig. 6.10 Pas "opening" expressions at Chichén: (a) *pas-chab ta y-il-il k'in ta y-il-il haab'*, Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 2:D5-C8. Drawing by Ruth Krochock; (b) *u-pas-aw chab tu-b'aah,* Halakal Lintel 1:G7. Drawing by Ian Graham; (c) *u-pas K'ak'upakal K'uhul Aj K'ak' tu b'aah,* Temple of the Three Lintels Lintel 1:A1-D1. Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

glossed "to cure by witchcraft" (Aulie, Aulie, and Scharfe 1999:46). The faculty of sight is particularly important in Yucatecan divining, as reflected in the term used to describe it, *tíich' k'aák'*, "to put light to," or "to illuminate" (e.g., Hanks 1990:247-252); as Hanks notes, "In all divination in Maya, the visual evidence of states of affairs is central, and the extension of the shaman's visual field is the transformation alluded to in the name of the genre, 'illuminate'" (1990:251). Although in the phrases rendered (tentatively) above, it is difficult to determine who the "seer" is, the evidence suggests that human personages are forecasting goodness or abundance for gods' dwellings and for their divine occupants, perhaps in relation to the specific day of the dedicatory binding or carving.

A final group of verbal expressions is associated with the dedication of dwellings at Chichén, and this group resonates with the themes of "openings" in the earth discussed in the last chapter on Copán *otoot*s. At Chichén, there are some very explicit statements of "earth-opening" as a rite that occurs on the same day as the dedication of dwellings. For example, the Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel records, just after the "embracing" of the dwelling, an "earth-opening" together with a "seeing" (D5-C8) (Fig. 6.10a):

PAS-cha-b'a	**ta yi-li-li K'IN**
Pas-chab'	*ta y-il-il k'in,*
Opens-earth?	at the seeing/divining of the day,

ta yi-li-li HAAB'
ta y-il-il haab'
at the seeing/divining of the year

Pas-chab' "opens-the-earth"(?) can also be found with active transitive inflection in the Halakal lintel text (Fig. 6.10b):

U-pa-sa-wa cha-b'a tu-b'a
u-pas-aw chab tu-b'aah
he opens the earth for the image/for him?

There are a number of enigmatic references to *pas*, "opening," in Chichén's texts that may refer to the doorways over which the texts are mounted; in the example just above, the *pas-chab'* statement is followed by *tu-b'aah*, a construction that is found elsewhere in Chichén texts. For example, Lintel 1 of the Temple of Three Lintels begins (Fig. 6.10c)

U-PAS	**k'a-k'u-pa-ka-la**	**K'UHUL AJ k'a-k'a**
u-pas	*K'ak'upakal*	*K'uhul Aj K'ak'*
the opening/door? of K'ak'upakal, HolyFire-person		

tu-b'a-hi	**K'IN-ni-IL ko-...la**
tu-b'aah	*K'inil Ko..l*
for his image/for him?	K'inil Ko..l

There are some very interesting glosses in Wisdom's Ch'orti that may be related, including

pasi ubah	open up the body, remove poisons
pasar ubah	one's body opened up (as in functioning normally)

Although it is only speculation, perhaps these passages are describing some kind of blood-letting or curing activity in the context of temple dedications, divining, and taking care of the statues of the gods. I do not claim to understand *pas-tu-b'aah* references in the texts, but point them out as deserving of further study.

Many of the other rites linked to dwelling dedications involve burning, fire-drilling for gods, and conjuring. Below is a list of legible verbs on those architectural monuments with formulaic dedication texts; I have included most of the verbs except for the "carving" and *k'al* expressions:

<u>burning</u>:	
pul ti chan "burns to the sky"	T4L L4:F5-E6
u-pul ta k'uh "his burning? for the god"	T4L L2:E6
pul ti k'ak' "burns with fire"	Casa Colorada
pul-aj ti k'ak'	Yula L1
<u>fire-drilling</u>:	
hoch'-k'ak'/hoch u-k'ak' (3-5 times)	Casa Colorada
<u>conjuring</u>:	
tzak	Casa Colorada
tzak-k'ak'? "conjures fire"	Halakal L4:A4
<u>"sees goodness for the god/dwelling"</u>	
y-il-iw utzil ta k'uh/ta y-otoot	LM L2, 4a, 5a

stone erecting:	
tz'ap-aj tuun	Osario
"opening":	
pas-chab' ta y-il-il k'in ta y-il-il haab'	T4L L2:D5-C8
pas-chab' (u-pas-aw-chab' tu b'aah)	Halakal:G7
"embracing":	
pet-aj	Akab Dzib front
pet-laj?	T4L L2:C3
Building/forming:	
pat-wan	Akab Dzib
unknown:	
wa-K'UH-le-wa-ki	LM L1, 1a
ka-K'UH-le-wi-ya	LM L4a
jo-lo-b'i-ki?	T4L L2:E4
u-pa-yi-ku-na-si-li *ta-k'uh Yax ... Chaak*	Yula L1:C7-F1
u-chab'-ij?	LM L3a:E2?
u-chok-ow?	LM L7:D3
sih?/hul? "birth?"/ "arrival?"	Hiero. Jambs W
at-ji:y? "got bathed?"	Hiero. Jambs E
y-al-ih?	Hiero. Jambs E
"ballplaying"? (verbal?)	T4L L1
"ballplaying" (nominal?)	Yula L1:D3

Given the great number and length of texts, there are not many verbs – though it is certainly true that there are many collocations that are not understood, and I have left a few of the most uncertain ones out of the list. The verbs cluster around a set of actions that involve the ritual binding of doors and glyphs – or perhaps binding doors with glyphs – and the creation or maintenance of relationships between humans and deities through burning for the gods, erecting monuments in their dwellings, and possibly some sort of ritual *il* "seeing," "overseeing," or ensuring abundance or good fortune for the building or the god inhabiting it. That nearly all of the structures can be understood as god dwellings is the thesis I address in the following sections, as I try to weed out which personages can be considered contemporary human beings and which are deities or deified ancestors. Section VI.4 does contain some epigraphic detail: I try to make it less torturous by using bold letters to refer to buildings and monuments being introduced into the discussion for the first time.

VI.4 The Texts of the Temple of the Four Lintels and Las Monjas

VI.4.1 Parallels between the Temple of Four Lintels and Palenque Cross Temples

Aspects of Chichén's lintel texts have close parallels in the texts of the tablets and alfardas of the Cross Group of Palenque. The latter record royal rituals in structures that are specified as *pib'-naah* (Houston 1996) "sweat baths" or "oven houses" owned by gods, who are in turn "owned" by humans. The principal rituals recorded on the tablets center around the dedication (*t'ab'*) of architectural elements, burning or possibly censing (*pul*), and god-conjuring (*tzak-k'uh*) activities, very much like the ritual activities recorded at Chichén. The Palenque tablet inscriptions are mounted in miniature "dwellings," complete with vaulted roofs and stone eaves. Each mini-dwelling is in turn housed by the main temple structure, which sits atop a high pyramidal platform. It is well known that each of the three structures is associated with a particular member of the so-called Palenque Triad, the group of three gods who are the paramount figures in a larger group of gods invoked in Palenque's inscriptions. The relationship between structures, gods, and humans is given in terms one or another variant of the following glyphic "formula" (Fig. 6.11a) :

pib'-naah	*y-otoot*
the oven house is	**the dwelling of**
u-k'uh-il	[name of king]
the god of	**King So-and-So**

Similarly, in the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá, there are two cases in which a dwelling-owner is specified as a *k'uh,* "god," belonging to a human, using this same formula. Both occur in the lintels of the **Temple of the Four Lintels,** an unexcavated two-room structure on a low platform at the end of a sacbe leading southwest from the Las Monjas group, at a distance of around 1.5 km. The undersides and front edges of the four lintels in the building recount the "dedicatory" activities, often involving burning, for the dwellings of at least two different gods belonging to at least three different individuals.

The **Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 2** (Fig. 6.12) begins with the standard formula (Fig. 6.11b):

12 "Kan" k'in tu 7 "Sak"	*[deictic]*
On 12 Kan 7 Sak	**[deictic]**
u-..l-naj-**ki**	*u-pakab-ti'-il*
["carving" verb]	**the lintel**
u-k'a-il	*y-otoot*
It is/of the *k'a'*[104] of	**the dwelling of**
u-k'uh-il	*K'inil Ko...l*
the god of	**K'inil Ko...l**

By analogy to the Palenque inscriptions, the owner of the god, K'inil Ko...l, must be a human being. This notion is supported by the fact that he the only male figure at Chichén Itzá with a clear parentage statement that gives the name of his mother, Ix K'ayam, in a manner and using glyphs fully within the southern Maya tradition (Temple of the Three Lintels Lintel 3:G2). K'inil Ko...l proves to be one of the three most important human male personages at the site.

The rest of Temple of Four Lintels Lintel 2 is taken up with ritual activities, including a "good-seeing" whose agent is unclear; the interesting "earth-opening" and "seeing" event discussed previously, *pas-chab' ta-y-il-il k'in ta y-il-il haab'*, "'opens-the-earth' for the seeing of the *k'in*, for the seeing of

[104] The **k'a-IL** expression is discussed briefly in Chapter 1. It is certainly an architectural element and may be a room, or more generally, an enclosure or enclosed space related to the verb root *k'al* "to bind, enclose."

Fig. 6.11 Dwellings that belong to gods: (a) *pib'-naah y-otoot u-k'uh-il Kan B'alam* (Palenque Tablet); (b) *y-otoot u-k'uh-il K'inil Ko...l* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 2:A6-B7; (c) *y-otoot Yax Chit Huun Kan Ajaw 16 Ok'in? K'uh u-k'uh-il Aj Wak Chanal Ox Pakab' Matam* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 4:B5-D2); (d) *y-otoot k'uh B'olon Ajaw Yax Chit Huun Kan Ajaw u-k'ab'a u-... K'uhul Aatel Waaj Wajujaw* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 1:B6-C4); (e) *y-otoot B'olon-ti-kab' Ajaw Yax Chit Huun Kan Ajaw [deictic] u-k'ab'a u-... K'inil Ko...l* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 1:F4-H2).

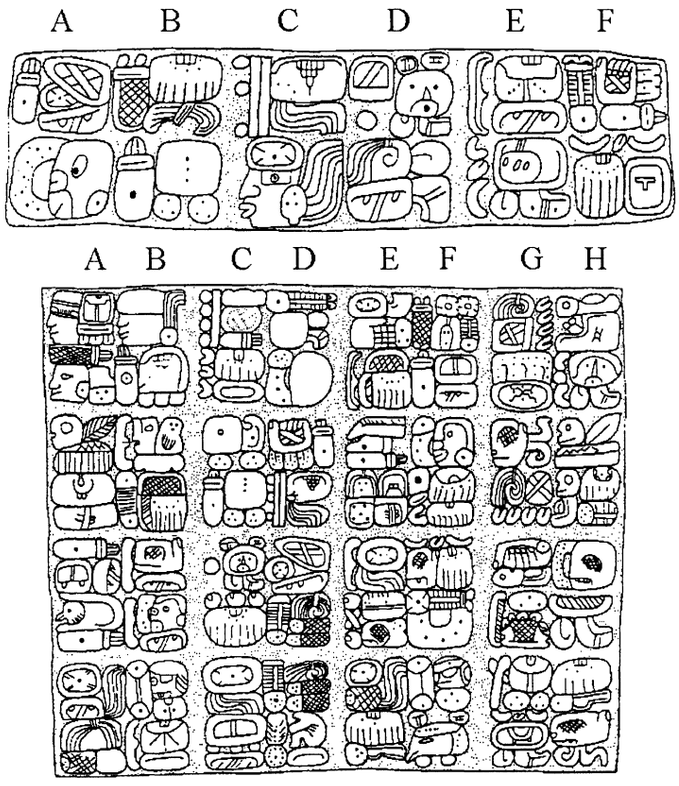


Fig. 6.12

Lintel 2, Temple of the Four Lintels.
Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

the *haab*"; and a burning for a god (*u-pul-ta-k'uh*) conducted by K'inil Ko...l. K'inil Ko...l is accompanied in these actions by two lesser nobles – *A-k'e Took'* and *Ak'an? Bat? ...a K'uhul Kalajukaw* – who are named in **yi-ta-ji** statements. Each of them takes a standard series of noble titles, about which more will be said at the end of the chapter.

On Temple of Four Lintels Lintel 2, the name of the god is not specified, but his dominion over the space is referred to again on the front of the lintel, which gives

ti pas *tu-b'aah k'uh*
in? the door **for the image/self of the god**

ti..l 13 tuun ta 1 Ajaw k'in
in the 13th tuun of [k'atun] 1 Ajaw ?day?

y-il-iw utzil *ta y-otoot* *y-ajaw yab-nal?*
he sees good for the dwelling of the Yabnal? lord

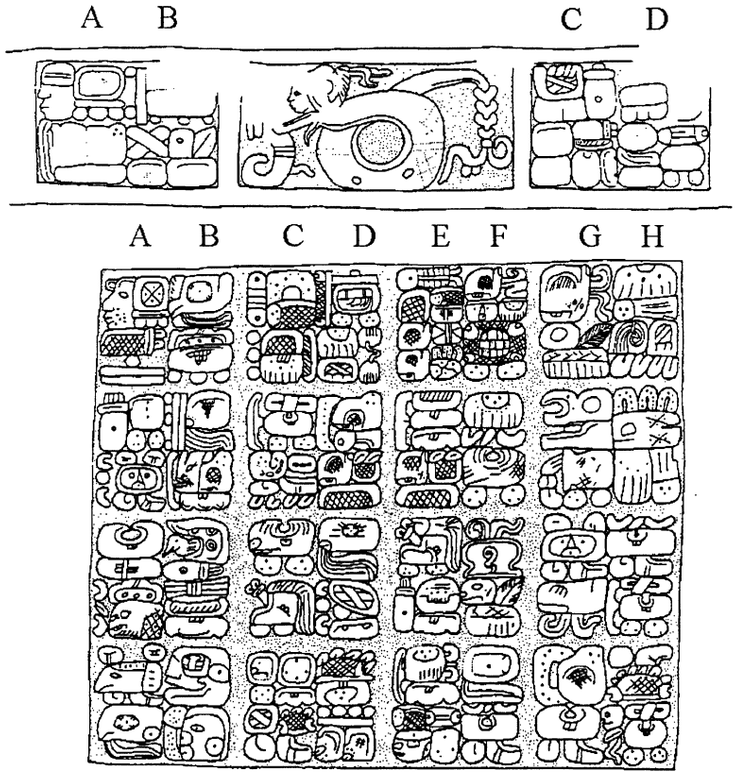


Fig. 6.13

Lintel 4, Temple of the Four Lintels. Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

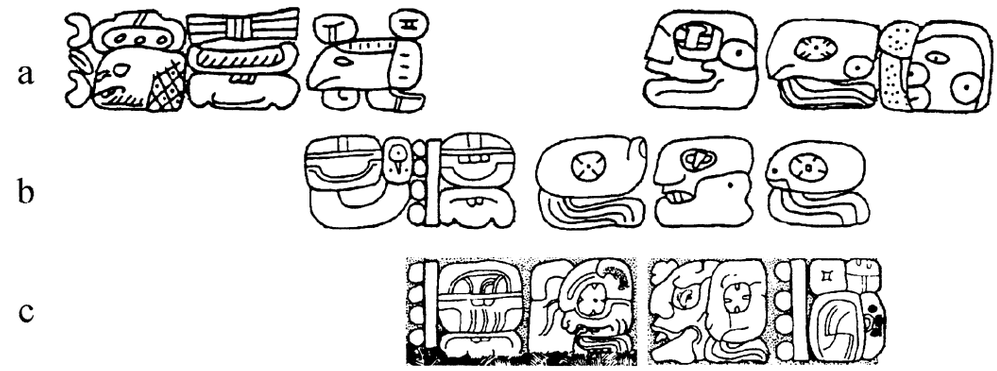


Fig. 6.14 16 Ok?-k'in titles at Chichén Itzá and Palenque: (a) Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw 16 Ok?-k'in K'uh (Chichén Itza, Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 4:A6-B8); (b) B'olon Chan Y-ok?/och?-k'in 16 Ok?-k'in? B'olon Tz'ak-bu Ajaw (Palenque, Temple of the Inscriptions Center Tablet:G10-J1); (c) Chanal K'uh B'olon Chan Ok?-k'in? 16 Ok?-k'in? (Chichén Itza, Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 3:B1-G3) (titles of Choch Yok Puuv).

The "seer of good" is probably K'inil Ko...l. He also performs this same action on the underside of the lintel, where he does it for the *Yabnal? K'uh*, "Yabnal god." Yabnal may be an ancient name of Chichén Itzá: it appears in the Chilam Balam of Chumayel as *Uuk Yabnal* "Seven Yabnal" (Roys 1967:133) and as *Wak Hab-nal* "Six Habnal," a possible variant (Roys 1967:65).

On **Temple of Four Lintels Lintel 4** (Fig. 6.13), the same initial formula *does* give us the phonetically-rendered name of the dwelling owner, Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw[105] (Fig. 6.11c). He is descibed as *16-ok?-k'in K'uh* (Fig. 6.14a), an

[105] This god's name is very interesting, but not solidly understood. The first component, Yax or Yayax (since it always includes the extra *ya-* prefix) is clear enough. The second component is a rabbit's head. Stuart, Houston, and Robertson (1999) suggest that the rabbit head with the *ik'* sign in its eyeball may be a variant of the *chit* hieroglyph that appears in the name of the serpent being known as the Waterlily Serpent, who is impersonated by kings in a number of contexts (e.g., Dos Pilas, Yaxchilán, and Copán). The third component of the name is always a knot that could be logographic **HUUN** or syllabic **-hi**. The final component is always Kan Ajaw, "Serpent Lord." If the rabbit's head is *chit* in this context, we might have Yax Chit Huun Kan Ajaw, a possible variant of Yax Chit Huun Noh Kan, the glyphic name of the Waterlily Serpent (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:182-184). Alternatively, I have wondered if the "rabbit" head might be a deer head, giving us a spelling of **chi-hi** for Yax Chih Kan Ajaw, possibly the name of the Chicchan "Deer Snake" so common in the iconography of vessels. I cannot prove either of these proposals, however, so I stick with Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw in this chapter.

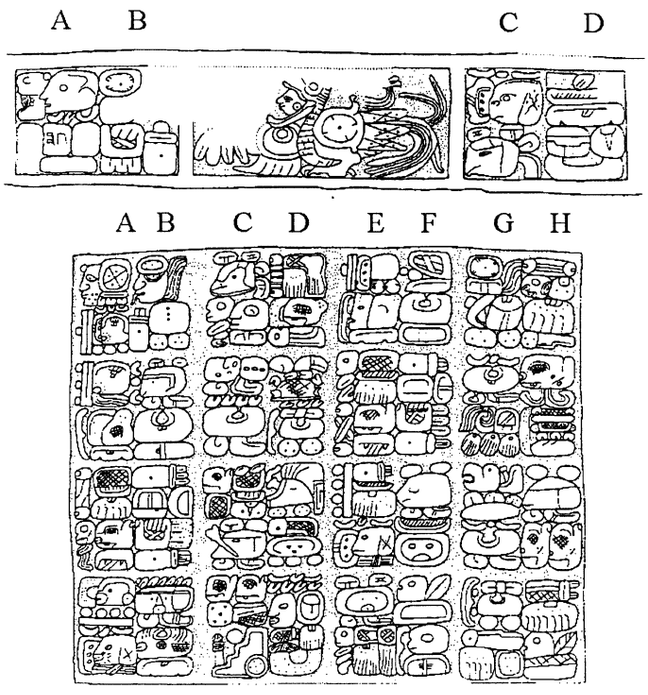


Fig. 6.15 Lintel 1, Temple of the Four Lintels. Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

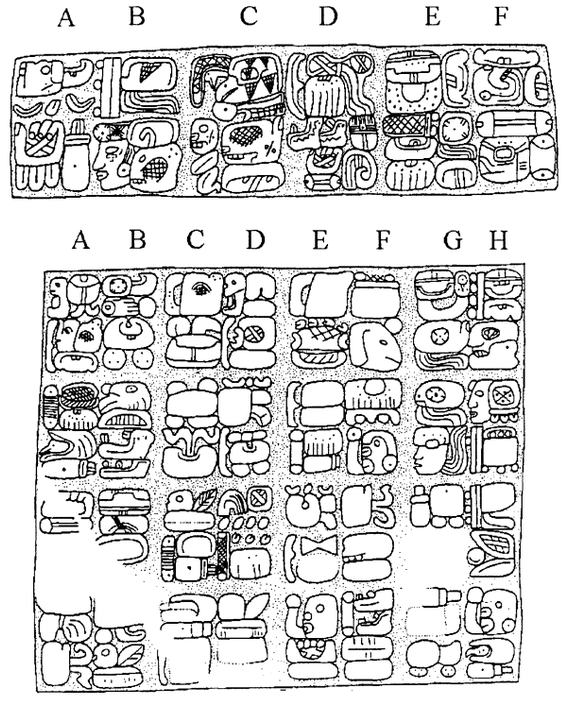


Fig. 6.16 Lintel 3, Temple of the Four Lintels. Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

abbreviated epithet for a grouping of gods that also appears, for example, on the central tablet of Palenque's Temple of the Inscriptions (Fig. 6.14b) in the context of the description of offerings made to gods by K'inich Janaab' Pakal. The "owner" of Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw is someone named *Aj Wak-Chanal Ox Pakab Matam*, who is a *tajal* – possibly a kind of subordinate lord – of K'ak'upakal, the most important figure in the site's texts.

Two different men possess this same god on **Temple of Four Lintels Lintel 1** (Fig. 6.15). The first is a man *Wajujaw*[106] for whom the text records the same *tajal* relationship to K'ak'upakal (Fig. 6.11d); and the second is K'inil Ko...l, who possessed the unnamed god on Lintel 2 (Fig. 6.11e). The statement of relationship between the god and the men on Lintel 1 is not the *u-k'uh-il* expression, however, but an unreadable possessed noun **U-..-ki** which occurs in exactly the same context as *u-k'uh-il* (at C2 and F8). On this lintel, Yayax "Rabbit"'s divine affiliations are spelled out in more detail: his titles (or companions?) are B'olon Ajaw and B'olon-ti-kab'[107] Ajaw, both titles that have parallels in epithets for gods and groups of gods in the Books of Chilam Balam. On the front edge of the lintel in a short re-statement of the dedication of the "glyphs" of the dwelling, Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw takes the *Chanal K'uh* "Sky God" (or perhaps "High God") epithet known from numerous other sites, which further suggests his divinity.

The only other god cited by name in the lintels of the Temple of the Four Lintels is *Choch Yok Puuy*, who appears on **Temple of Four Lintels Lintel 3** (Fig. 6.16, 6.17a):

a-..-ya	*k'al-aj*	*u-..l-naj-al*
PSSIG	**is bound**	**the "carving" of**

u-pakab'-ti'-il	*y-otoot choch yok puuy*
the lintel of	**the dwelling of Choch Yok Puuy**

The names of the god's owner or owners are unclear because of eroded glyphs, unreadable glyphs, and curious syntax; although the lintel front does give K'inil Ko...l's name, possibly as the owner of an image or statue of this same god. The underside text indicates (F7-G3) that Choch Yok Puuy is, like Yayax "Rabbit", a *Chanal K'uh* "Sky God" and that he belongs to the same group of gods, this time recorded in a more extended form as *B'olon Chan Ok'in(?) 16 Ok'in(?)* (Fig. 6.17b). The Chan-K'uh epithet for Choch Yok Puuy is repeated on the front edge of the lintel (Fig. 6.17c).

In sum, **Lintels 1 and 4** 1) bear the same dedicatory date for the lintels; 2) record Yayax "Rabbit"'s ownership of the dwelling; 3) record the "ownership" of Yayax "Rabbit" by human men (Wajujaw and Ox Pakab' Matam, respectively) who each have a *tajal* relationship to K'ak'upakal; 4) record K'inil Ko...l in a textually secondary position to K'ak'upakal, in a "god-owning" role equivalent to that of the

[106] The *jaw* in this man's name has been interpreted as *Hau* by Ringle (1990:236), a Yucatecan patronym documented in the Sotuta and Cupul provinces and still extant.

[107] *Bolon ti kab Ajaw* "Nine Realms/Lands Lords" may be a variant of the *Bolon ti ku* "Nine who are Gods" appellation that is given for the set of Underworld gods in the Chilam Balams - parallel to the *Oxlahun ti ku* "Thirteen who are Lords" appellation for the Sky Gods in the same books. It is curious that Yayax "Rabbit" takes both this underworld-related title AND the Chanal K'uh "Sky God" title.

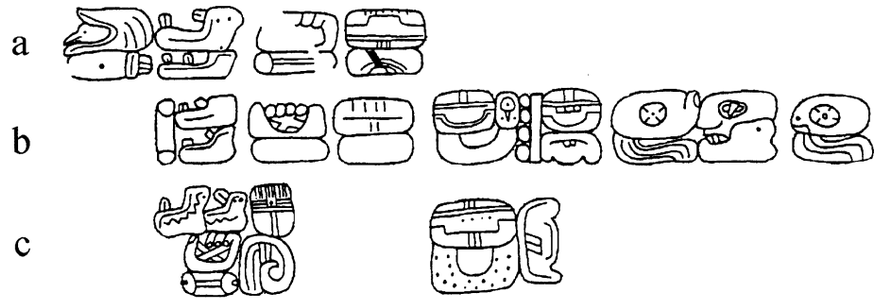


Fig. 6.17 The god Choch Yok Puuy: (a) *y-otoot Choch Yok Puuy* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 3:A4-B5); (b) *Choch Yok Puuy Chanal K'uh B'olon Chan Ok'in? 16 Ok'in* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 3:F7-G1); (c) *Choch Yok Puuy Chan K'uh* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 3a:D2-E1).

other human men; and 5) connect K'inil Ko...l through **yi-ta-ji** statements to A-k'e Took'. **Lintel 3** bears the same date, but dedicates the lintel of the door of the god Choch Yok Puuy's dwelling and mentions a different noble in its **yi-ta-ji** clause, *K'uhul ..-hu-kaw;* while **Lintel 2** dedicates the carving of the door and "binds" the lintel with writing sixteen days later. In this latter case, the name of the dwelling owner is unspecified: he is only called the god of K'inil Ko...l. The nobles mentioned in Lintel 2's **yi-ta-ji** clauses are A-k'e Took' and Kalahukaw. Neither Lintel 2 nor 3 mentions K'ak'upakal, leaving K'inil Ko...l in a textually primary position.

That is, although some lintels contain as many as six personal names, each personage has a distinct role. One role is the owner of the dwelling or other architectural object, usually divine; a second is the human "owner" of the god; a third may be a kind of "overseeing" role, like that of K'ak'upakal in relation to men who have a *tajal* relationship to him; and a fourth is indicated by the **yi-ta-ji** clause, where people are mentioned who may be ritual co-sponsors or other kinds of participants.

VI.4.2 Supernatural dwellings in Las Monjas: Lintels 2 and 6

When the supernatural nature of the dwelling owners of the Temple of the Four Lintels is recognized, the structure and purpose of other inscriptions at the site are clarified. From the Temple of Four Lintels, Causeway 7 leads back to the **Las Monjas "Second Story"** structure (Fig.6.18), where Las Monjas Lintel 2 records that Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw owns another dwelling. The seven Las Monjas lintels together round up the greatest number of personal names at the site: individuals are mentioned here who are in some cases unique to the Las Monjas texts and in other cases mentioned in one or more buildings elsewhere on the site. The five lintels (2-6) over the doors of the northern bank of rooms in the building bear identical dates and nearly identical dedicatory phrases, while the lintels (1 and 7) over the east- and west-end doors dedicate *woj-il* "glyphs."

The text of Las Monjas **Lintel 2**'s underside (Fig. 6.19) consists of the standard dwelling-lintel dedicatory phrase, where Yayax "Rabbit" (D5b-E5) is the owner of the dwelling. It is not entirely clear whether Yayax "Rabbit" himself has an "owner" because of erosion of the glyphs; however, what is visible at B1 suggests that he is probably called a Chanal K'uh. A **yi-ta-ji** "in the company of" clause beginning at C1 is eroded, but it is clear that part of someone's name and titles (E3) is **pi-pu-CHAN-na** *Pi:p-Chan* or possibly *Pip-u-chan* (by analogy with K'ak'upakal's name). The next glyph, at E4, gives a clever spelling of Chanal as the **CHAN** logograph resting in the palm of the **AL** hand, followed by the demonstrative *ha-i,* probably "he is the sky god." Finally, in the central glyph column of the lintel, another **yi-ta-ji** statement names a person **5-sa-ba-ka AJAW-wa** "Ho Sabak Ajaw" (1995:10-11). Erik Boot proposes that this Sabak is the same as that described in the Chilam Balam of Chumayel as an origin place of the migrating Itzá before they arrived at Chichén Itzá. The name is immediately followed by a collocation *ohl-is k'uh,* "center god," or "heart god." Boot suggests (1995:11) that this Sabak Ajaw may have been considered a god or godlike person and that he may have been directly connected to the founding of the site. I think he is probably exactly right: "Ho Sabak Ajaw" is characterized as a supernatural personage. If Boot is correct that Sabak is a locale associated with the homeland of the Itzá, it may be that Ho Sabak Ajaw is a (possibly fairly recent) deified ancestor – or even a group of five ancestors – who is present for the dedication of this dwelling of Yayax "Rabbit", along with at least one other god or ancestor.

Both the format and the content of Lintel 2 link it to **Lintel 6** over the door of the side chamber at the opposite end of the Las Monjas building (Fig. 6.20; see Fig. 6.18 for comparison). Lintels 2 and 6 have exactly the same number of glyphs in exactly the same arrangement, and they are mounted over the doors of the two rooms that frame the central chamber of the north façade of this building. Lintel 6, like Lintel 2, also mentions the Pi:p-Chan name or locale. In this case, however, the name of the personage to whom this designation belongs is clear. The standard dwelling dedication formula is followed by the name of the dwelling owner, *Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil,* followed immediately by his long title string, *Aj Chanal Muyal Y-ajawil Pi:p Chan Y-ok?-k'in(?)* (Fig. 6.21a). As we have seen from the Temple of the Four Lintels and Palenque, Chan Y-ok?-k'in or Chan Ok?-k'in is a title applied to supernaturals. The central glyph column on Lintel 6, as on Lintel 2, gives a **yi-ta-ji** statement which indicates the participation in the dedication of the dwelling of yet another god, whose name is illegible but who is once again a Chanal K'uh.

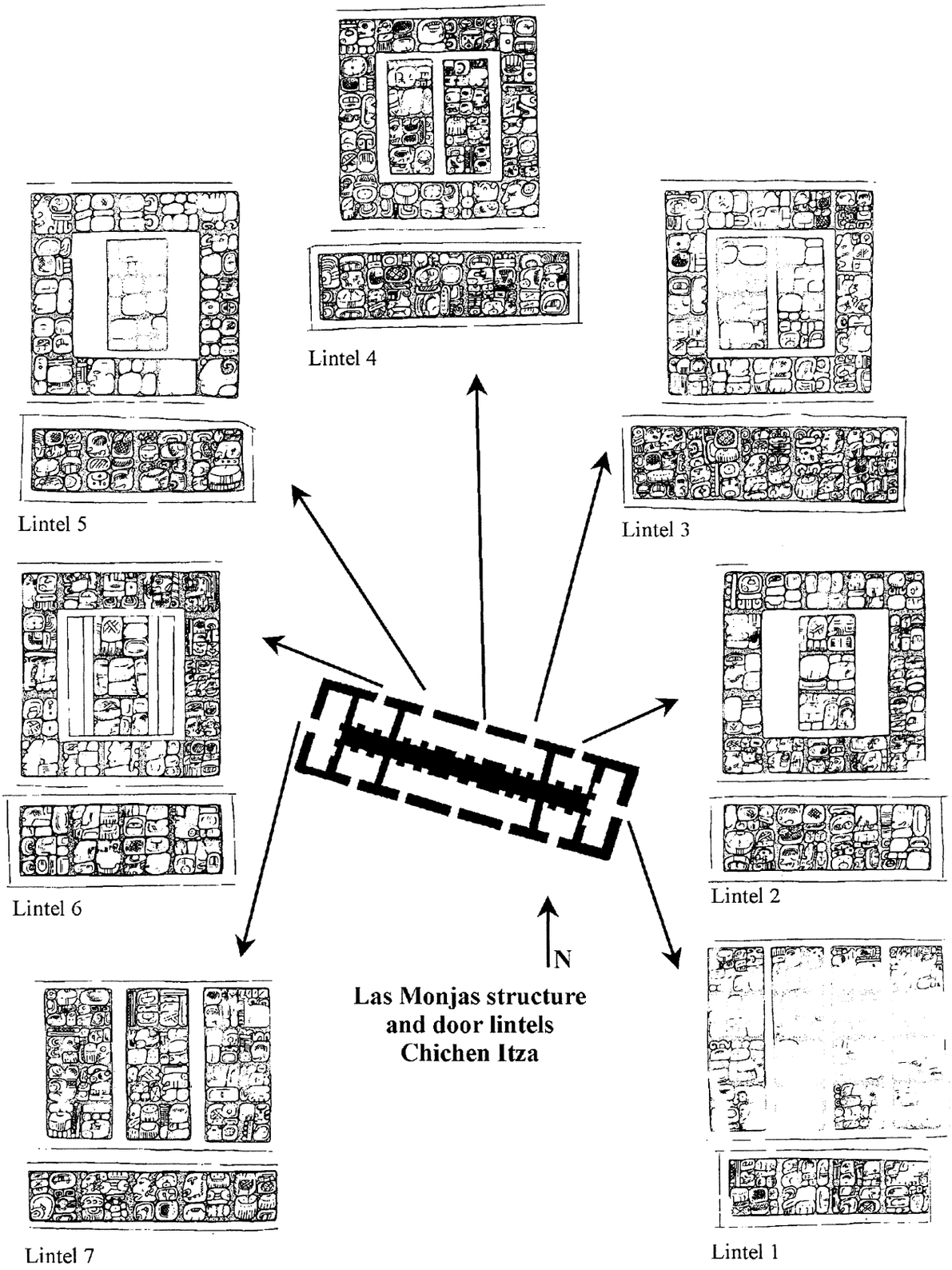


Fig. 6.18 Las Monjas structure with layout of lintels. Adapted from plan by Bolles (1977:40); all lintel drawings by Ian Graham.

Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil, like Yayax "Rabbit", is an important supernatural who is mentioned in other inscriptions at the site: he seems to be Yayax "Rabbit"'s "partner in crime." Their lintels and dwellings are placed in precisely parallel contexts in the Las Monjas structure; and they appear together on the front edge of the Initial Series Lintel. On that lintel (see Fig. 6.38), Yayax "Rabbit" is said to "own" a kind of space referred to with the "carapace" glyph, **yi-ta-ji** "in the company of" Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil and another god or group of gods who are registered,

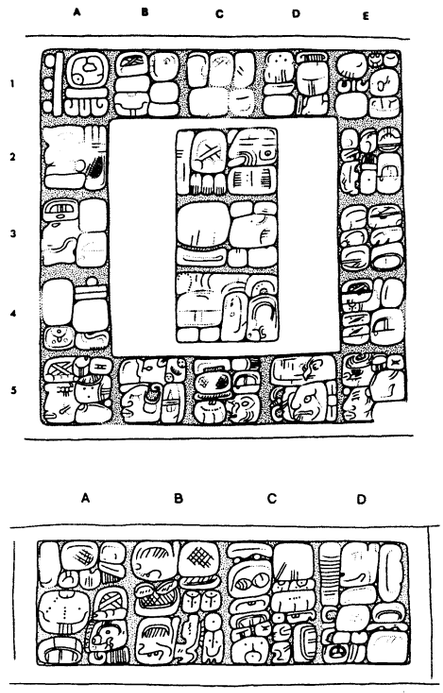


Fig. 6.19 Las Monjas Lintel 2. Drawing by Ian Graham.

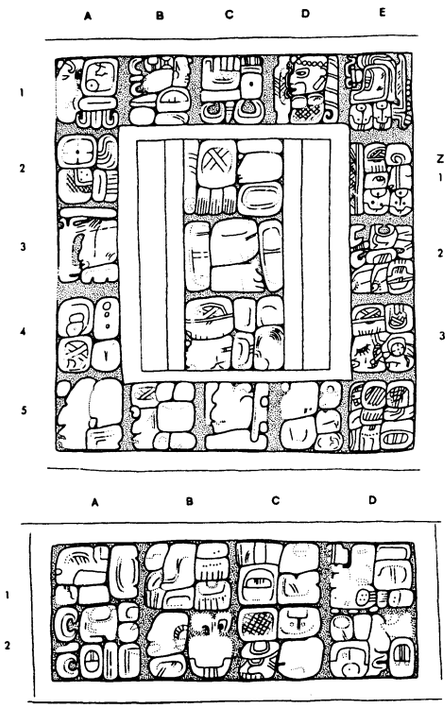


Fig. 6.20 Las Monjas Lintel 6. Drawing by Ian Graham.

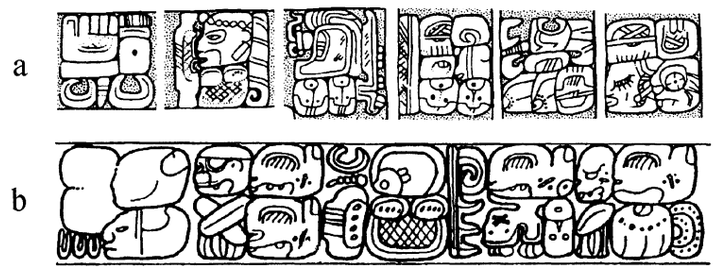


Fig. 6.21 The god Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil: (a) *y-otoot Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil* (Las Monjas Lintel 6:C1-E4); (b) *joch'-i:y u-k'ak' Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil u-k'ab'a k'uh* (Casa Colorada

as on the Temple of the Four Lintels, as *B'olon-ti-... Ajaw*. Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil also appears in the text of the Casa Colorada (Fig. 6.21b), where fire gets drilled in his name:

joch'-ji:y	*u-k'ak'*
was drilled	**the fire of**

Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil	*u-k'aba k'uh*
Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil	**the name of the god**

VI.4.3 The north central chamber of Las Monjas

VI.4.3.1 The "dwellers" on Lintels 3 and 5

The side-chambers housing Lintels 2 and 6, discussed above, flank a larger three-doored chamber that holds three more lintels (3, 4, and 5) (see Fig. 6.18). Lintels 3 and 5, at either end of the long room, contain evidence for supernatural ownership of dwellings, though it is less direct. Lintel 4, the central lintel of both room and building, records the owning of a dwelling by a personage whose ontological condition is a little more difficult to diagnose.

Lintel 5's (Fig. 6.22a) standard dedicatory formula is followed by the long but eroded name of an individual whose core name has been identified by García C. (2000) as "Te' U-Chok" (his NP-8): this is probably not the correct transliteration of his name, but eroded glyphs prevent greater accuracy at the present time. This name appears in the Casa Colorada text in the same context as that of Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil, as the divine "owner" of a drilled fire,[108] suggesting that Te'-U-Chok may also be a supernatural personage. Lintel 5's central glyph column is extremely eroded, but what remains visible is consistent with a **yi-ta-ji**

[108] It also appears at A5 on the Halakal lintel as the subject of an eroded verb. While his role here is difficult to determine, he is accompanied (**yi-ta-ji**) in whatever he is doing by someone with the Chanal K'uh "Sky God" title. This in itself would not prove his divinity, since humans are recorded fairly frequently as doing things in the company of gods on Maya monuments.

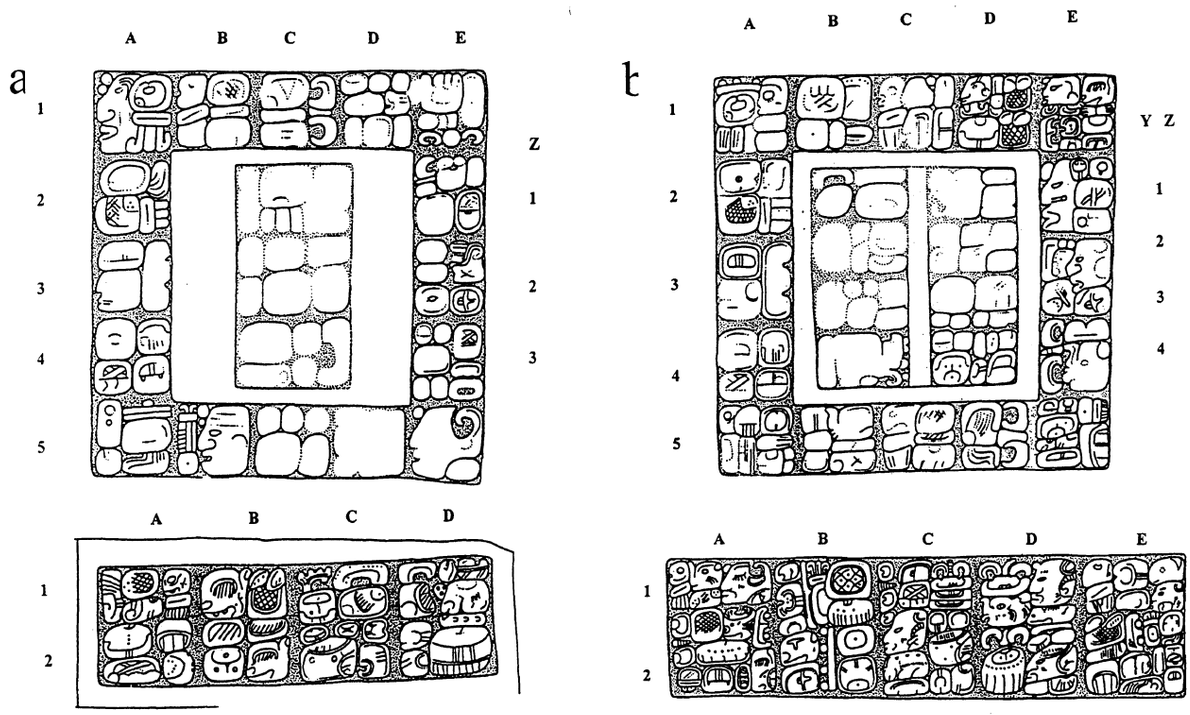


Fig. 6.22 (a) Las Monjas Lintel 5; (b) Las Monjas Lintel 3.

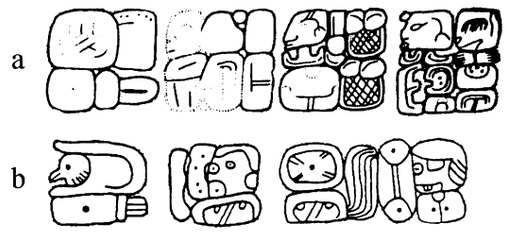


Fig. 6.23

Parallel dwelling passages: (a) *y-otoot u-...-il Ix Te' Wits K'uk' Ix K'ayam* (Las Monjas Lintel 3:B1-E1a); (b) *y-otoot u-k'uh-il K'inil Ko...l* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 2:A6-B7).

statement parallel to those of Lintels 2 and 6, and does legibly record the presence of another *Chanal K'uh* "Sky God."

The evidence for the ownership of the dwelling dedicated by **Lintel 3** (Fig. 6.22b) is somewhat more difficult because the name of the owner is not given. Other investigators see the owner of this dwelling as the woman named in its main text, Ix Te' Witz K'uk' Ix K'ayam. The problem with this interpretation is that at C1 a possessed root (unfortunately eroded and illegible) inflected with the partitive *-il* suffix is interposed between the *y-otoot* expression (B1) and the name of this woman (at D1) (Fig. 6.23a). That is, it is likely, given the patterns on other lintels, that the dwelling is owned by someone or something which is in turn owned by Ix K'ayam (the "core" name that appears on other monuments). In this respect, the text parallels that of Lintel 2 of the Temple of the Four Lintels, where the owner of the dwelling is given simply as *y-otoot u-k'uh-il K'inil Ko...l* "the dwelling of the god of K'inil Ko...l" (Fig. 6.23b).

VI.4.3.2 Chok Watab and the central lintel of Las Monjas

Lintel 4, the central lintel (pictured in Fig. 6.6), describes the dedication of a dwelling "owned" by an individual I will call Chok Watab for easy reference, but whose name is not well understood.[109] On Lintel 4, the dwelling owner Chok Watab takes a *K'uhul [Something]* title,[110] followed in the central

[109] The spelling variants of his name leave room for question about its exact transcription. The fact that the **U-** prefix appears in only four of its eight occurrences also generates some confusion about the nature of the name by implying that it is something that can be possessed; I thus want to leave open the possibility that it represents some sort of title or name for a *kind* of personage rather than a personal name. I tend to think that the **U-** represents a normal variation of the name. On the other hand, the K'uhul Atel Waaj title that appears in the title strings of a number of Chichén's male personages also takes the *u-* prefix in at least one context where it would work well as an "ownable" god or other object (see Las Monjas Lintel 7:Note B3). I think perhaps the best possibility is that the name is actually verbal with the presence of the ergative pronoun optional, giving **u-cho-ko-wa-ta-a-bi** *u-chok-ow ta'ab*. A possibly parallel case could be the name of Tikal's Ruler A, Hasaw Chan K'awiil, where the ergative pronoun is not represented. There are two substitutions for the **ta** syllable in Chok Watab's name: one is a leaf with some blobs attached to it (Fig. 12c), and the other is a strange oblong object in a hatched cartouche (Fig. 12b). One might consider that *ta'ab* in all Yucatecan languages is "salt," and that evaporated salt was wrapped in leaves or woven material for transport (see photograph of salt loaves from modern Ixtapa, Chiapas, wrapped in woven material in A. Andrews 1980:29), which might account for both substitutions for the **ta** syllable. His name may read "[He] scatters salt."

columns of the lintel by what might be another **yi-ta-ji** statement (García C. 2000:72), although that passage is very eroded and might also constitute part of Chok Watab's title string (Fig. 6.24a). Most of these two central columns are taken up by the name and titles of K'ak'upakal, but, once again, interposed between his name and the **yi-ta-ji** expression (or the titles of Chok Watab) is a glyph prefixed by *u-*, indicating that whomever is accompanying Chok Watab (or Chok Watab himself) is perhaps something "owned" by K'ak'upakal.[111]

The five and possibly six other contexts in which Chok Watab's name appears are troublesome, and make it difficult to determine whether he is a contemporary human or an ancestor or god. However, to judge by the frequency of his appearance in texts and his salience in those texts, this personage is a central figure at the site and it is important to try to understand who he might be; therefore, I summarize the contexts of his name phrases below.

1. He appears on the front edge of Lintel 4 (Fig. 6.24b), but it is not clear whether he is the agent of the verb *(y-il-iw utzil* "seeing goodness" – an action performed in other contexts by K'ak'upakal), the owner of its indirect object (a *sak-"carapace"-ni*), or both. Human status might be indicated if he indeed performs similar activities in similar contexts to K'ak'upakal, such as "seeing goodness."

2. In two other contexts, Lintel 3 of the **Temple of Three Lintels (T3L)** and Las Monjas Lintel 1a, he is associated with the term *kiit*: no good cognates for this word have been found in Ch'olan languages, but Yucatec dictionaries provide a gloss "reverential term for father"; and the term does appear in textual contexts where family ties are being discussed (Grube 1994:324).

a. **On T3L Lintel 3,** Chok Watab is the "dwelling-owner" in a standard *otoot* dedicatory statement (Fig. 6.24c); where his name is followed by

y-otoot u-kiit K'inil Ko..l
it is the dwelling of the patron of K'inil Ko...l

y-al Ix K'ayam
the son of Ix K'ayam

b. **On Las Monjas Lintel 1a** (Fig. 6.24d), the other context in which a *kiit* expression is present, Chok Watab's name is introduced with an expression which may be *u-sak-u-kiit,* which García C. (2000:62) has interpreted as *u-sak-kiit* "his father-in-law." This lintel front is problematic and unusual because 1) rather than being a stand-alone text like the other lintel fronts, it is probably a continuation of the extremely eroded and almost unreadable text on the underside, and 2) it contains an unreadable verb. *U-sak-kiit,* where *sak* is glossed as "artificial," could indicate other kinds of fictive kinship.

Because of Chok Watab's ambiguous status, discussed further below, and the fact that he "owns" the central dwelling of Las Monjas, surrounded by gods, I lean toward Grube's idea that "patron" is a more accurate gloss for *kiit* than "father." In any case, parental epithets are commonly used to refer to ancestors in modern Maya practice.

3. The **Temple of the One Lintel** (Fig. 6.24e) probably refers to Chok Watab at C2-D2, although the glyphs are eroded. If this is indeed his name, he "owns" an unreadable object (at D1); and his name and title glyphs run directly into those of Ix K'ayam, with no mediating verb or relationship expression.

4. On the **Initial Series Lintel**, Chok Watab owns *another* dwelling (Fig. 6.24f); in this context, he is probably connected by a series of possessive constructions to K'ak'upakal. The Initial Series Lintel has its own discussion below.

5. The final possible mention of the name phrase Chok Watab appears on the broken-up text of the **Caracol Hieroglyphic Band,** on **Fragment 11** (Fig. 6.24g). I say that this is a possible mention because the text is eroded and the reading order is not clear. If this is indeed an example of his name, it can be noted that his title phrase probably includes the epithet *Jun Yajawal [Winik]* "First Great Man."

While this in itself is not very informative, two other occurrences of the *Jun Yajawal Winik* name or title appear at Chichén, once in **Structure 6E1** (Fig. 6.25a) on the south, carved column, and once on the **Halakal Lintel** (Fig. 6.25b). The 6E1 column pictures four men with nose ornaments standing amidst smoke plumes, holding axes, knives, arrows, and a severed head; and each has a glyphic name caption. One of them is called Jun Yajawal Winik, another is named with a phrase *Yaxhal Chaak,* and a third is probably called *Sakhal Chaak.* The name *Yaxhal Chaak* otherwise appears only on Yula's Lintel 1, where this personage is called a *Chanal K'uh* "Sky God" and takes one of the *B'olon ... Ajaw* epithets of one of the groups of gods. The personage called *Jun Yajawal Winik* is, then, depicted on Structure 6E1 in the company of and perhaps as equivalent to a *Chanal K'uh.*

The third and final occurrence of *Jun Yajawal Winik* is as a title for "Te-U-Chok" on the Halakal Lintel, where, as noted above, he is accompanied by an individual who takes the Chanal K'uh "Sky God"

[110] Unless U-Chok?-Watab is truly a possessed title or object, in which case the K'uhul Somebody would be its possessor, which would be evidence supporting the supernatural nature of this dwelling owner, paralleling the contexts of *u-k'uh-il* on T4L Lintel 2 and the possessed object on Las Monjas Lintel 3:C1.

[111] The reading that sees Lintel 4:Y1b as part of U-Chok?-Watab's title phrase would make more sense in light of the demonstrable "ownership" of the supernatural "owners" of the dwellings on Lintels 2 and 6 and in light of the structure of the less legible texts on Lintels 3 and 5.

title. If Fragment 11 truly records his name, then Chok Watab uses a title associated with supernatural contexts.

It is curious that both the 6E1 column and the Halakal Lintel (in the case of "Te-U-Chok" and his *Chanal K'uh* companion) depict personages specified by texts as supernatural in very human-looking contexts: the Halakal Lintel, especially, looks much like a typical Yaxchilán lintel with lords standing around in war gear holding long spears or staffs. This circumstance causes me to suspect that the difficulty with determining whether Chok Watab is a "historical" or a supernatural personage arises because he is both; that is, he is probably a deified ancestor, an apotheosized "historical" person. Later in this chapter, I present a table showing the occurrence of various titles with the personal names from the site; Chok Watab interestingly takes neither the cluster of titles associated with clear human characters nor those associated with clear supernaturals. He is unmistakably an important personage at the site – only K'ak'upakal's name has a wider physical distribution. Chok Watab plays a role in two rooms of Las Monjas, one of them as a dwelling owner; he "owns" a dwelling on the Initial Series lintel, and a dwelling in the Three Lintels structure.

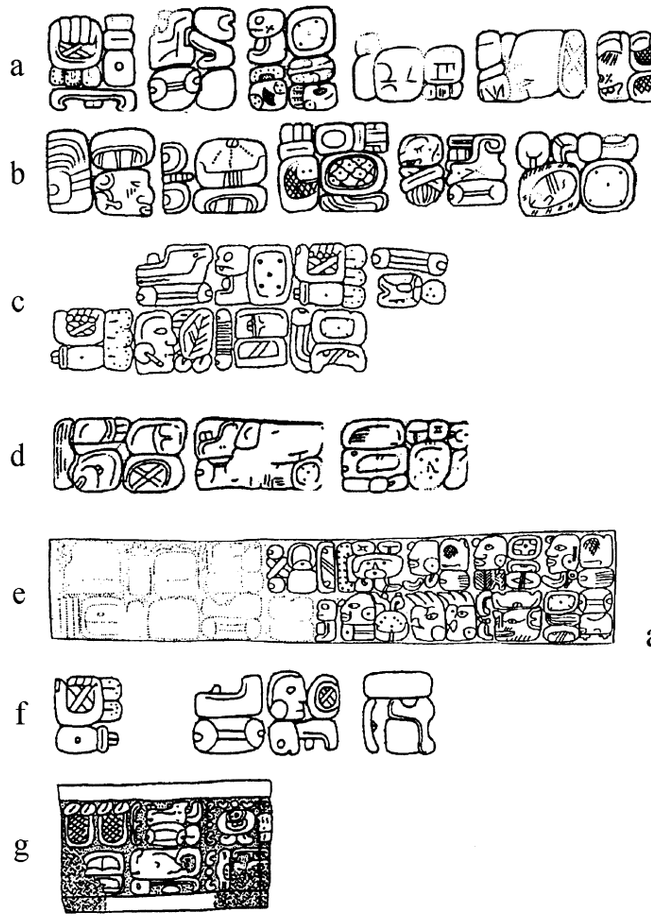


Fig. 6.24

Name phrases of "Chok Watab":
(a) Las Monjas Lintel 4:E2-Y4;
(b) Las Monjas Lintel 4a:A1-C1;
(c) Temple of the Three Lintels Lintel 3:C2-G1;
(d) Las Monjas Lintel 1a:C2-D2;
(e) Temple of the One Lintel, L. 1;
(f) Temple of the Initial Series, Lintel 1:D5-C6;
(g) Caracol Hieroglyphic Band Fragment 11; drawing by Erik Boot.

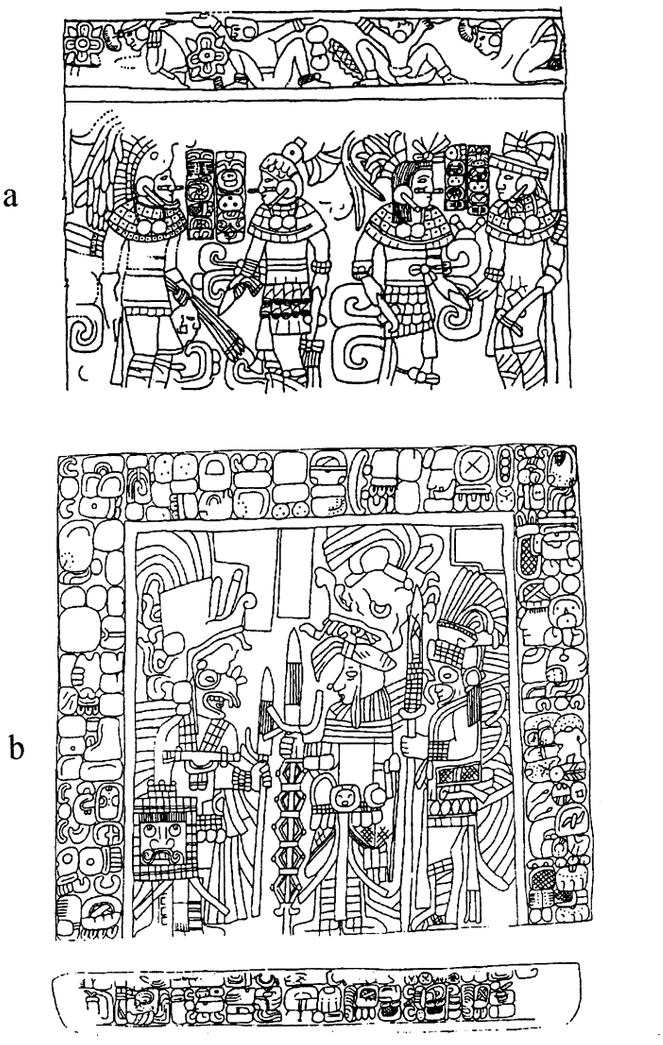


Fig. 6.25 (a)

Chichén Itzá Structure 6E1, south column. Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) Halakal Lintel. Drawing by Ian Graham.

He possibly "owns" something else in the One Lintel text, he may be pictured on Structure 6E1, and he may be mentioned in the Caracol texts. His importance is indicated by the fact that he owns the dwelling on the central lintel of the central room of Las Monjas, flanked by the dwellings of two gods. I think that he is the premiere and probably recent (if he is truly K'inil Ko...l's father, very recent) ancestor associated with the founding of the site, part of a group that includes Te' U-Chok, whose members are called Jun Yajawal Winik, "First/Original Great Man."

VI.4.4 Summary: the god dwellings of the Temple of the Four Lintels and Las Monjas

The Temple of the Four Lintels and the second story building of Las Monjas are the most heavily inscribed buildings at the site. Of the five *otoot* "dwelling" lintels at Las Monjas and the four "dwelling" lintels in the Temple of Four Lintels, "ownership" of the dwelling by a supernatural figure, whether a god or a deified ancestor, is certain in six of nine cases (all of the Temple of Four Lintels monuments and Las Monjas Lintels 2 and 6) and arguable without great strain for Las Monjas Lintels 3-5. The structure of the texts and the architectural context of the lintels in which the names are not so clearly supernatural or divine are precisely parallel to those in which they *are* clear. According to the inscriptions then, these structures were the homes of various gods. The next two sections will evaluate the relationship of these emic characterizations to what is known archaeologically of the Las Monjas set of god dwellings and the Temple of the Four Lintels, as well as the two related inscribed structures nearby, the Temples of the One and Three Lintels.

VI.5 Las Monjas: archaeology, iconography, and function

VI.5.1 Other hypotheses about the function of Las Monjas

Of all of the Las Monjas structures, the Second Story building (Fig. 6.26) and its seven hieroglyphic lintels have received the most attention from scholars – although, oddly, Bolles himself never speculated in print about the uses of the various buildings in the complex. Charles Lincoln suggests that it was "a distinctive type of temple for mass-display, in which priests might have lived at most part-time," and argues against a residential function based upon the height of the substructure, the public location of the building, and the ease of access provided by the stairway (1990:606-8). Grube (1994a:329) and Schele and Grube (1995) have argued for political-administrative and communal functions based upon the number of personal names in the inscriptions and the icongraphy of the façade sculpture. Grube (1994:326-329) sees the dwelling owners of the Las Monjas Second Story as members of genetically-related "companion sets" linked by the **yi-ta-ji** clauses, and as probable lineage or family leaders who used the building for communal and administrative purposes. Schele (1998) and Schele and Grube (1995:135, 139; see also Schele and Mathews 1998:269-70) believe that a particular iconographic element they call a "flower lattice" indicate that it is a *nikte-il naah*, "Community House," where a group of people reigning at the same time shared authority, and they compare it to Copán Structure 22A, the "*popol naah.*"

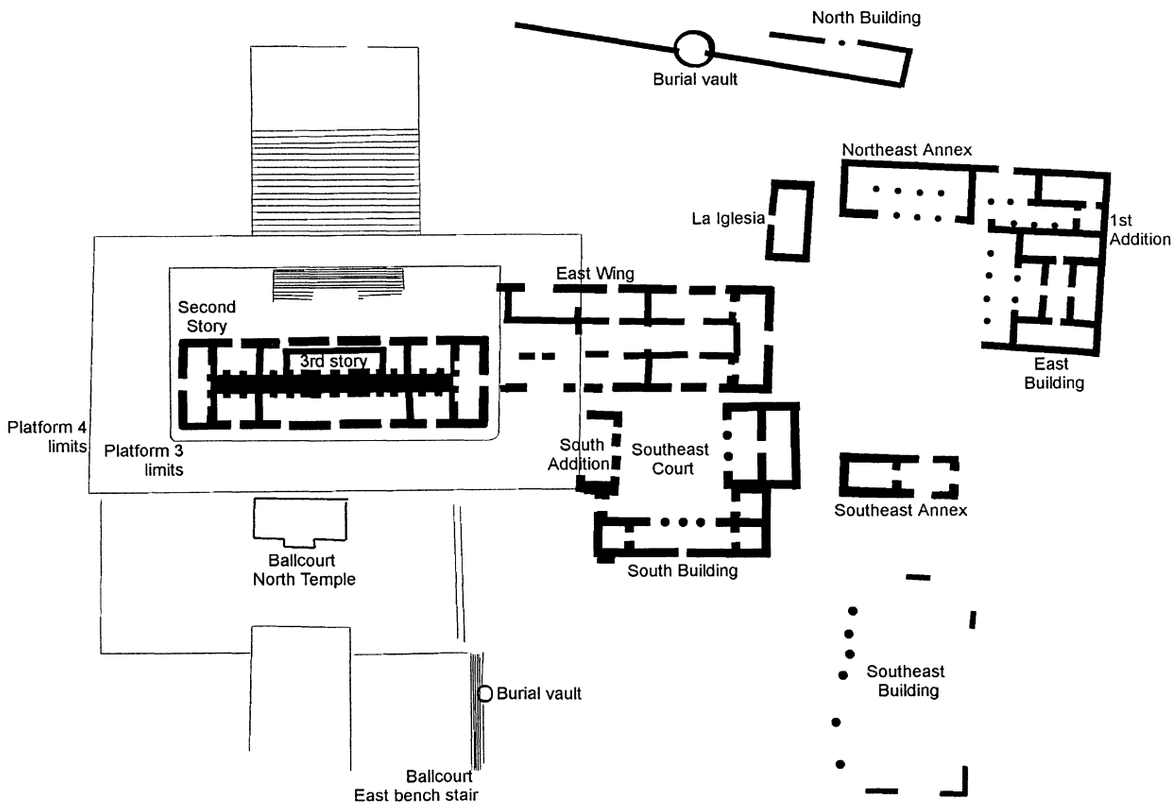


Fig. 6.26 Las Monjas Complex, Chichén Itza. Redrawn from Bolles (1977:40).

Ruth Krochock has paid the most careful attention to Bolles' account, and notes that the extensive remodeling of the Las Monjas platforms and structures suggest the importance of the building and its upkeep. She suggests that it was a "palace" structure whose stair could have been used for public displays, and compares the ground plan to the Akab Dzib and main palace of the Phallus Group, both of which "probably served as elite residences" (1998:103). She sees the structure as a "Founder's house" whose texts document ancient Itzá heritage in support of the legitmacy of Itzá rule (1998:109; 2002:168). Finally, García C. sees the principal motive of the Las Monjas texts as the geneaology of K'ak'upakal, such that the Second Story is a "house of ancestors" of the most important political leader of the city, who dedicated the building in their honor. He suggests that the building should be considered a kind of temple rather than a residential palace or an administrative edifice (2000:86).

There are then three general hypotheses about Las Monjas' function, to the effect that it is a type of temple (Lincoln 1990; Garcia C. 2000), an elite residence and founder's house (Krochock 1998, 2001), and a community house and administrative center (Grube 1994a; Schele and Grube 1995).

VI.5.2 Architectural and archaeological description of Las Monjas

The Las Monjas complex was excavated under the direction of John Bolles for the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the three seasons between 1932 and 1934, and was eventually published by Bolles in 1977. That work is primarily a description of the architectural bodies that compose the complex and the phases into which Bolles organized them. Although he provides a very short description of artifactual materials, almost no provenience information is given for any of the objects; and his field notebooks, housed in the Peabody Museum archives, are no more detailed. The assemblage includes 186 manos, fifty metate fragments, five celts, two stone axes, projectile points, obsidian flakes and blades, ceramic spindle whorls, jade and shell ornaments, several whole vessels, and many ceramic fragments.

The Second Story rests ten meters above plaza level on a massive vertical platform (called "Platform 3" by Bolles), which is itself superimposed over the three western rooms of a large plaza-level range structure known as the East Wing (see Fig. 6.26). The possible function of this latter structure is relevant because it is part of the deep history of the Las Monjas locale and was kept partially open after its three westernmost rooms were covered by Platform 3 and a second three rooms by Platform 4. The East Wing is a 13-room range structure oriented east-west and composed of three ranges of four rooms each, capped by a single room at each end. This plan closely resembles that of the Akab Dzib and the House of the Phalli (Fig. 6.27), and like those buildings, the East Wing is located on a low platform. There is some evidence, though sketchy, that a West Wing also existed (Bolles 1977:85-88), separated from the East Wing by a roof-high solid mass comprised of Platforms 1 and 2. This configuration emphasizes even more the parallel with the Akab Dzib, whose four ranges of rooms are split by a solid masonry mass whose construction is contemporaneous with the construction of the room ranges themselves (Ruppert 1952:94); also like the Akab Dzib, the East Wing rooms contain no built-in benches and no niches. The East Wing of Las Monjas is according to Bolles (1977:111) the oldest standing strucuture in the complex, but there are fragmentary earlier wall lines underneath the Southeast Court and north of the East Wing. It may therefore have formed the principal building of an earlier courtyard or set of courtyards, but this is not possible to determine from Bolles' investigations.

At some point before the erection of Platform 3, the central range of rooms in the East Wing was filled in, and old vaults were either replaced or new vaults were added to an original vaultless structure. Each room was equipped with a pair of vault capstones painted with inscriptions and, probably, a dancing figure of K'awiil (García C. 1998). Also at this time, almost all vestiges of the putative West Wing were destroyed and removed. The Second Story was erected on top of Platform 3, probably at the same time as Platform 4: the latter extended the horizontal limits of Platform 3 to cover three more rooms of the East Wing and had the effect of providing a broadened terrace space around the Second Story whose south doors would otherwise would have given onto a precipitous dropoff.

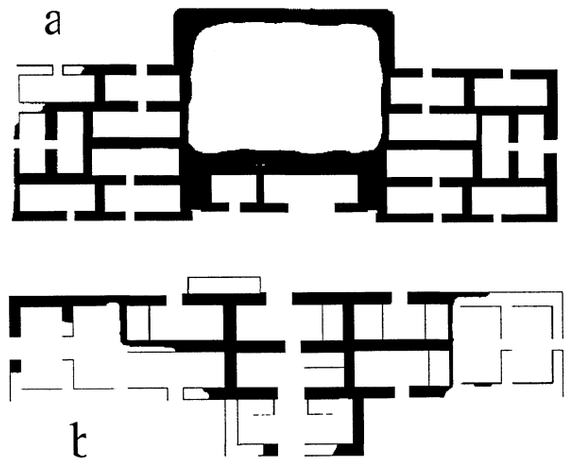


Fig. 6.27 Palace plans at Chichén Itzá: (a) Akab Dzib; (b) Palace of the Phalli. Adapted from Ruppert

An undetermined amount of time after the completion of the Second Story and Platform 4, the north central room of the Second Story (that containing the lintels of Chok Watab, Te-U-Chok, and the "god" of Ix K'ayam) was filled in; a Third Story, probably a one-room structure, was built on top of the Second Story; and a stair was constructed on the north façade of the Second Story to give access to the Third. A narrow vaulted passage was left under the stair, keeping the north façade clear to the height of the vault spring. It is not clear from Bolles' account whether the people who filled in the north central room left the lintels and the space between the doorjambs unobstructed to view, although they have been restored that way by Bolles. The character of the initial use of the Second Story proper thus may have been confined to the period between its own construction and that of Platform 4 on one hand, and the in-filling of its north central room and construction of the Third Story on the other. Certainly it

could have continued to be used as before, but some rather important transformation took place. Perhaps the Third Story took the place of the north central chamber as the premiere chamber in the building.

VI.5.3 Integrated evaluation of Las Monjas function

Bolles' work demonstrates that the Second Story is part of a complex assemblage of buildings that developed over a long span of time, such that its function must be seen as intimately related to the evolution of the compound. As regards the elite residence hypothesis, I think there can be no doubt that the Second Story is *not* one, because of the content of the texts. Several design features of the Second Story support the "set of god-dwellings" hypothesis. For example, the rear wall of each Second Story room is studded with niches around 70 cm in width that reach to the height of the vault spring. Each niche has its own "mini-lintel," and Bolles found remains of hieroglyhic inscriptions on the undersides of at least three of these, in the south central chamber of the building (1977:218,261). These texts could have identified the occupants of the niches below them – i.e., the images of the gods – and could have been altered if the occupant changed. Each room was the dwelling of one or more of these supernatural figures as indicated by each lintel text, and as such, would have housed the wooden or stone images of each deity and probably their clothing, headdresses, and jewelry. They would almost assuredly have been the sites of offerings.

Further, the programme of texts seems to have been carefully designed: the stone door lintels – at least the five on the north façade – were carved as a set before they were placed in the building, as indicated by the fact that the edges of the glyph columns are not flush with the edges of the doorjambs (Bolles 1977:261); and the planned programme is further evidenced by the symmetry of the format and content of Lintels 1 and 7 at the east and west ends of the building, and of Lintels 2 and 6 over the flanking chambers of the north façade (see Fig. 6.18).

This patterning suggests a kind of spatial poetry in the Second Story: the "utterances" of the central chamber are framed by the couplet of Lintels 2 and 6, which are in turned framed by the couplet of Lintels 1 and 7 at the ends of the building. The fact that the texts in all of the north façade lintels are carved around the perimeter of each monument suggests the protective doorway binding that we have seen at Oxkintok, Yaxchilán, and Xkalumkin: the formulaic ritual speech actually encircles the doorway. More broadly, however, the sides and north façade of the structure are encircled or embraced by a long, poetically-structured utterance.

Certainly, the set of purposes that the Second Story fulfilled at the time of its initial construction may have been short-lived: its role must have continued to evolve as its north central, focal room was filled in and topped with the single-roomed Third Story. The fact that the Second Story north façade and the doorframes of the central north room were left accessible underneath the Third Story staircase probably evidences a continuing recognition of the importance of that façade and that particular room.

Although the Second Story was the focal or "dominant" structure of the Las Monjas compound for some years after its initial construction, it of necessity derives some of its significance from the existence and sometime function of the East Wing that it only partially buried. If any structure in the Monjas complex is a candidate for an elite residence based on the usual archaeological criteria described in Chapter 2, it is the East Wing. The construction of the Second Story over one of Chichén's earliest extant Puuc-style range structures (along with the Akab Dzib and the House of the Phalli) may have to do with the kind of progressive sacralization of ancestral locales demonstrated at many Maya sites (McAnany 1995). The East Wing may have been an early residence of (one of?) Chichén's founding families, which was later partially encapsulated and preserved in an artificial mountain topped by the shrines of its ancestral residents and the patron gods of the city's important personages: I suggest a similar pattern for Oxkintok's Structure CA-3. If this idea holds true, one might expect important tombs under the chambers of the East Wing; remote sensing techniques would be an interesting and non-intrusive way to approach this possibility.

The hypothesis that the Second Story was a community house or *popol naah* in the sense implied by Grube and Schele can probably be discarded, unless we view it – perhaps like Structure 22A at Copán – as an assembly house of supernatural characters. First, the great number of names in the texts of Las Monjas can no longer be used as support for the *popol naah* idea, since so many of them appear to be names of gods and ancestors. K'ak'upakal is the only likely human male; there is also a probable man's name on Lintel 7:B3-D1, though it cannot be read and the syntax of the passage is not entirely clear. The other contemporary humans are female, the most prominent being Ix K'ayam on Lintel 3 and 3a. A woman *Ix Atan Ajaw* is linked to Ix K'ayam on Lintel 3a, but our understanding of the relationship terms in that text is too imprecise to be certain that she is a contemporary woman. The two women on Lintel 7a are linked by a "grandmother of" statement, and it seems likely that at least the granddaughter, *Ix ..-ki*, is a contemporary woman. I discuss these women later in this chapter.

Second, I think the evidence from the texts overwhelms that from the interpretation of the iconography of the façade of the Las Monjas Second Story. It and the buildings in its complex incorporate the long-nosed masks and lattice and fret motifs that are the core of the Puuc style: the closest iconographic parallels are found in the Nunnery buildings of Uxmal, the Codz Pop of Kabah, and the arch of Labna. The principal iconographic evidence cited for the *popol naah* hypothesis is the serrated lattice pattern or "flower lattice" found on the east and west facades of the Second Story (Fig. 6.28a); this pattern is also found on the upper façades of the West and North buildings of the Nunnery Quadrangle of Uxmal; in abbreviated form on the central member of the superior moldings of the East Wing of Las Monjas, the Iglesia, the Temple of the Three Lintels (see Fig. 6.32), and the Kabah Codz Pop; and on the medial molding of the Labna Arch. In their discussion of the Nunnery buildings of Uxmal, Schele and Mathews suggest that the flower lattice represents a "real kind of temporary structure made for ritual use, like the *nikte* arches so prominent in Yucatecan ritual

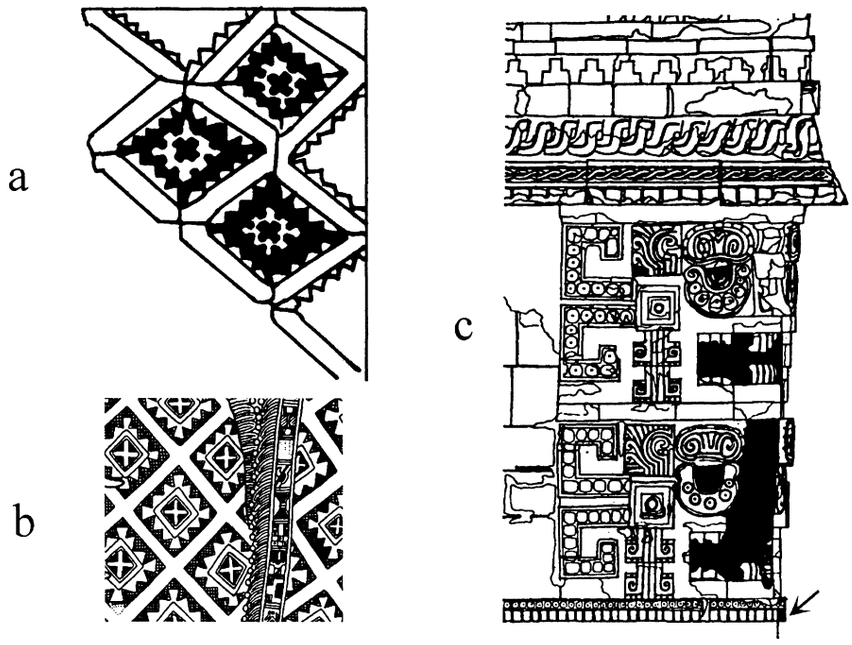


Fig. 6.28

Las Monjas Second Story Iconography: (a) "flower lattice" from east and west façades, from Bolles (1977:14); (b) Design on Lady Xok's huipil, Yaxchilan Lintel 24 underside; (c) "Textile" fringes around the basal molding of La Iglesia, Chichén Itzá.

today. However, it also marks these houses as *nikteil nah*... the Monjas at Chichén Itzá... may be another flower house" (1998:501-2). Using the Cordemex Dictionary, Schele and Mathews equate *nikteil na* with *popol na*, "council house," and thus link the function of Las Monjas and the Nunnery buildings with Copán's Structure 22A (B. Fash *et al.*'s (1992) *popol naah),* and with Palenque's House E, a structure whose façade is painted with rows of flowers. Schele and Mathews also compare the entablature of standing figures on the Codz Pop of Kabah to the "precinct lords" of Copán Structure 22A (1998:502).

There is to my mind no particular reason to identify the "flower lattice" pattern on this and other structures as having the semantic signification "flower." On the Codz Pop, the zig-zag lattice pattern on the molding ends in serpent heads and may represent the serpent's body; but the lattice can also be identified as a textile pattern found, for example, on the huipil of Lady Xook on Yaxchilán's Lintel 25 (Fig. 6.27b). The textile pattern may be a serpentine reference, or there may be no particular association, but the idea that Puuc buildings are paneled with stone "textiles" is consonant with other details that mimic fabric on Puuc buildings, such as the fringes around the basal moldings of La Iglesia (Fig. 6.27c). It is also consonant with the idea that buildings were hung with textiles and were probably conceived of as being "dressed" for various occasions, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The derivation of Maya terms from the conjunction of iconographic elements in rebus fashion is a prominent feature of Schele and Mathews' analyses and is not uncommon in Maya studies, particularly at Copán, as described in the previous chapter. For example, Schele and Mathews (1998:266-270) interpret the masks on top of some of the miniature house models on Puuc façades as Itzamnaaj masks; from this identification they derive the building name *Itzam Nah*, which they gloss as "House of Sorcery." Similarly, for those house models that have stacked serpents on their façades, they derive the name *kan naah*, which they gloss as "snake house" or "sky house." These claims seem to me to be neither provable nor disprovable. I do think that it is possible that some of the functions of the Uxmal Nunnery structures may be analogous to those of the Las Monjas Second Story. The niched house models above the doors of the Nunnery buildings may function iconographically like the Chichén lintels do glyphically, emphasizing that each room is the dwelling of a supernatural; or they may actually be mini-dwellings, like the *waybil* house models of Copán.

In fact, the terms "Nunnery" and "Las Monjas" may not be far off the mark. The ritual and physical upkeep of the many gods and divine ancestors "living" in their Las Monjas Second Story dwellings would have required a complex array of human ritual personnel. The courtyards that surround the East Wing and the Second Story edifice were built after the partial burial of the East Wing by Platform 3 (Bolles 1977:87-90). There are at least three of these courtyards, and all are surrounded by porticoed buildings which themselves underwent a series of modifications and additions. These buildings have raised floor levels in their rear rooms and some contain large benches, and could easily have housed ritual personnel and their activities. Unfortunately, it may be impossible, without contextualized artifactual evidence, to differentiate the residential quarters of temple attendants from those of a noble family. The Monjas complex also includes a ballcourt not currently visible to visitors to the site: the alley of the court was filled in by later inhabitants, but was most likely open during the initial period of use of the Second Story. What the role of the ballcourt was in an architectural complex of this nature is a mystery. Other probable special purpose constructions include the free-standing "Iglesia" and the Southeast Annex. More buildings existed than are shown on maps of the area: Bolles (1977:45) notes that the there are building remains in the area between the east bench of the ballcourt and the unexcavated Southeast Building.

In short, the Las Monjas Second Story is an assemblage of god and ancestor dwellings possibly built over the residence of an early and important Chichén family or lineage; Krochock's "founder's house" characterization may apply to the East Wing structure, and, though I do not agree with

Garcia C. that the motive of the Las Monjas texts was the documentation of K'ak'upakal's ancestry, I agree that it might be partially characterized as a "house of ancestors." Lincoln's assessment of the function of the building – i.e., that it was a distinctive type of temple for mass-display that may have intermittently housed priests – is the closest to mine. I think that it is the principal "god dwelling" facility for the city: it is located in the city center; the names of most of the supernaturals that appear at the site as a whole appear in the Las Monjas texts; and the gods who have dwellings in Las Monjas also have dwellings in smaller, more peripheral contexts. As a central facility for housing images and making offerings that is linked to many outlying compounds by radiating sacbes, the compound as a whole could have housed administrative functions, perhaps relating to the timely performance of rites, fulfilment of religious obligations, etc., but this function is speculative.

VI.6 The "Lintels Group"

The Temples of the Four, Three, and One Lintels are located on a pair of platforms with sparse construction on them, at the end of a long sacbe connected to Las Monjas (Fig. 6.29). They are related both spatially and through the personages mentioned in their texts. I discuss them separately first, and then make some summary comments about the group.

VI.6.1 Temple of the Four Lintels: Archaeology and function

The texts of the Temple of the Four Lintels identify it as the *otoot* of *k'uh* "gods," namely Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw and Choch Yok Puuy. Here I look at the physical characteristics of the building.

The two-roomed structure (Fig. 6.30) was partially cleared by Oliver Ricketson for the Carnegie Institution in 1925 (Ricketson 1925), although it is now almost entirely reburied, with only the tops of the doorjambs and the lintels showing above the ground surface. It sits on a low terrace (20 inches high) located at the southern end of a larger but still low platform. This platform is the terminus of a long sacbe that originates in the Las Monjas complex, where Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw has another dwelling along the north façade of the Second Story. Ricketson seems to have cleared the northern façade of the Temple of the Four Lintels and parts of the two rooms; photos of these efforts are published in Ruppert (1952:figs. 149e,150a,b,d).

The plan of the Temple of the Four Lintels is unlike that of any other building at Chichén. Several curious aspects of its architecture can be noted. First, the exterior of the west wall of the smaller east room has a three-member medial molding like those found on the outer façades of Puuc structures, except that in this case, the molding is contained in the interior of the west room. The possibility that immediately springs to mind is that the east room was once an independent structure to which a western extension was added, but Ricketson notes that he could not determine from the jointure of the stones in the corners whether or not this was the case (1925:268). The fact that the lintels surmounting the interior door and the west door of the structure were conceived as a pair in both format and content suggests that the two rooms were conceived together. Another explanation for the interior medial molding is that the east room constitutes an interior shrine that was marked with its own molding much as the Palenque Cross Group temples contain mini-dwellings with their own moldings and vaults. Interestingly, the hieroglyphic lintel covering the

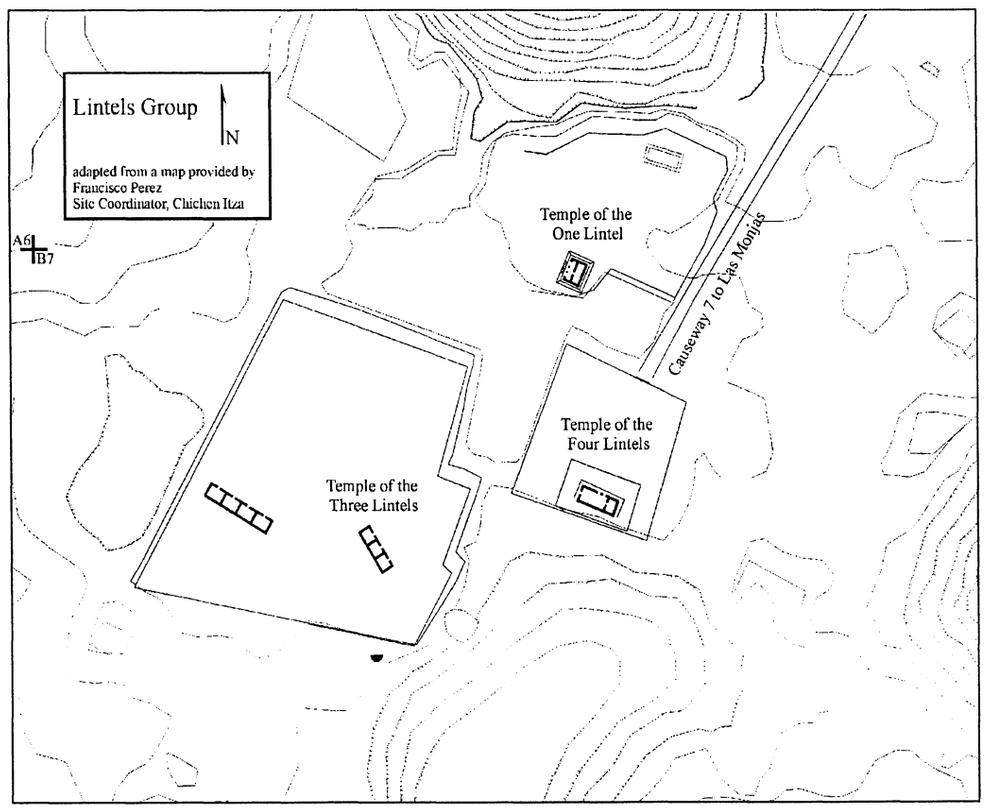


Fig. 6.29 The Lintels Group. Adapted from a map provided by Francisco Perez, Site Coordinator, Chichén Itzá.

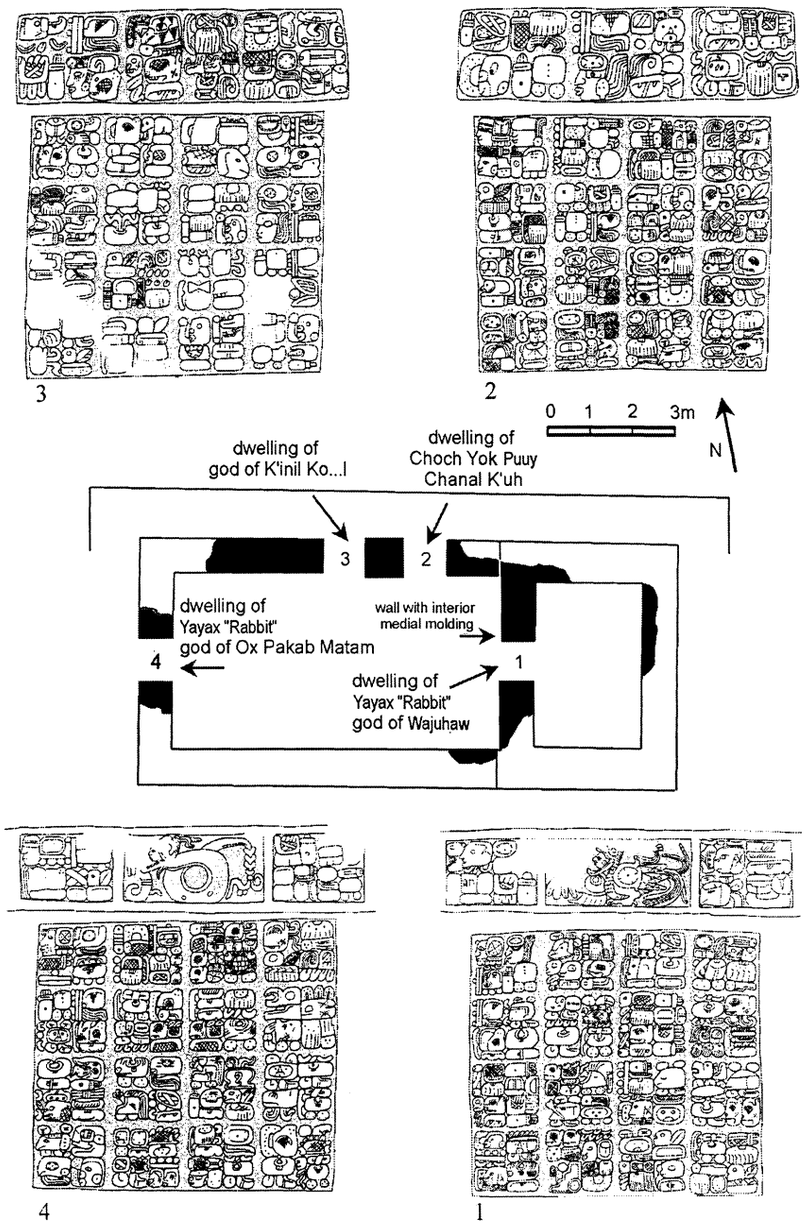


Fig. 6.30 The Temple of the Four Lintels plan, adapted from Ruppert (1952:147). Lintel drawings by Ruth Krochock.

door to the inner chamber was mounted with the front-edge text facing in toward the room, such that it could only be read from inside the little chamber.

If there was a modification of the structure, it is perhaps more likely that it was the addition of the two closely spaced northern doors, unusual for their massive monolithic outer jambs. Whether they were an afterthought or not is difficult to know, although a re-excavation of the structure might resolve this question, among others. The lintels spanning their doors, Lintels 2 and 3, are distinct from those of the doors on the other axis in 1) recording a dedicatory date of 12 days later than Lintels 1 and 4, though Lintel 3 refers to the earlier date in its final passage; 2) making no reference to K'ak'upakal; 3) presenting K'inil Ko...l in a textually primary position on Lintel 2; and 4) recording the dwelling as that of a different god, Choch Yok Puuy.

Ricketson excavated eleven carved stone heads with depressions in their tops directly in front of the temple, on the north side (photo in Ruppert 1952:fig. 150d). He notes that they were all found right-side up, "so that it might be inferred that they occupied their original positions, being covered with fallen debris, and that they did not themselves fall from above" (1925:268). They could also be fallen pieces of façade sculpture rearranged by later inhabitants and covered by subsequent debris; or they may have been brought from elsewhere and deposited in front of the structure.

The content and format of the four lintels of this structure seems to be reflected in their spatial positioning inside the structure, much as in Las Monjas. The inner room may be a special shrine, with its eastern-end location and interior-facing door lintel. The structure's isolated location and lack of a surrounding courtyard or patio together with the functional information from its texts suggests that god dwellings may have been installed on the landscape for reasons other than proximity to inhabited spaces.

VI.6.2 Temple of the Three Lintels

This small but ornate three-roomed range structure sits on a large, low platform, which is immediately adjacent to the smaller platform occupied by the Temple of the Four Lintels (see Fig. 6.29). The Temple of the Three Lintels faces northwest toward the rear of the Temple of the Four Lintels and toward the sacbe that leads to Las Monjas. Its three doors once supported three lintels inscribed on their front edges; of these, only Lintels 1 and 3 survive, Lintel 2 having fallen and been re-used for metate parts (Fig. 6.31).

Lintel 1 closely and cryptically relates K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko...l, in the following passage:

u-pas K'ak'upakal
It is the door/opening? of K'ak'upakal

tu-b'aah
for? the image/self

ha-i K'inil Ko...l Y-ajaw-k'ak' K'uhul Aatel Waaj
he is K'inil Ko..l Yajaw-k'ak' K'uhul Aatel Waaj

u-..-n y-otoot ox-..-te' [deictic]
it is the ... of the dwelling of 3-..-te' [deictic]

As noted above, the *u-pas* expression is enigmatic: it may refer to the door "opening," or it may refer to some sort of earth-opening rite, as suggested by the parallelisms between the *pas-chab' tu-b'aah* expressions in the Halakal and Four Lintels Lintel 2 texts and the *u-pas ... tu-b'aah* phase here. It is difficult to say to whom the dwelling belongs. If the text follows the structure of other texts, then 3-..-te' should be the name of the possessor or possessors. García C. believes that the expression refers instead to the three doors of the structure (2000:111), but there is no reading for the main sign of the expression. In any case, it can be observed that K'ak'upakal may play some kind of superordinate role here, although the precise meaning of the text remains mysterious.

Lintel 3 has already been discussed in the context of discerning the divinity or humanity of Chok Watab. The reading order is problematic, but the following order seems to me to be the most streamlined:

a-..-ya 10-tuun ta jun ajaw
Here is the 10th tuun of k'atun 1 Ajaw

*u-..l-naj-***ki** *y-otoot Chok? Wa..a:b*
[carving verb] the dwelling of Chok Watab?

y-otoot u-kiit K'inil Ko...l
It is the dwelling of the patron of K'inil Ko...l

y-al Ix K'ayam sak/ti? wi-ya ..-il
the son of Ix K'ayam ??

That is, the dwelling seems to belong to Chok Watab: K'inil Ko...l, named here as the son of Ix K'ayam, may be dedicating this dwelling or room in the Temple of the Three Lintels to Chok Watab as an ancestral patron.

What is known of the strucure archaeologically adds little to the "functional" information provided by the text. A single range of three benchless rooms, it occupies a low platform adjacent to that of the Temple of the Four Lintels. The same plan can be found in the House of the Deer (almost certainly not a residence) and in Structure 5B22 (Ruppert 1952). Its roof and façade above the medial molding had completely collapsed when it was discovered, save for a single section of the rear wall, which preserved the scheme of decorative elements used by Paul Martin (1928) to reconstruct the entire façade decoration and to completely restore the building (Fig. 6.32).

The two short accounts of the excavation and restoration that appear in the Carnegie Year Books of 1926-28 provide some architectural information, but little helpful archaeological or artifactual data (note that Martin called the structure the Temple of the *Two* Lintels, rather than Three Lintels, because of the then-missing third lintel fragment). The low plinth upon which the structure rests has its own decorative scheme, consisting of a lattice of x-shaped stones at the front, masks at the lower front corners, and squared scrolls at the rear. This plinth was later covered in order to raise the whole terrace to the level upon which the temple stood (Martin 1928:304). The lower façade was plain, pierced by three doorways topped by the hieroglyphic lintels; the medial molding bore the abbreviated "flower-lattice" motif discussed above for Las Monjas; and the superior molding consisted of "x-stone" lattice panels alternating with columns, with curl-nosed masks at the front corners. Martin says that the plinth and the upper zone of the building were painted red, and that the lower zone was probably plastered but not painted. The building's plaster floors were white. Martin (1928) records the discovery of only a few potsherds and two crude arrowheads for an artifact inventory, and notes that scattered human bones were found in the middle chamber on a very low bench (no longer in the structure, and probably a later addition). Interestingly, Martin (1928:305) does document the existence of between fifty and seventy-five small square structures in the immediate vicinity of the Three Lintels structure, each one about ten feet square with walls abutting those of the next structure, and most containing whole or broken metates. The fragments of the lintel of the central door of the main structure were found in two of these cell-like rooms, re-used as metates. Martin notes that they show no other evidence of "domiciliary" use, though he records a chultun at the southeast corner of the Three Lintels platform. I believe that this chultun has recently been excavated by the Chichén Itzá project under Rocío Gonzalez. It seems unlikely that these little structures were contemporary with the Puuc-style Three Lintels building.

Unfortunately, the limited archaeological information is of little help in resolving the nature of the building as a god's or a human's dwelling; my best guess is that it belongs to Chok

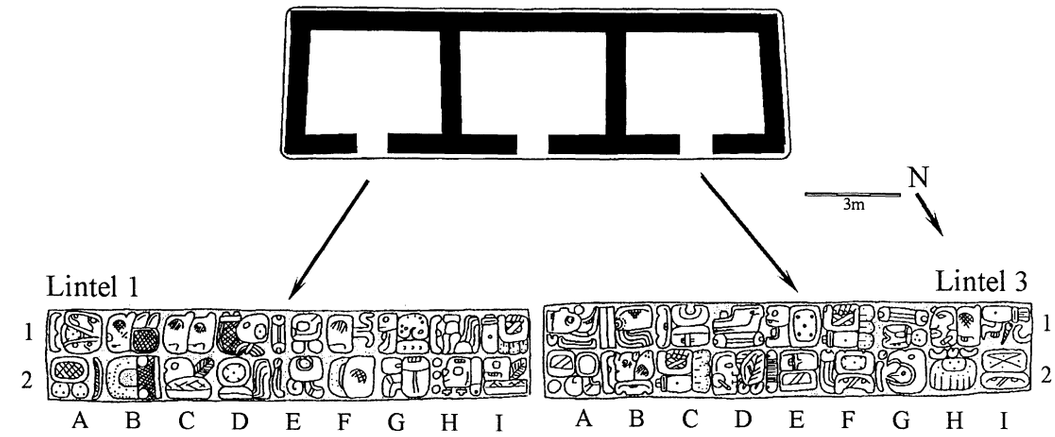


Fig. 6.31 Plan of the Temple of the Three Lintels, adapted from Ruppert (1952:pullout pp. 146-7). Lintel drawings by Ruth Krochock.

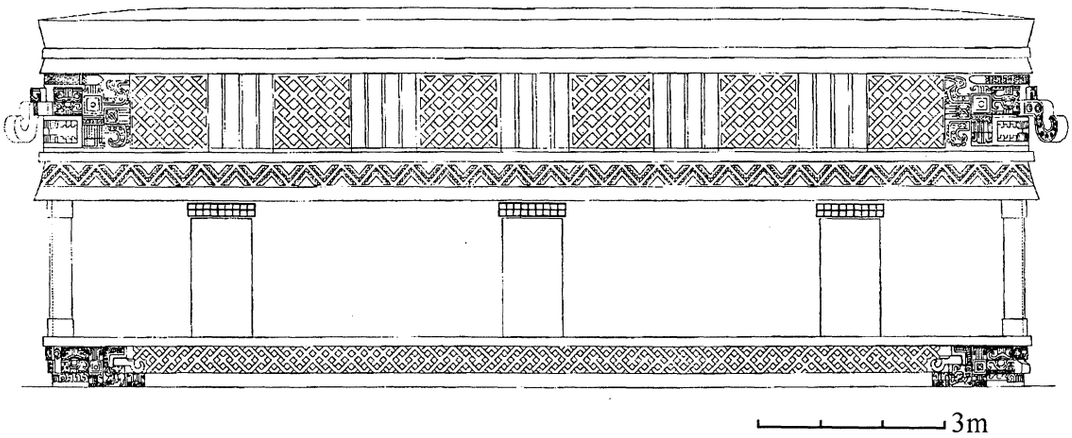


Fig. 6.32 Reconstruction drawing of north façade of the Temple of the Three Lintels. From Ruppert (1952:pullout pp. 146-7).

Watab as an ancestral patron, and that this temple is one of his "outpost" shrines. Excavations around the rear of the platform, which also supports an unexcavated and unrestored four-room range structure, might yield trash deposits that could provide some resolution. The lack of any major contemporary courtyard on this platform argues against it being an actual residential area for K'inil Ko...l: the prominence of his name in the inscriptions of the site suggest that he would have lived in more sumptuous surroundings – perhaps in the Phallus Group, where he features prominently in the text of the Temple of the Initial Series.

VI.6.3 Temple of the One Lintel

Although this structure's inscription does not contain a dwelling dedication, the building itself (Fig. 6.33) can be considered a member of the small set of platforms and structures that includes the Temples of the Four and Three Lintels and the four-room range structure (see Fig. 6.29). It remains unexcavated. Morley discovered the lintel in 1927 (Ruppert 1952:144), and Ruppert published a building plan (ibid.) and a photograph of the standing interior doorway with the lintel in place (1952:fig. 149d). Ruppert noted no other sculptured elements and no vault stones. The structure is one of Lincoln's examples of the association of Maya hieroglyphic texts with "Toltec" buildings, and is an important part of his argument for the jettisoning of the "antiquated" two-component Maya/Toltec interpretation of the city's architecture (Lincoln 1990:611).

Because the first part of the text is eroded, the personages involved cannot be identified beyond doubt; Chok Watab's name may appear, but the **-bi** phonetic element that typically ends his name does not appear to be present. The dominant name in the inscription is that of Ix K'ayam, the mother of K'inil Ko...l:

[date] *u-***"bat"-lu**-..-... *u-lo?-..-il*
[date] is carved? the [...] of

chok....a... *K'uhul Ajaw*
Chok Watab? **K'uhul Ajaw**

Ix K'ayam Ix Te'-Witz K'uk'
Ix K'ayam Ix Te'-Witz K'uk'

Ix K'anat?/ta? *Ix K'ayam*
Ix K'anat?/ta? **Ix K'ayam**

y-an... *K'inil Ko...l*
the mother of **K'inil Ko...l**

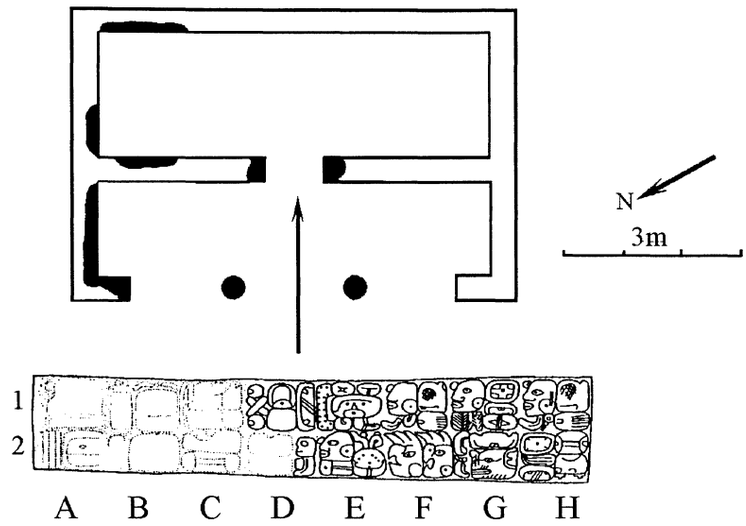


Fig. 6.33

Plan of the Temple of the One Lintel, adapted from Ruppert 1952:144. Lintel drawing by Ruth Krochock.

In fact, the **cho-ko -..-..a** at C2-D2 could be viewed as part of Ix K'ayam's titles, because no glyph intercedes between these and the beginning of her name proper. If they are not part of her extended name, we have to assume, I think, that both Chok Watab and Ix K'ayam are the "owners" of the partially illegible object of the "carving" verb. The name of this object is unfamiliar, but it probably refers to a component of the building or to the building itself. While the text is not particularly helpful in ascertaining function, it can be said that the structure is very strongly associated with the site's most important woman.

The two-roomed, twin column-entrance plan of the structure is a common one at Chichén. It occurs, notably, in Structure 6E1, with its inscribed and carved south column, as well as a whole series of other structures (2B2, 2C4, 2C5, 3B7, 3B11, 3E5, 4B3, 5B14, 5C1, 6B2 south, 6B3, 6C1, and 7B1) (Fig. 6.34). All of these structures sit on comparatively low platforms, most around one meter high like the Temple of the One Lintel, but varying between 0 and 2 meters. They occur both in isolated contexts and as part of large groups like the Phallus Group and the Principal Southwest Group. Notable exceptions to the platform-height rule are the sub-building of the Temple of the Initial Series, from which I think it likely that the Initial Series lintel came, and the temple on top of the Castillo of Old Chichén, whose platform is 10 meters high. The plainly non-residential nature of these last two buildings may be indicative of the function of the others. There are at least two variations on this plan: one (Structures 3C11, 5C7, 6B2 north) (Fig.6.34d) has the twin columned entrance, but instead of a full rear chamber has an interior walled shrine, much like the Cross Group buildings of Palenque (Fig. 6.34e). 6B2 north directly abuts 6B2 south, which exhibits the basic plan. The rear-shrine structures may have slightly higher platforms (1-3 meters). A second variant has the same plan, but the rear room includes a line of columns in the back (Structures 4B1, 5B9, 5B16, 5D1) (Figs. 6.34f,g). These structures are on much higher platforms, from 4-6 meters.

It seems likely that this set of floor plans constituted a template in the mind of Chichén's builders; that these plans occur as isolated buildings on some of the site's highest platforms argues for a non-residential role.

VI.6.4 The Lintels Group

A few summary comments can be made about this group of structures. The human personages mentioned in the texts of the One, Three, and Four Lintels buildings include K'ak'upakal, always in primary position, K'inil Ko...l, his mother Ix K'ayam, and at least four probable subordinate lords who appear in the Temple of the Four Lintels texts. Two of these last – Wajujaw and Aj Wak Chanal Ox Pakab' Matam – "own" gods, and two – A-k'e Took' and the person mentioned on Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 2:H4-H8 – appear only by virtue of **yi-ta-ji** statements. The Four Lintels inscriptions concern the dedications of the dwellings of the gods Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw and Choch Yok Puuy, both *Chanal K'uh* "sky/high-up gods." The Three Lintels inscriptions focus on K'inil Ko...l as the son of Ix K'ayam (though K'ak'upakal appears in a textually primary, possibly "overseeing" kind of position) and on the relationship of K'inil Ko...l to Chok Watab, who may be his ancestral patron. The Temple of the One Lintel inscription focuses on Ix K'ayam, and may mention Chok Watab.

I suggest that the Lintels Group was a temple precinct associated primarily with K'inil Ko...l as his mother's son. The Temple of the Four Lintels may have been built for Yayax "Rabbit" for the 13th tuun of K'atun 1 Ajaw, taking advantage of the occasion to link K'inil Ko...l to this important god, along with a number of his subordinate lords, all under the aegis of K'ak'upakal – while also including a less important local god, Choch Yok Puuy. Ix K'ayam may also have her own private shrine/temple in the Temple of the One Lintel: although nothing positively indicates that this building could not be her residence, the building's plan is shared by structures that are surely not residential, and one would perhaps not expect a woman as important as Ix K'ayam to live in this rather isolated locale. This area is ripe for archaeological testing, particularly for the presence of middens that might inform as to general building use. The Temple of the One Lintel is especially interesting for its association with a woman, and both subfloor and off-mound

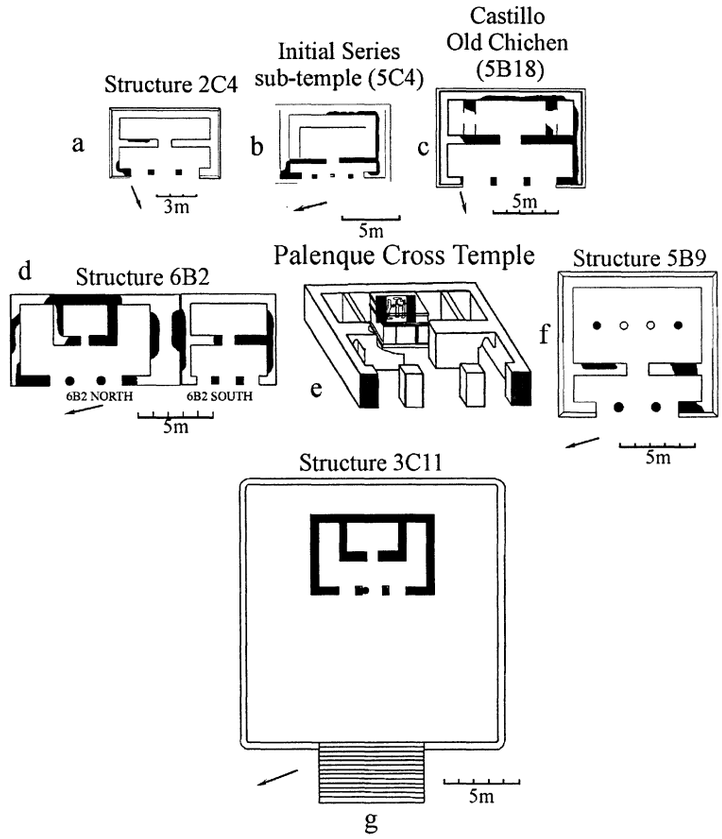


Fig. 6.34

Comparative structure plans for Temple of the One Lintel. All Chichén plans adapted from Ruppert (1952):

(a) Structure 2C4;
(b) Structure 5C4 (Initial Series sub temple);
(c) Structure 5B18 (Castillo of Old Chichén);
(d) Structure 6B2;
(e) Palenque Temple of the Cross, adapted from Schele and Freidel (1990:238);
(f) Structure 3C11;
(g) Structure 5B9 (platform is 6m high).

testing might broaden our understanding of this structure. If its floors remain intact and basically untouched, it might be a good candidate for chemical and micromorphological techniques designed to pick up residues of specific ritual or residential activities.

VI.7 Yulá Structure 1: *otoot* of Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum

The texts of the two lintels of Yulá Structure 1 are similar in structure and content to the Temple of the Four Lintels and Las Monjas monuments. They are closely linked to Lintels 1 and 4 of the Temple of the Four Lintels: the underside of each of these four monuments features four columns of sixteen glyphs each, while the front edges depict "knife-wing" birds and snakes who cough up human heads and are flanked by four glyph blocks on either side (Fig. 6.35). K'ak'upakal plays a major if cryptic role in all four texts (he is notably *not* mentioned on Lintels 2 and 3 of the Temple of the Four Lintels); and the individual named *Wajujaw* figures at Chichén only in Lintels 1 and 4 of the Temple of the Four Lintels and in Yulá's Lintel 2. The Temple of the Four Lintels texts are the later set, being dedicated around seven years after those at Yulá.

There are three *otoot* mentions in the Yulá texts that might inform about the dwelling's owner. In the first instance (Lintel 1:A8-D2), the name of the grammatical possessor of the *otoot* is *Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum*, to whom I will return in a moment; in the second (Lintel 1:F6-F7), the *otoot* is attributed to *Chan Ok?-k'in*, a title found in supernatural title strings in the texts of the Temple of the Four Lintels; and in the third instance (Lintel 2:C5-D5), the rendering is simply *y-otoot k'uh* "the god's house." This last example is interesting, because the full phrase says

u-pas ta y-otoot k'uh
it is the door/opening? for the dwelling of the god

u-k'a-il ..-k'ak' ta k'uh
the *k'a* of ..-fire for the god

– once again linking aspects of the architecture, or some kind of "opening" ritual in the dwelling, to supernatural persons. If all three citations refer to the same *otoot,* then it is logical to conclude that *Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum* is a supernatural figure.

The three appearances of this personage's name in the Yulá lintels provide ambiguous evidence for this status. The first, in which he is cited as the possessor of the dwelling (Yula Lintel 1:A8-D2), is immediately followed by the PSS Introducing Glyph, a "ballcourt glyph," and the names and titles of K'ak'upakal.[112] In the second instance (Lintel 2:F2-3) the name *Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum* is linked to a *joch'-k'ak'* "fire-drilling" verb, which is probably an activity conducted by people for gods (Stuart 1998a:404).[113] The correct reading of this passage would revolve around a clear understanding of the glyphs at F1-E2; nevertheless, the

[112] It is worth considering that K'ak'upakal is playing ball as part of the series of rituals with this dwelling: many rites are recorded in the text.

[113] The first passages of the Casa Colorada text record this as *joch-bi:y u-k'ak'* [god name], where the *-b-* may render a causative, giving "was caused to be drilled the fire of the god" or "got drilled the fire of the god."

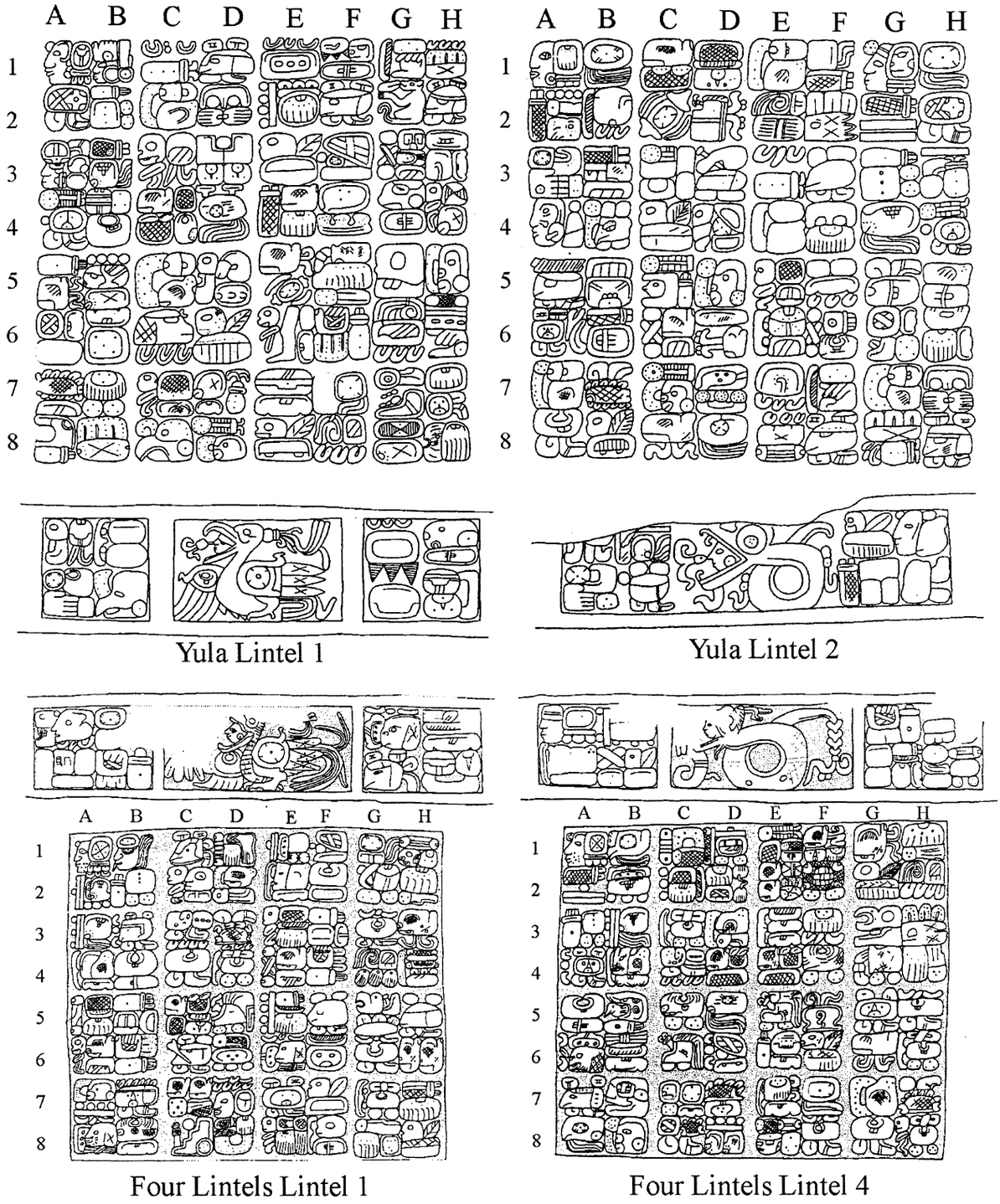


Fig. 6.35 Yulá Lintels 1 and 2; Temple of the Four Lintels Lintels 1 and 4. All drawings by Ruth Krochock.

structure of the passage can be construed as consonant with the drilling of fire by someone for Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum.

Finally, Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum is recorded at the end of the Lintel 2 text. Here, an undecipherable action at G1-H1 probably occurs *tan* "within" a kind of *kaban* (Lintel 2:G6-H6) that may be "owned" by Took' Yaas Ajaw. The term *kaban* could be architectural, but it most probably refers to a realm or, taken in a more political sense, territory. *Kaban* is possessed in various contexts by both humans (Yajawal "Jawbone Fan" and K'inil Ko..l) and gods (Yayax "Rabbit").[114]

[114] *u-kaban* is an expression that appears in a number of other contexts (see Table X): it also occurs in conjunction with architectural terms and can be grammatically possessed by humans or gods. Schele and Freidel (1990:Fig. 9.12) have read *u-kaban* as "the territory of"; Krochock (1998:64) as "his land"; and García C. (2000:31) as "his doing," relating *kab-* to the *u-kah-hi* or *u-chab-hi* "he oversees/cultivates it" expression common in the texts of the

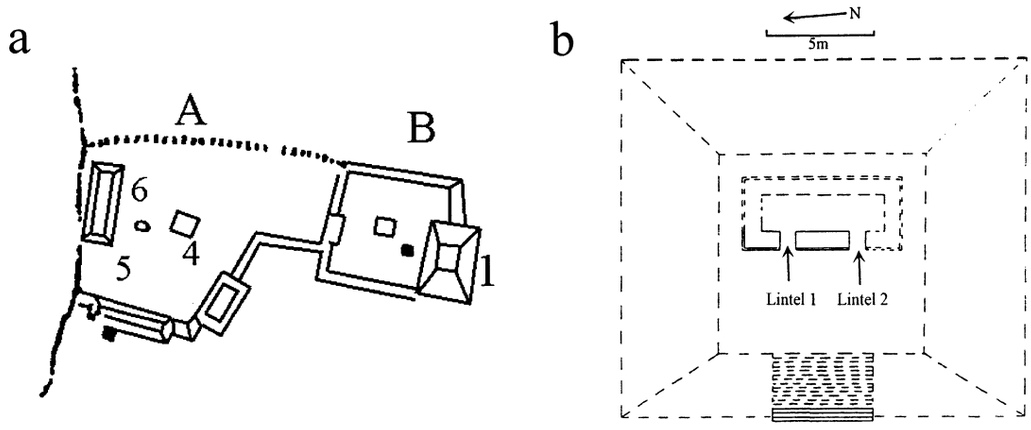


Fig. 6.36 Yulá: (a) Platforms A and B; b) Structure 1 with lintel locations shown, after Anderson (1998).

The evidence for Took' Yaas Ajaw's ontological status is therefore indirect. He is supernatural by implication because the dwelling he possesses is also said to be *y-otoot k'uh* "the dwelling of the god."[115] It is perhaps relevant that Took' Yaas Ajaw takes none of the titles associated with other human beings in Chichén's inscriptions; in fact, K'uhul Uum is the only title that can be associated with him. Every other human male name at the site takes at least one of these titles except for Ox Pakab' Matam.

The principal source on Yulá as a settlement is Patricia Anderson's 1998 dissertation, which identifes the site, located five kilometers south of Chichén, as a minor center inhabited by minor members of one of the ruling lineages of the city (1998:166). A mapped area of .25 km^2 includes 34 platforms and structures, but little monumental architecture, with evidence for vaulting in only two buildings. One of these is Structure 1, the only building at Yulá that contains hieroglyphic inscriptions, the two carved stone lintels. The structure occupies the eastern edge of Platform B, the smaller, eastern member of a pair of platforms that constitute the site center (Fig. 6.36a). Anderson describes Structure 1 as a "small, vaulted, west-facing two-door temple on a pyramidal base" (1998:131) (Fig. 6.36b). Its dimensions are approximately 4 x 7 m, and its masonry is irregular and rough; it was accessed by a western stair, possibly with nine steps (ibid.) The larger, western platform (Platform A) contains three long structures (Strs. 4, 5, and 6), one of which was vaulted.

Although none of the structures on Platforms A and B were excavated, Anderson characterizes the A-B platform complex as the residence of the lineage head and his family. She hypothesizes that Structures 4, 5, and 6 were residences inhabited by nuclear or extended family groups, while Platform B served as a temple precinct, with Structure 1 as a family shrine and possible administrative center for the lineage heads (1998:131-2,147). Though midden material was found associated with other platforms at the site, the two test pits in the Platform A-B area did not locate any, such that little archaeological data can be brought to bear on building function. Anderson's hypothesis that Structure 1 is a "shrine" nevertheless seems reasonable in light of its pyramidal base, its single room, its positioning at the east side of the eastern platform, and the relatively secure identification of the dwelling owner, Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum, as a supernatural being.

VI.8 The Temple of the Initial Series

VI.8.1 The text of the Initial Series lintel

The Initial Series lintel (Fig. 6.37) – so-called because it records the only Initial Series date at Chichén – presents particular difficulties in assessing the divinity or humanity of the dwelling-"owners" it records. First, the glyphs that relate the four personages involved in its main text are poorly understood; and second, those glyphs appear in chains of possessed nouns that, in the absence of a clear understanding of the meaning of the words, render syntax a vexing problem.

The lintel's text is composed of the Initial Series date and Lunar Series and two standard *otoot* dedicatory phrases, thus registering two statements of dwelling possession. The first gives the name of the "owner" as the familiar Chok Watab (D5-6), a figure that I have suggested is most likely to be supernatural, and probably an apotheosized historical figure. The second dwelling possessor is given (E2-F3) as *kanak te'*

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lowlands. All of these glosses make some sense in the contexts given in Table X, although the *tu* (ti-u) preposition in Case 2 may support the idea of *kaban* as a locale. An understanding of the function of the *-an* suffix would be helpful; in the meantime, I note only that there is evidence for *kaban* being a term for a place or space and generally gloss it as "realm."

[115] Although the name Took' Yaas Ajaw K'uhul Uum presents problems of translation, it might be considered that *-um* and *-un* are pan-Maya classifiers for birds. Perhaps this personage is being specified as a "Holy Bird" – one is certainly depicted on the front edges of Yulá Lintel 1 and T4L Lintel 1 with the *k'in* and *ak'bal* signs in its flint-tipped wings. While glosses for *a:s* or *ya:s* are in short supply, it would be tempting to connect the *took'* in the name of the personage with the *took'* "flint" in the wings of the bird, and to translate the name as *took' yaas ajaw k'uhul uum* "flint-wing lord divine bird." Patricia Anderson has made this same connection, although she has in every case drawn and read the **si** syllable as a **ti**, giving her Yat instead of Yaas (1998:183-4). It is also entirely possible that Took' Yaas is a place name, possibly a supernatural one.

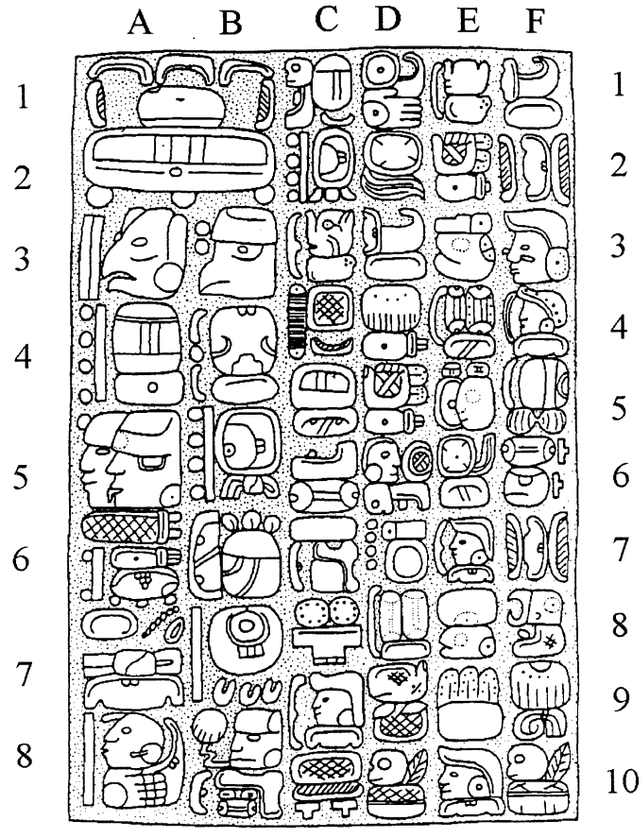


Fig. 6.37 Initial Series lintel, underside. Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

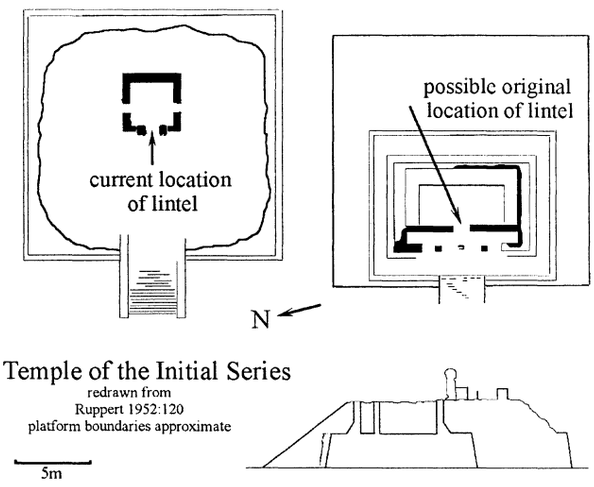


Fig. 6.39 The Temple of the Initial Series, adapted from Ruppert (1952:Fig. 85): (a) Initial Series temple and current location of lintel atop Atlantean figures; (b) Initial Series sub temple and possible original location of lintel; (c) East-west cross-section of temple showing upper and sub-temples.

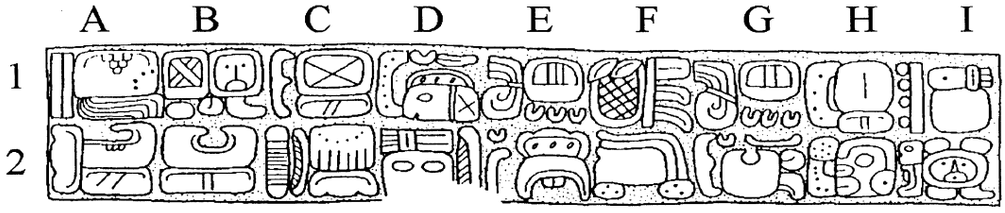


Fig. 6.38 Initial Series lintel, front edge. Drawing by Ruth Krochock.

"helmeted head," where the helmeted head is an unread glyph.

The names of the dwelling owners (D8-C9; E4-E5) are linked to those of K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko..l in the first and second dedication phrases respectively by the phrase

u-kok-il u-"helmeted-head"-..n

While a deficient understanding of the terms *kok-il* and *"helmeted-head"..n* hampers interpretation, some educated guesses can be made in light of the parallels to the other texts describing dwellings owned by gods owned by people. Stuart has proposed that the root **ko-ko** *kok* which appears in Copán's texts can be identified as the Ch'orti' root for "to guard, to protect" (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:190); the Initial Series lintel may be giving a nominalized form of it. Wisdom's Ch'orti' dictionary gives several examples of the "guarding" use of the verb, e.g., *kohk e santo* "'watching' of the saint (vela del santo)" (Wisdom 1950:79). It can also be glossed in Ch'orti' as "to care for" as in *kohko yal* "care for one's child" (ibid.). Although *kok* does not generally mean "watch" or "guard" in Yucatec, there is a single gloss *guardador* in Barrera-Vasquez (1980:329), which can refer to someone who cares for a saint. *Kok-il* may thus render "guarding" or "guarded thing", or "caring" or "cared-for thing" in this text, leaving us with

It is the/his guarding/guarded thing of the *"helmeted-head"..n* of K'ak'upakal[116]

Relying on the parallelism of this phrase with the "dwelling-ownership" in many of the texts already examined and upon the identification of Chok Watab as a possible deified ancestor, it seems likely that the "helmeted-head" glyph is a

[116] It is also possible that *u-kok-il* **does** refer to the dwelling owner, that *u-kok-il u-"helmeted-head"-n* is a couplet, and that an appropriate translation would be "he is the guarded thing, he is the "deified ancestor" of K'inil Ko...l." A similar relationship holds between the gods and humans of Palenque, where the expression *u-huntan* "the cared-for-one" relates both gods and men, and sons and mothers.

term for some sort of supernatural figure, and possibly a specific term for an apotheosized ancestor. The "cared-for thing" possibility is very interesting given the prominence of the term *hun-tan* "caring" or "cared-for one" (Houston and Stuart 1996) in the Palenque texts to relate kings to "cared-for" gods.

The syntax of the second dedicatory passage of the text (E1-F10) is a little more complex than that of the first:

U-"bat"-lu-na-ja-ki?	**yo-to-ti**
*u..-naj-***ki**	*y-otoot*
is carved?	the dwelling of

ka-na-ka TE'-e	**"helmet-head"**
kanak-te'	*"helmet-head"*
Kanak-te'	"ancestor?"

U-ko-ko-VL U-"helmet-head"-na ..-.-AJAW
u-kok-il/ol u-"helmet-head"- n.... ajaw
[it is] the caring-for? of his "ancestor?" .. lord

u-..-ma	**K'IN-ni-IL ko-..-la**
u-..m	*k'inil ko...l*
the ... of	K'inil Ko...l

U-"helmet-head"-na	**ka-na-ka-te-e**
u-"helmet-head"-n	*kanak-te'*
the "ancestor?" of	Kanak-te'

a-k'e-to-TOOK'
a-k'e took'
A-k'eTook'

The last person mentioned in the text is A-k'e Took', an individual who figures prominently as a **yi-ta-ji** "companion" to K'inil Ko...l in the Temple of the Four Lintels texts. *Kanak te'* appears in the name phrase of the dwelling owner as well as in the name phrase of A-k'e Took'. There is little question that A-k'e Took' is a contemporary human being because he takes the titles *ba-te' ajaw* and *y-ajaw-k'ak'* (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 4:H4-G6), which seem to be paired only with human men in the texts of Chichén, and because he has the *tajal* "subordinate lord?" relationship to K'inil Ko...l (Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 4:H6). The fact that he shares a name (perhaps a lineage or family name) or a title with the owner of the dwelling may indicate that part of the purpose of this text is to allow A-k'e Took' to link himself explicitly with this ancestor, who is also the ancestor/god of the two most important (frequently mentioned) men at the site, K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko...l.

The front of the Initial Series lintel (Fig. 6.38) is curious for seeming not to relate to the inscription on the underside:

10-tuun ta-jun ajaw
In the 10th tuun of K'atun 1 Ajaw

[verb] u-["carapace"]-il
[verb] the [architectural space] of

u-kaban	*Yayax "Rabbit" Kan*
the realm? of	**Yayax "Rabbit" Serpent**

yi-ta-ji *Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil*
"in the company of" Yax Uk' DeerAntler K'awiil

yi-ta-ji *u-y-ajaw k'uhul-.-.il k'uh,*
"in the company of" the lord(s) of Holy [..] God,

b'olon-ti-.. ajaw
the Nine realms? lords

Although the reading of the verb is not known, this short text does deal exclusively with spaces possessed by or under the jurisdiction of the god Yayax "Rabbit" in the company of another god, Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil and in the company of the Bolon ti.. Ajaw – this last an epithet probably referring to a group of underworld gods, as discussed in previous sections.

While this interpretation, particularly of the underside of the lintel, is of course provisional, it is nevertheless apparent that the text exhibits specific structural similarities to other texts that describe the dedication of supernaturally-owned dwellings. It is in fact precisely similar to Lintel 1 of the Temple of the Four Lintels, where two parallel passages dedicate the dwelling of Yayax "Rabbit" as the god of a *tajal* of K'ak'upakal, and then the dwelling of Yayax "Rabbit" as the god of K'inil Ko...l. Here as in the Lintel of the Initial Series, a subordinate lord is shown to share a god and association with the god's dwelling with the most important figures at the site.

VI.8.2 Physical description of the Initial Series building

The structure that currently contains the Lintel of the Initial Series forms part of an elaborate complex of at least fourteen buildings on a platform with an area of about three acres (Krochock 1998:85). The area is currently under investigation by the Chichén Archaeological Project directed by Peter Schmidt. Like the Monjas group, the early core of this complex is a 13-room range structure, the House of the Phalli, distinguished by the large and realistic stone penises mounted in the lateral walls of a number of its rooms. The plan is much like that of the Akab Dzib and the Las Monjas East Wing, with three ranges of three rooms each capped at either end by two transverse chambers. According to Peter Schmidt (personal communication 2000) this area contains the earliest documented structures at the city of Chichén, and its occupation extends well into the twelfth century, with extensive evidence of reworking of early structures and the reuse of their architectural elements in different contexts. The group is linked into the main sacbe network by a short road segment (Causeway 25) that connects with Causeway 7 to terminate at Las Monjas.

The Initial Series lintel currently rests atop two Atlantean figures that form the entrance to a small one-room structure constituting the final phase of a series of constructions in the same locale (Fig. 6.39a). That building rests on the wide surface created by the infilling and leveling of an earlier two-room temple with a twin-column entrance (Fig. 6.39c), which itself covers at least two earlier phases of construction (Vaillant 1952:159; José Osorio, personal communication 2000). The latest building extensively re-uses carved blocks and columns from earlier structures; Vaillant's description of it notes humorously that "[i]t is very odd that so large a

platform supports a temple, so jejune, so jerry-built, unless there be an hiatus between the two epochs of construction" (1952:159). E.H. Thompson discovered the Initial Series lintel, probably between 1899 and 1904, but did not record the provenience of the lintel in the group (Lincoln 1990:430). Lincoln (ibid.) quotes Tozzer to the effect that the lintel was pulled out of a wall where it had been re-used in the foundation of a late phase of the Temple of the Initial Series; Tozzer further noted that E.H. Thompson placed it at the top of the Initial Series mound between the lower drums of the round Atlantean columns. The medial portions of the Atlanteans were missing at that time, but were found at the base of the pyramid and replaced with the Initial Series lintel on top of them by Carnegie Institution personnel during their excavation of this complex in 1925 (Ruppert 1925-6:271).

It is unlikely that lintel's current context reflects its original context, and the lack of provenience information means that we cannot be certain of its final (pre-abandoment) ancient context either. I will take Tozzer's account as the only accurate one that exists and so will not consider the lintel's possible role in its current locale.

The Initial Series Lintel may have come from the earlier two-room sub structure (Fig. 6.39b): in this connection, Lincoln notes that this earlier structure resembles the Temple of the One Lintel in being another example of a Chichén "Toltec"-style structure with a twin-column entrance supporting a hieroglyphic lintel (1990:617). Both Lincoln (1990:617) and José Osorio, the current excavator (personal communication 2000), also suggest the House of the Phalli as an original location for the lintel, and Osorio observes that the lintel's dimensions conform to those of the doors of that large range structure. I think that the first possibility is more likely. The only other inscription at Chichén that comes from a ground-level range structure like the House of the Phalli is the Akab Dzib lintel: that lintel explicitly refers to a human man and attributes the ownership of the dwelling to him, although the text indicates layers of proprietorship over the dwelling as a ["carapace"] that make the reference more complex, as I discuss ahead. The text of the lintel of the Initial Series building is much more like the texts of the Temple of the Four Lintels than those of the Akab Dzib, in having two dedicatory phrases involving K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko...l as human protagonists and Chok Watab as a possible divine one. Further, the lintel's front involves solely supernatural personages.

VI.8.3 Summary consideration of the Initial Series lintel and structure

The Initial Series lintel probably has the same agenda as the other lintels discussed in this chapter: that is, it links important nobles – here, K'akupakal, K'inil Ko..l and A-k'e Took', in that order of importance in the text – to the dwellings of important gods or ancestors – in this case, Chok Watab and someone called Kanak Te'. Given the parallel structures of the Four Lintels and Initial Series texts, I think it is likely that the original use of this lintel was in a "god dwelling," probably in the immediate sub-phase of the structure. The interior door of the Initial Series sub temple is of appropriate dimensions to support the lintel; and the location of the Initial Series building on the east edge of the Initial Series platform is consonant with "shrine" locations both at Chichén and at other Maya sites. In addition to their very similar floor plans, there are other interesting similarities between the Initial Series sub temple and the Temple of the One Lintel. The latter building is also on the eastern edge of a small platform; it shares the slightly north-of-west orientation of the Initial Series sub temple, and its hieroglyphic lintel is placed over the interior door.

It is interesting that the dedication of the Initial Series lintel and whatever "dwelling" it was attached to occur in the same year as the dedication of the Temple of the Three Lintels, another building associated with K'ak'upakal in primary textual position, K'inil Ko...l in secondary textual position, and Chok Watab as a dwelling owner. I note also that the Three Lintels structure is in the same group as Yayax "Rabbit"'s dwelling (the Temple of the Four Lintels) and that Yayax "Rabbit" plays an important role on the front of the Initial Series lintel. The publication of the ongoing excavations at the Initial Series group will encourage further integration of archaeology and epigraphy at that location.

VI.9 The Hieroglyphic Jambs Structure and the function of the "gallery-patio"

The texts carved on the two doorjambs of the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure (Structure 6E1) are remarkable for several reasons. They record the earliest inscribed date at the site (A.D.832; Krochock 1998:45); they render the *otoot* glyph as a logograph in typical southern lowland style, rather than spelling it phonetically as in every other instance at Chichén; and they are inscribed on a structure of the "gallery-patio" type, whose function has long been enigmatic. The fact that much of the text focuses on the structure allows for the possibility that some functional insight might be obtained. In this section, I address the architecture before the inscriptions, followed by an attempt at a synthesis of the two. This synthesis involves a rather elaborate and admittedy speculative hypothesis about the meaning of gallery-patios at Chichén Itzá, but one that is testable archaeologically.

VI.9.1 The identification of the gallery-patio structure type

The gallery-patio structure type was identified and named by Ruppert (1943:29). Gallery-patio buildings are found almost exclusively at Chichén, though very similar structures, Buildings 1 and 3, exist at Tula, and a possible analog has been excavated at Nohmul (Chase and Hammond 1982; D.Z. Chase and A.F. Chase 1982; Hammond 1985). The largest and most elaborate example of the type at Chichén is the Mercado, located at the south end of the Thousand Columns Group in the center of the city. Ruppert (Ruppert and Smith 1955) identified a total of thirteen gallery-patio structures, and the surveys of Charles Lincoln and Rafael Cobos have since added more examples, though no precise numbers have been published (Krochock 1998:32). Krochock (1998) and Lincoln (1990) have discussed the structure type at length, so I will confine myself to a summary.

The "gallery" segment of the gallery-patio structure (Fig. 6.40) is a long rectangular room fronted by a line of columns; its rear wall contains a single door, the jambs of which may be sculpted. The door leads into the "patio" area, a square

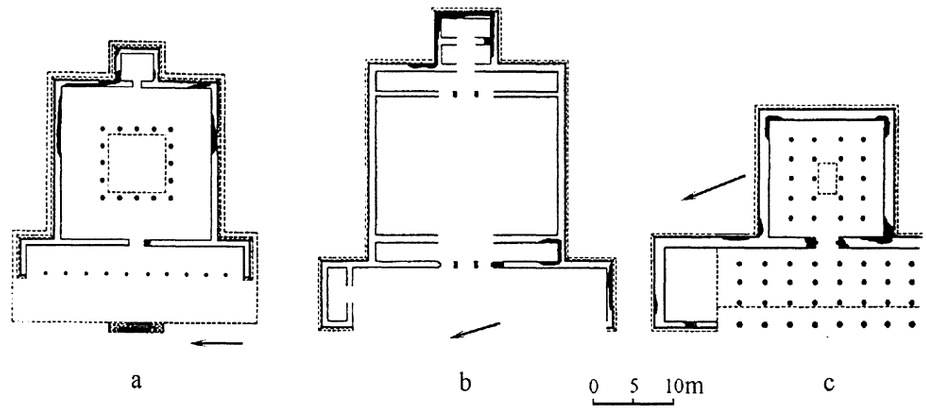
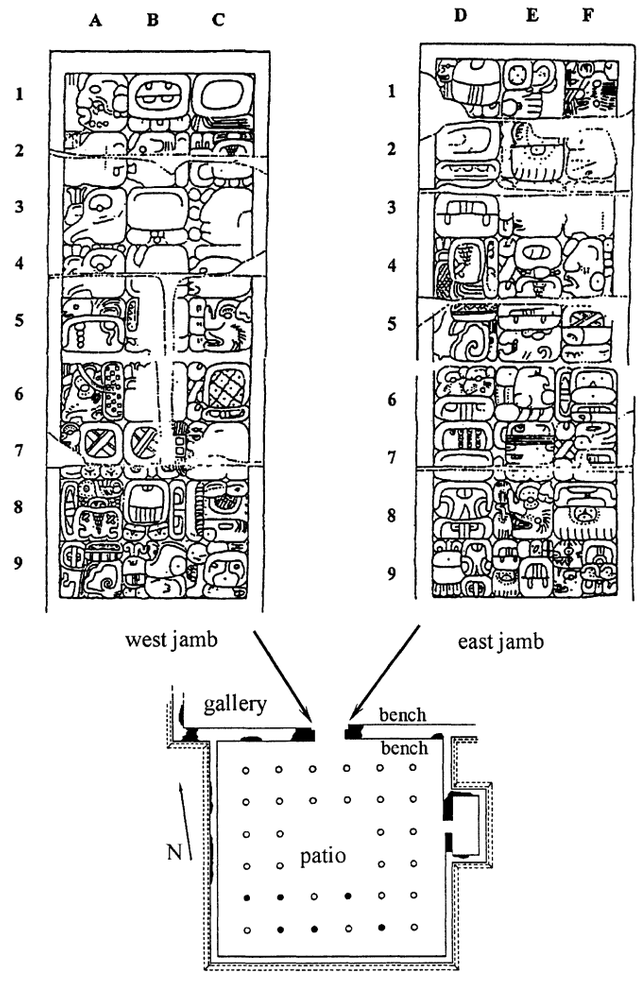


Fig. 6.40 Examples of gallery-patio structures at Chichén Itzá: (a) "Structure at Chultun Group"; (b) Structure 5B17; (c) Structure 2D6. All after Ruppert (1943:Fig. 3c-e).



Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs

Fig. 6.41

Hieroglyphic Jambs structure with its doorjambs. Plan adapted from Ruppert 1943:Fig. 3a); drawings of jambs by Linda Schele.

court that frequently contains a sunken, unroofed center. This sunken area, or "impluvium," is enclosed by one or two ranges of columns that supported vaulted (e.g., Str. 3B3) or wooden roofs around the edges of the patio. The patio also often has a small single room appended to its east side. Lincoln notes that the gallery always faces either north or west, and that gallery-patio structures are never found in isolation – rather, they form part of architectural complexes (1990).

VI.9.2 The archaeology and proposed functions of gallery-patio structures

Although Ruppert cleared the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, and Lincoln dug one test-pit (revealing a single level) in the northeast quadrant of its plaza (1990:525-27), it remains unexcavated. The structure (Fig. 6.41) shares a 2-4

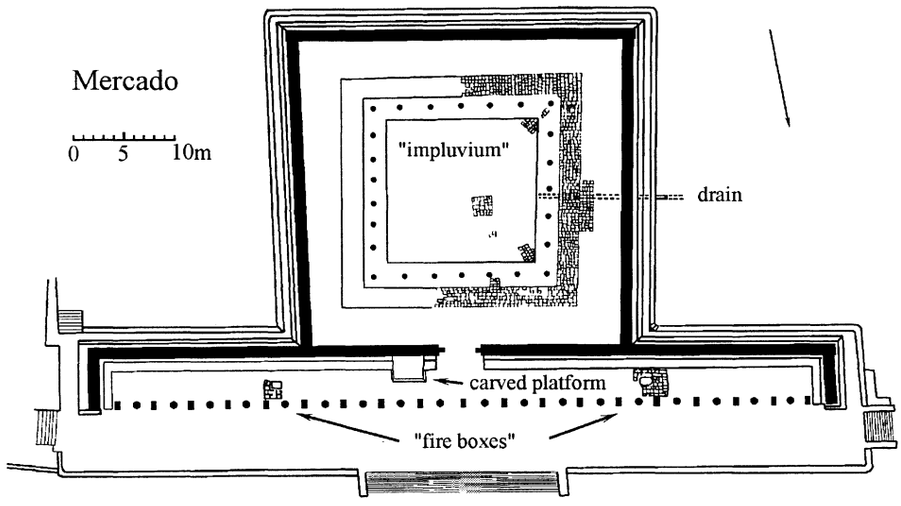


Fig. 6.42

The Mercado, Chichén Itzá. Adapted from Ruppert (1943:Fig. 1).

meter high platform with two other structures that Lincoln describes as "temples": one of these is Structure 6E1 with its inscribed south column. No range structure is present on the platform (1990:520). Sacbe 8 connects the group to the Ek' Xux platform to the northwest (see Fig. 6.1) (Cobos and Winemiller 2001:284).

A visual inspection of the building shows that the columns in the patio are all displaced, and the "gallery" of the structure is evidenced only by the topography of the mound: Ruppert believed that it may have been intentionally razed (1943:233). Ruppert seems to have cleared the passage between the gallery and the patio enough to note that door was blocked on the north side with rough masonry. This operation also revealed a bench built against both sides of the wall east of the east jamb (1943:233); the Mercado similarly has a bench running the seventy-meter length of the rear wall of the gallery, such that anyone sitting on it would have looked out through the columns onto the Thousand Columns plaza.

The "patio" segment of the Hieroglyphic Jambs is $18m^2$, and Ruppert believed that it could have had two rows of columns around its patio (Ruppert 1943:233). Like many gallery-patio structures, it has a room, probably vaulted (ibid.), built into the eastern side of the patio. Although it lacks surface evidence of a sunken center, excavation might well reveal one: almost all of the other gallery-patio structures have the "impluvium."

The Mercado (Fig. 6.42) is the only excavated example of the gallery-patio structure type at Chichén Itzá, and Ruppert's account of the excavations (1943), like other Carnegie accounts of the era, focuses on formal architectural description. Although Ruppert provides little information on artifacts or their proveniences, Freidel in his brief treatment of gallery-patio structures argues that the manos, metates, and ash-filled fire-pits that were discovered in the Mercado, in addition to the presence of "sufficient interior space," indicate "elite residence" as a likely function; and he compares gallery-patios to similarly configured residential structures at Teotihuacan (Freidel 1981:323; see also Schele and Freidel 1990:358).

Although I do not wish to reject the "elite residence" hypothesis out of hand, no hard evidence from the Mercado supports it. Unlike the formally similar residential structures at Teotihuacán, where the roofed patio space is subdivided into rooms, there are no true "rooms" in Chichén's Mercado, nor does Ruppert note any evidence for room walls in any of his descriptions of surface material in gallery-patios. With regard to food-preparation activities, Stromsvik (1935) reported that the manos and metates associated with the structure came from the floor of the Mercado, but this provenience guarantees nothing about the original use of the building. It seems unlikely that corn-grinding was taking place on the "porch" of this monumental site-center structure during its principal use period; rather, the manos and metates may be the remains of later activities.

The "fireboxes" that Freidel (1981:323) characterizes as "masonry-lined slab hearths" are very interesting features, but it is doubtful that they are cooking hearths. The boxes (see Fig. 6.42) measure approximately 1m x 70cm, with a depth of 25cm, and are surrounded by a small area of flagstone paving.[117] They are set symmetrically to either side of the patio door in the gallery facing onto the Plaza of the Thousand Columns and any activity around them or fire burning in them would have been visible from the plaza through the open colonnade. The easternmost box was filled with ashes and the facing stones on the inside were calcined (Ruppert does not describe the western box). It is difficult to know whether the ash deposits and burning are from the major use period of the structure, because the patio and possibly the entire building were burned at some point: the facing stones of both the upper and lower wall courses of the patio walls, as well as the flagstones that form a walkway around the "impluvium," were "burned, cracked, and calcined" (Ruppert 1943:254). If the original use of the "fireboxes" was indeed for fires, they are more likely to have been ceremonial or ritual ones.

Final notes of interest concern the central sunken area in the patio. The lining of that depression is of faced blocks, and its floor was of hard-packed lime plaster with flagstone-paved

[117] These features are no longer visible at the site itself.

areas in the corners and near the center. The floor of the sunken area, at a level of between 32 and 70 cm below the ambulatory, slopes west toward a well-constructed drain 31cm wide and 41cm high: this drain is still visible at the site. It is lined with carefully laid masonry, and extends under the patio floor, emerging from the patio's platform on the west side (1943:255). That is, the central rectangular depression was designed to cope with water, and the drain could probably have been blocked or unblocked to preserve or drain water from the square pool, which could have had ceremonial or symbolic purposes. Regarding this possibility, it can be noted that Ruppert trenched underneath the impluvium and found a roughly constructed masonry box about 2.1m square and 1.35m deep that contained 10-15cm of earth, in which were five pieces of worked jadeite and 113 shell beads (1943:256). .

Other hypotheses about the function of gallery-patio structures have been proposed. Ruppert thought of gallery-patios as "judicial courts," though he conceded that there was no evidence to support any particular function (1943:230; 1950:254). Charles Lincoln characterized the gallery-patio as one of three structure types (the palace or range structure, the temple, and the gallery-patio) whose organization reflects the Dumezilian theory of tri-functional society: he associates the gallery-patio with female lineages, the populace at large, and auto-sacrificial rites (1990:625-633). Krochock (1998:36-42) discusses possible related structures in northwest Mexico at Alta Vista and La Quemada, as well as in the Terminal Classic Maya lowlands at Nohmul Str. 20 and on Cozumel. She suggests, based on her interpretation of the texts of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, that one of the names in the texts is Maax Ti' Kuch, "Shield is his Burden"; that he may have been an Itzá merchant-warrior; and that his arrival signifies the arrival of a group of merchant-warriors who bring international connections with them. She interprets Maax Ti' Kuch as a ruler, and suggests that the text indicates that the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure was a house given to him as a gift. Krochock therefore seems to concur with Freidel that gallery-patios may have been elite residences. Unfortunately, there is little phonetic evidence for the reading of the Maax Ti' Kuch name; the inscription does not attribute the house to him; and it is more likely that the "Maax ti' Kuch" phrase is part of the name of a location, probably a kind of altar.

This structure type is so unlike most Maya buildings, varies so little in plan from building to building, and is so nearly exclusive to Chichén Itzá that it is difficult to believe that it does not represent an emic building category with a quite specific purpose. It is interesting that it is represented both in the site center and so extensively in the periphery: many of the large platform complexes contain a gallery-patio structure, as if whatever function it served in the site center was worthy of replication in the site's major peripheral compounds. It occurs in complexes both with and without range structures: the idea that it was an elite residence is undermined by the fact that it occurs, as in the Phallus Group, alongside elaborate "palace" structures of the type most often thought to be elite residences. There is no doubt that the jamb texts contain rich information relevant to the building's function and owner. Although the text has many problems, the structure of the text sets up some equivalences in architectural terminology that are very informative. Below, I say what I can about the architectural references in the texts.

VI.9.3 The jamb texts of the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure

Both jambs begin with standard calendrical and dedicatory phrase variants; and each is read in rows of three glyphs – i.e. A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3, etc. The **West Jamb** (Fig. 6.43) begins with a date (A1-C4):

ti-B'OLON "Ben" K'IN-ni	**ti JUUN-na "Sak"**
ti b'olon "Ben" k'in	*ti juun "Sak"*
on the day 9 Ben	1 Sak

ti-...-la OX-..	**ti HO? AJAW**
ti..al ox-...	*ti ho? Ajaw*
the 3rd [tuun	of K'atun] 5? Ajaw

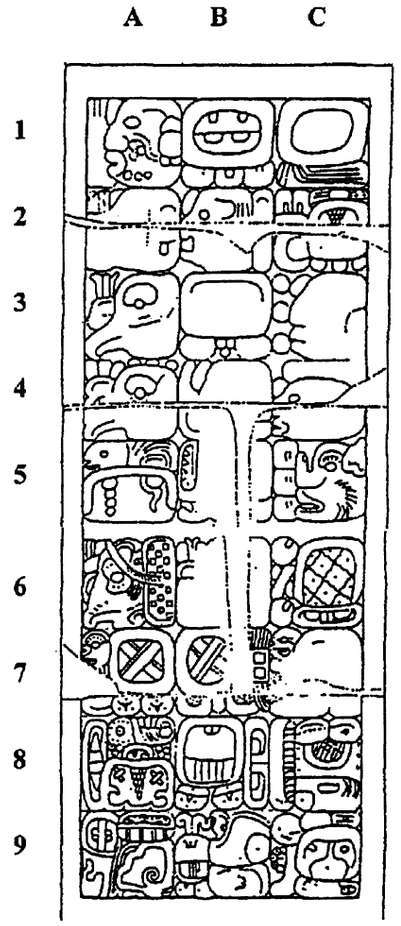


Fig. 6.43 West Jamb, Hieroglyphic Jambs structure. Drawing by Linda Schele.

The first verb (B5) of the West Jamb *may* be "is born," followed by the location of the birth at C5-B6. This is a pattern familiar from the Palenque Cross Group texts (e.g., Sun Tablet C1-D1: *siy-aj k'inich jun wayib* "is born at Great First Wayib"), but the verb is not identifiable with any certainty. Whatever the verb on the West Jamb, its location or object (C5-B6) is a kind of stone, **yu-"bat"-ti-"vulture-with-tumpline" tu-TUUN?-IL,** *[Something] tuun-il*: it is almost certainly the same object recorded on the East Jamb at

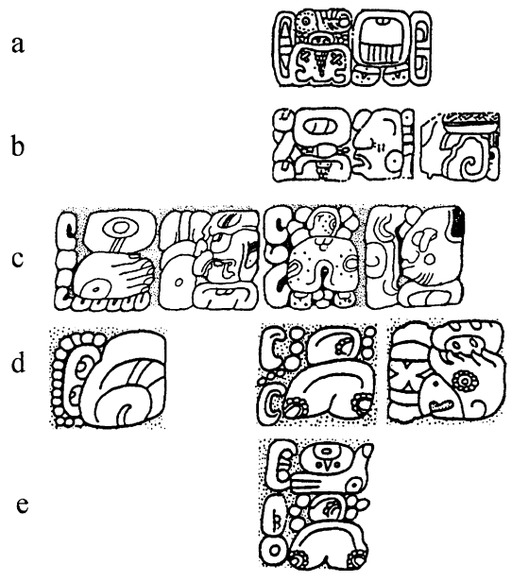


Fig. 6.44 The "altar" glyph: (a) Hieroglyphic Jambs, West Jamb, B8-C8; (b) Hieroglyphic Jambs, East Jamb E4-F4; (c) Palenque, Temple of the Inscriptions, Center Tablet I2-J3; (d) Copán, Altar Q, F1-F2; (e) Copán Altar Q:F5.

E3-D1. The location or object is then further specified as the "carapace" (C6) of a personage called Atal (A7). Another probable verb and subject follow (B7-C7), and the location of this second action, possibly bathing (**AT?-ji-ya**, *at-ji:y?*, "was bathed"?) is given as *ta-"atlatl?"-"altar"-ohl-il* (A8-B8) (Fig. 6.44a). This expression incorporates a glyph (A8) whose physical referents include things archaeologists think of as altars: it refers, for example, to Altar Q at Copán, the text of which says that the "altar" is both the object dedicated and the location of an action *ch'am-te'*, "take the wood (baton?)" (Fig. 6.44d,e). Whether the glyph in the Hieroglyphic Jambs case references a literal altar is not known: it could be a metaphorical statement. The name for the West Jamb "altar" includes the word *ohl* (B8), "center" or "heart," possibly indicating a location that is at the center or heart of something. Although two unreadable glyphs (C8-A9) intervene between the "altar" glyph and the *y-otoot* expression at B9, other series of architectural references at Chichén and elsewhere tend to progress from less to more encompassing, i.e., from lintel to room to dwelling to realm, such that it is probably safe to say that the "altar" is a spatial subset or equivalent of the dwelling. The owner of the dwelling is *K'ak' Ohl Chuuk Ajaw*, "Fiery-heart Ember Lord" (B9-C9).

The **East Jamb** (Fig. 6.45) begins with a standard *PSSIG k'al-aj* opening phrase (D1-E1), where the object at F1-F2 is enigmatic and eroded; if it is like other Chichén texts, the object should be the door jamb. The text continues at D3-F5:

ha?-i yu-"bat"-ti-"vulture with tumpline"-tu-TUUN-ni-IL
ha?-i y-u...-tuunil
it is the Something Stone of

U-"mirror"-"altar" na-hi
u-"mirror-altar" naah
the "mirror-altar" House,

yo-OTOT-ti ..-AT-la
y-otoot ..atal
the dwelling of ...Atal

As noted above, he glyphs at E3-D1 are probably the same as those at C5-B6, such that the following parallel occurs (Fig. 6.46):

West: *[verb]* *yu-"bat"-ti-.. tuun-il*
East: *ha-i* *yu-"bat"-ti-.. tuun-il*

West: *u-"carapace"-il* *Atal*
East: *u-"mirror"-"altar"-naah y-otoot* *...Atal*

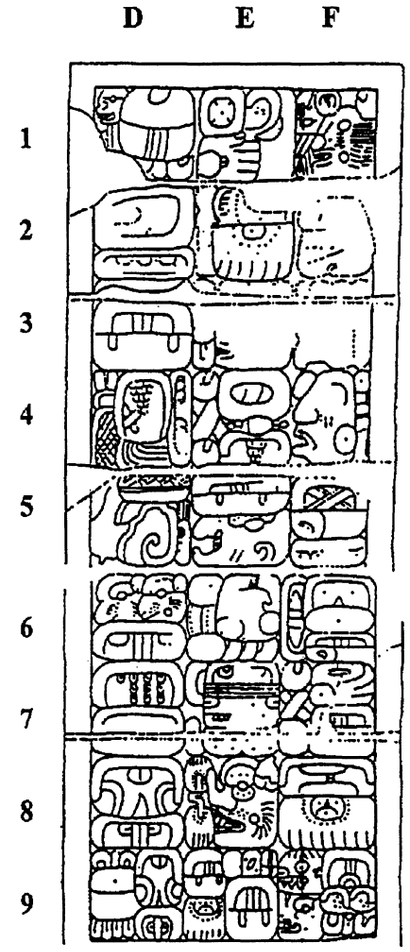


Fig. 6.45 East Jamb, Hieroglyphic Jambs structure. Drawing by Linda Schele.

That is, the "carapace" of Atal is equated with the "'mirror'-'altar' House," the dwelling of Atal. I address the "carapace" glyph in detail in a section below, where I suggest that it may signify "enclosure." It is quite likely that K'ak' Ohl Chuuk Ajaw, the owner of the dwelling on the West Jamb, is a title phrase for "...Atal," the owner of the dwelling on the East Jamb. We also see here on the East Jamb the same "altar" glyph as on the West: it is written, however, with a different modifier, which is a sign that *may* represent a mirror (Fig. 6.44b). Whether the "mirror" sign is meant to be read as a logograph *nehn*, "mirror," is uncertain. This "altar" statement is part of the description of the *naah*, "house," which is then

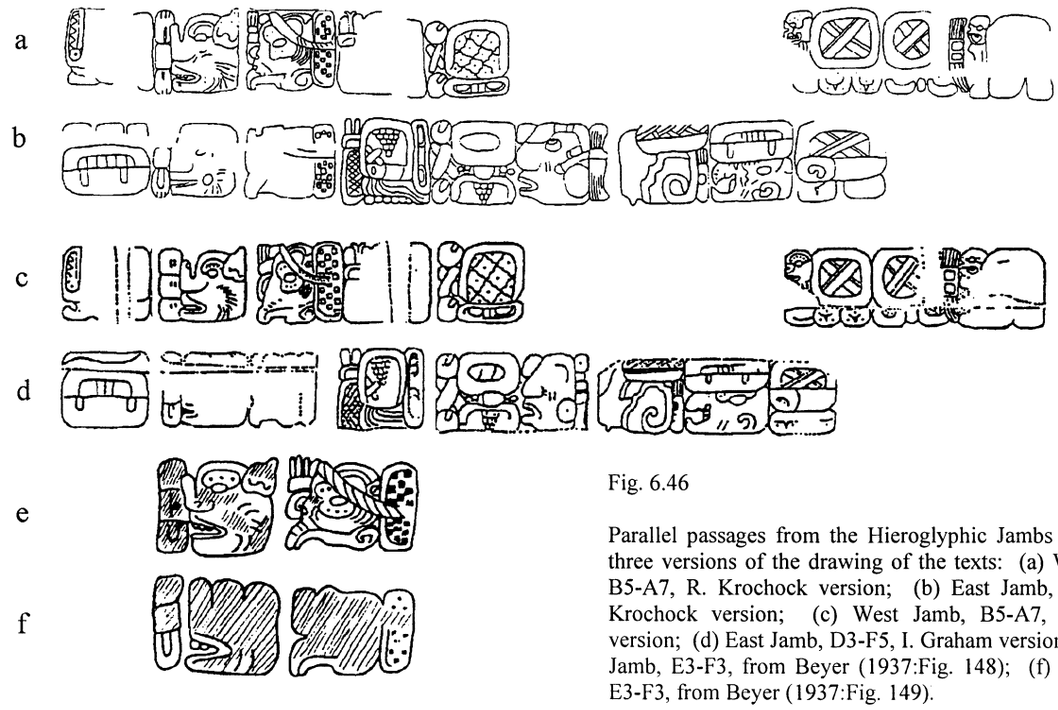


Fig. 6.46

Parallel passages from the Hieroglyphic Jambs texts, with three versions of the drawing of the texts: (a) West Jamb, B5-A7, R. Krochock version; (b) East Jamb, D3-F5, R. Krochock version; (c) West Jamb, B5-A7, I. Graham version; (d) East Jamb, D3-F5, I. Graham version; (e) West Jamb, E3-F3, from Beyer (1937:Fig. 148); (f) East Jamb, E3-F3, from Beyer (1937:Fig. 149).

specified as an *otoot* – a standard way of recording house names.

The remainder of the text, from D6-F9, is obscure enough that I will not attempt a transcription. I will note, however, that the glyphs at D6-E6, following the name of owner of the *otoot*, are probably his titles: interestingly, the glyph at E6 is either *k'uh* or *u-k'uh*, "god" or "his god," depending on whether the prefix is part of the *k'uh* logograph or an *u* ergative pronoun. For the purpose of discerning the ontological status of the dwelling's owner, it makes little difference. I think that E5-E6 is probably Atal's name phrase, ... *Atal ..-il k'uh*, "Atal, [Something] God." If instead E6 is *u-k'uh*, that still means that he is being described as the god of someone, as in other Chichén texts. Once again, then, the dwelling owner in these texts seems to be a supernatural personage. That is, the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure and most likely other gallery-patio structures should be considered god dwellings, or, more crudely, temples, not elite residences.

VI.9.4 An integrative theory of the function of gallery-patios: Temples for the maintenance of sacred fire

If we understood the "altar" glyph and its modifiers better, we would undoubtedly have a better grasp of just what kind of god dwellings these places were. I am going to speculate for posterity, if only so that someone can refute me with something better. I build on Susan Gillespie's observations (2000) about the nested relationships between altars and houses as rectangular models of the universe and as dwellings, as resting-places for gods and people.

The most interesting aspect of the gallery-patio structures is the unique form of the patio, a square colonnaded walkway surrounding a sunken square. While we do not have proof that all gallery-patios had "impluvia" because only one has been excavated, we do have evidence from the Mercado that it did it have an impluvium, and that that feature was designed to cope with water. Certainly, the sunken impluvium was a functional part of the structure, serving to drain away the rainwater that would have streamed down the roof of the ambulatory into the courtyard. However, if the drain of this impluvium was plugged, a good rain would fill the plaster-lined basin, such that in plan or "god's-eye" view, the patio would have become a four-sided enclosure with a shining, reflective surface at its center. It is in this light that the possible "mirror"-"altar" reference is interesting.

The identification of mirrors with water is an ancient one (Taube 1983:112-115). It is reflected in the Yucatec verb *nenba*, "to look at oneself in a mirror or in water" (Barrera Vasquez 1980:565). Water surfaces were used for divinatory scrying, and Taube points out examples in Classic Maya and Teotihuacan iconography of the practice of setting pyrite mirrors into waterfilled bowls (1983:113). Mirrors are also associated with fire. Taube in his early work notes that fire was a basic attribute of mirrors, as suggested by the term *tezcatlipoca*, "smoking mirror" (1983:115); and that mirrors were considered a passage between worlds (1983:118; 1992b:55, 1992c). Coggins (1987) details the association of pyrite mirrors with the drilling of fire at their centers, particularly in association with fire-drilling for the central Mexican New Fire Ceremony which celebrated the passage of a 52-year cycle; she observes that pyrite mosaic mirrors were cached inside the inner Castillo at Chichén, probably before A.D. 830, showing the early association of these objects with the rites of that city. Taube expands upon these associations, spinning out both the Classic Maya and Postclassic Aztec connections of mirrors with centrality, censers, burning hearths, fire-drilling, and solar fire

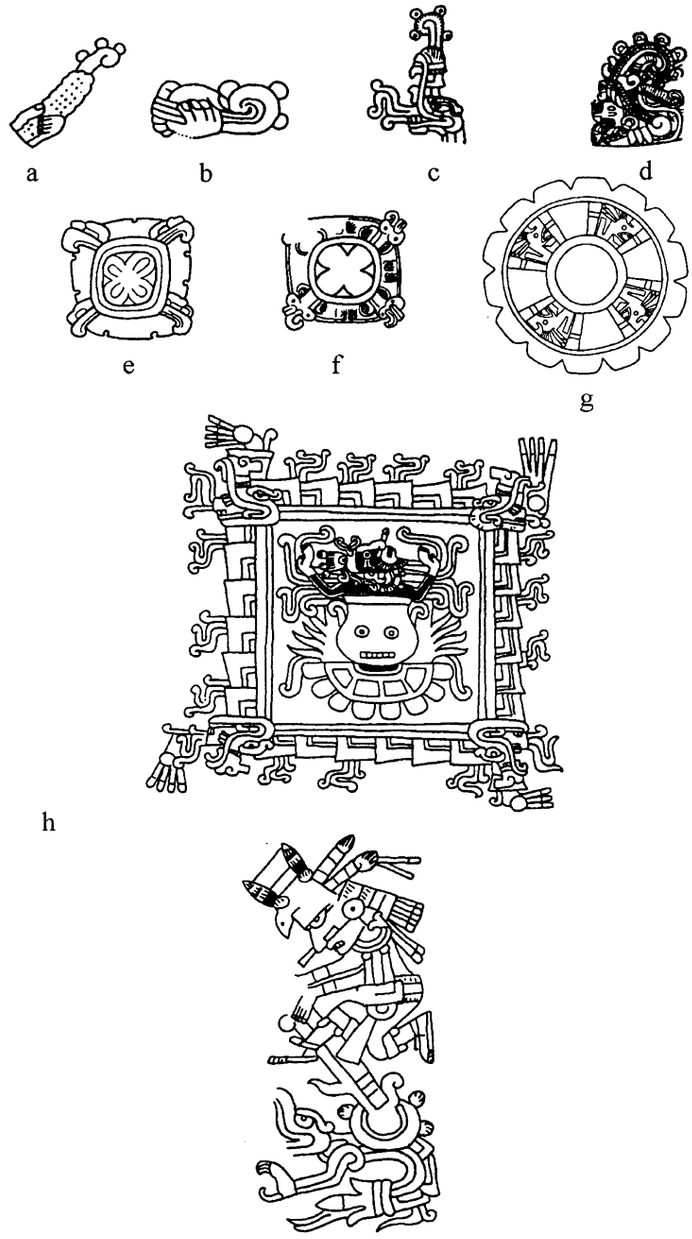


Fig. 6.47

(a) Atlatl glyph from Tikal Mundo Perdido "Marcador";
(b) Atlatl glyph from Tikal Stela 31;
(c) Xiuhcoatl with atlatl affixed to snout, Codex Borgia;
(d) Xiuhcoatl with atlatl affixed to snout, Aztec Calendar Stone;
(e) Solar mirror with serpents at corners;
(f) solar mirror with serpents at corners;
(g) pyrite mirror from Chichén Itzá with serpents at corners;
(h) Codex Borgia 46.
a-d, h from Taube (2000); e-g from Taube (1992b).

(1992c:185-6; 2000). The antiquity of the fire-drilling ceremony with its iconographic complex and attendant supernatural personnel, as well as its continuity from Teotihuacan through "Toltec" Tula and Chichén Itzá and into Aztec times, have been demonstrated by von Winning (1987), Coggins (1987), and Taube (e.g., 1983, 1988, 1992c, 2000).

There may be some further textual indication that the structure is related to fire-drilling. As discussed above, the West Jamb specifies the location of the B7 event, possibly "bathing" (*at-ji:y?)* as *ta [atlatl]-[altar] ohl-il* "at the [atlatl]-[altar] heart/center" (Fig. 6.44a); and this location itself is a spatial subset of the dwelling referred to in the following phrase. Both Graham and Krochock draw the "atlatl" glyph as a hand grasping an object with a small circular butt and a large dotted circular head; whereas Beyer (1937:fig. 302) shows it as looking like the **o** syllable. Inspection of the original monument suggests that the "hand grasping" depiction is correct. Comparable glyphs come from Tikal Stela 31 and the Mundo Perdido "marcador" (Fig. 6.47a,b) (see Stuart 2000:Figs. 4d, 10a-b, 16). While the jamb needs to be re-inspected under better lighting conditions than I was able to view it in, it is interesting to look at the associations of the atlatl.

Taube has recently shown that Aztec iconography frequently conflates the atlatl with the Xiuhcoatl "Fire Serpent," an emblem of "celestial fire and warfare" (2000:296) and that both are intimately linked to fire-drilling. Aztec codices depict fire being drilled upon a turquoise mirror attached to the segmented serpent's back (Fig. 6.47h); he can also be shown with atlatl darts affixed to his back. Taube demonstrates that both the Xiuhcoatl serpent and atlatl darts are identified with shooting stars, or meteors, and that these "star darts" are the bringers of celestial fire. The atlatl appears to have been considered "a shooter of starry darts," and the beads that stud the atlatl may represent stars (Taube

2000:297-99): the Codex Borgia and the Aztec Calendar stone both depict this starry atlatl affixed to the snout of the Xiuhcoatl (Fig. 6.47c,d). The Xiuhcoatl is also a frequent framing device for mirrors: turquoise-rimmed pyrite mirrors whose sides are composed of four Xiuhcoatl serpents have been excavated at both Chichén and Tula (Fig. 6.47g), and the mirror-with-four-serpents motif has clear precedents in Maya iconography of the Early and Late Classic periods, where it has solar/fiery associations (Fig. 6.47e,f) (Taube 1992c:194). The atlatl is thus strongly linked to fire-drilling, to the Xiuhcoatl fire-serpent, and to mirrors. The "'atlatl'-'altar'-heart" expression for the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure "dwelling" may be referring to the center of the dwelling as a place of fire and fire-making, an association entirely consonant with the center as a mirror.

All of these associations are combined on page 46 of the Codex Borgia (Fig. 6.47h). This page depicts a square enclosure composed of four differently-colored Xiuhcoatl fire serpents. A turquoise mirror occupies the center of the enclosure, and is evidently also a hearth, projecting orange flames. The vessel that sits on top of the mirror-hearth contains a character interpreted by Seler (1963, I:149) and Taube (2000:314) as Nanahuatzin sacrificing himself for the creation of the sun; the scene may also depict New Fire rites, since directly underneath it fire is being drilled upon the abdomen of the Xiuhcoatl (Anders *et al.* 1993:241; Taube 2000:314). Taube shows that this sacrificial hearth is referred to in the Florentine Codex as the *xiuhtetzaqualco,* "turquoise enclosure," and as the *tlalxicco*, "earth navel." The Florentine Codex identifies this enclosure as the dwelling place of an old fire god (Taube 2000:309) whose two principal Aztec aspects are Xiuhtecuhtli (a younger war-related god whose co-essence is the Xiuhcoatl (Taube 2000:294, citing Sullivan 1997:100)) and Huehueteotl, the ancient fire god. Structurally, the fire-serpent enclosure of the Codex Borgia 46 resembles the plan of the patio of the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs as a four-sided square enclosure with a mirror at its heart. Like the Borgia enclosure, the Hieroglyphic Jambs building may be associated with the mirror, with the Xiuhcoatl/atlatl as a shooter of fiery darts and bringer of fire, and with the dwelling of the Old Fire God.

Given the great concern demonstrated by Chichén's texts with fire-drilling and burning rituals, it would not be surprising to find a structure dedicated to fire-ceremonies, perhaps a shrine or a dwelling for a fire god. It is notable that one of the epithets for the dwelling owner is *K'ak'-Ohl Chuuk Ajaw*, Fiery-heart Ember Lord – an appropriate title for a fire or censer god.

The aged fire god is a deity of great antiquity: as López Luján notes, the Xiuhtecuhtli-Huehueteotl cult is one of the oldest in the pre-Hispanic world (2001:404-05). He is generally known as the "Old Fire God": one of the most famous depictions of him, an effigy censer of a seated old god with *k'in* signs on his head, comes from Early Classic Burial 10 at Tikal, the tomb of Yax Ayiin (Coggins 1975:150-52, fig. 46b, c).[118] Similar effigy old god censers were discovered in tomb contexts at Kaminaljuyu: Tomb A-VI in fact contained not only a composite Old God effigy censer but also three pyrite mosaic mirrors. For the lowland Maya area, Stuart has recently shown that the "Jaguar God of the Underworld" – the roman-nosed god whose "cruller" is a fire-drilling cord (Taube 2000:293), whose deep cheek furrows denote age, and who represents the night sun – is the Maya supernatural patron of fire and fire-making, and that Maya rulers impersonate him while engaged in fire-drilling activities (Stuart 1998a:408). Most scholars agree that the Old Fire God is the direct ancestor of the Huehueteotl-Xiuhtecuhtli complex. I will note here that one of the possible readings for the glyph that introduces Atal's name phrase is *ho*, "five," and that there is another instance of the name Five Atal at Glyph 32 of the Casa Colorada, in the phrase *pul-ji:y ti k'ak' ho atal*, "was burned (in/as the fire? fierily?), Ho Atal."

The gallery-patio structures may be fire god dwellings, or at least intimately related to fire-drilling ceremonies. The identification of the probable pool at the center of these structures with a hearth-navel or a fire-drilling mirror may seem contradictory, but the Florentine Codex provides several descriptions of the abode of Xiuhtecuhtli-Huehueteotl that support the association. López Austin collects these passages, and provides his own alternate translations to compare with Sahagun's (1987:267). Though he finds some of Sahagun's translations from Nahuatl into Spanish problematic, it is apparent that the language used is heavily metaphorical and its meanings many-layered, such that the translations are probably not mutually exclusive. It is helpful to recall that Sahagun had native informants to help him with his interpretations.

> Book 6, 14r
> **Sahagun**: Father and mother of all the gods: the ancient god, who is the god of fire, who is in the midst of flowers; and within the pool enclosed by four walls, and he is covered with shining features which are like merlons.
> **López Austin:** The mother of the gods, the father of the gods, the old god who remains within the place enclosed by turquoise stones, which is crowned with turquoise birds.

[118] After seeing the original Hieroglyphic Jambs monuments, I initially believed that the owner of the dwelling could be identified with this old fire god because of particular features found on the old god head at E5 on the East Jamb; namely, a pointed fringe that hangs down over the eye, unnoticed by previous observers. This pointed fringe over an eye appears in only a few places – never on the God N verb; and never, as far as I can discern, over the eye of the **a**-syllable macaw. It is common over the eyes of *witz* "mountain" monsters; and it hangs over the eye of the Tikal Old God composite censer. I therefore thought that this old fire god was being directly identified as the owner of the dwelling. Two other possibilities for reading the fringe-eyed head glyph – 1) as **a** for the initial vowel of Atal, or 2) or as the God N head for the number 5 – both have problems: neither of these possibilities takes into account the clear **i** syllable on top of the head. It cannot be construed as spelling *ya*, as Krochock believes – this is unknown in Maya texts; and it is not the *haab* sign that occurs on top of God N's head in the numeral 5 head variant. A third possibility, that the head is the God N head for *t'ab'*, is complicated by the presence of the fringe over the eye, which is never observed with God N, and by the absence of examples of a proper name of a god or human following the God N head. I do not know how to resolve the problems with the eye fringe or with Atal's name phase.

Book 6, 34r
Sahagun: Ancient god and father of all the gods, who is the god of fire, who is in the pool of water between merlons enclosed by stones like roses, who is called Xiuhtecuhtli
López Austin: The mother of the gods, the father of the gods, the old god who remains within the place of the navel of the fire, in the place of the enclosure of turquoise stones, Xiuhtecuhtli.

Book 6, 71v-72r
Sahagun: God of fire, who is the father of all the gods, who resides in the pool of water and lives among flowers, which are the flowery merlons, enveloped by clouds of water: this is the ancient god, who is called Ayamictlan and Xiuhtecuhtli.
López Austin: The mother of the gods, the father of the gods, who is extended in the place of the navel of the earth, which remains within the place of the enclosure of turquoise stones, which is adorned with water of turquoise birds, the ancient god, Ayamictlan, Xiutecuhtli.

Lopez Austin (1987:267)

Where López Austin reads "navel of fire" or "navel of earth," Sahagun consistently translates "a pool of water": he may have had access to levels of interpretation that López Austin does not. For example, Sahagun characterizes what López Austin reads literally "crowned with turquoise birds," or "adorned with the water of turquoise birds," as an enclosure or structure topped by merlons – just as the god enclosures are indeed shown in numerous instances in the Codex Borgia. That is, Xiuhtecuhtli-Huehueteotl lives in the navel of the earth in a pool of water in a place that is also conceived of as a turquoise enclosure, an actual structure topped by merlons.[119] As Taube shows, this is the same enclosure referred to in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex as the sacrificial hearth, the Teotihuacan place where gods sacrificed themselves for the birth of the Fifth Sun, which may well have been the Ciudadela, "the one major enclosure at Teotihuacan" (Taube 2000:309-310). It is possible that the Fire God's dwelling at the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs is actually the central impluvium itself, as the watery navel of the larger square enclosure.

Coggins (1987) has argued that the outer Castillo of Chichén was built to commemorate the ending of two extremely important calendrical periods, namely, the end of the ninth baktun (10.0.0.0.0) and the end of a 52-year period, the most important central Mexican cycle and the one associated with the drilling of New Fire and the fiery death and rebirth of the gods at Teotihuacan: both of these events, if we accept the general accuracy of the GMT correlation, occurred in A.D. 830. Coggins believes that the confluence of these cycles, one traditionally Maya and the other traditionally Mexican, was part of a great cultural synthesis taking place at Chichén Itzá, uniting Maya royal lineages with people of Teotihuacan affiliation and ancestry (Coggins 1987:441). The A.D. 830 date of this momentous occurrence renders Krochock's A.D. 832 date for the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure suggestive. Perhaps a rash of gallery-patio structures was constructed in the wake of this calendrical convergence, both in the site center and in the major peripheral elite compounds of the site, as places for the maintenance of sacred fires, much as described by Duran for the "eternal fires" in the temples in Tenochtitlan. The drilling of New Fire in that city, according to Sahagun (Book 7) entailed the distribution of the fire drilled in the city center to important temples, to the houses of nobles, and then to the houses of the commoners and throughout the empire; one can imagine the gallery-patio structures in the compounds of important families, or in various ceremonial precincts that lack range structures, such as the Hieroglyphc Jambs platform, being the recipients and maintainers of fire drilled in city center at the Mercado or possibly at the Castillo, where the cached pyrite mosaic mirror was discovered. Perhaps the maintenance of ritual fires was part of the function of the fireboxes in the gallery of the Mercado.

The fact remains, of course, that we do not know who Atal is; we cannot read all of his name phrases on the Hieroglyphic Jambs texts; we have no evidence for the plugging of the impluvium drain in the Mercado or any other gallery-patio structure to prove that they would indeed have been pools; and the interpretation of the "altar" passages on the Hieroglyphic Jambs is very tentative. However, a number of elements of the hypothesis that gallery-patio structures were constructed as fire-god dwellings that specifically reflected the structure of the "turquoise enclosure" or something like it can be at least partially tested archaeologically. Most pertinent would be evidence for prolonged burning activities, perhaps in the form of ritual burning installations such as the fire-boxes in the gallery of the Mercado. Caches might be located whose content would evidence concern with fire-drilling or the iconographic complex of the fire god, particularly pyrite turquoise-backed mirrors. The demonstration of the presence of the impluvium and drain would be important for the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure, and evidence for standing water might be recoverable. Of greatest importance would be the recovery of midden remains that could speak to the nature of activities in and around the building. The probability of intact middens near the structures is heightened by the fact that most gallery-patio structures are probably single-phase constructions, lessening the chances of disturbance or re-use of midden deposits for later construction fill. Ideally, midden deposits should be tested for at a number of gallery-patio structures to compare the nature of remains found in each locale and to demonstrate at least general contemporaneity. I expect that the actual uses and roles of gallery-patios will be broader than indicated by the inscriptions, and that careful archaeological treatment will expose more of the range of uses these buildings hosted.

There are possible analogues for the Chichén gallery-patios in other areas with suggestive remains. Krochock (1998:36-39) calls attention to the work of Marie-Areti Hers (1989), who believes that the "halls of columns" at the Chichimec frontier sites of Alta Vista, La Quemada, and Cerro de Moctehuma are the precursors of gallery-patio structures at Chichén Itzá and Tula. Hers cites Augustin Delgado's 1962 excavations at Cerro de Moctehuma, which discovered a large room with tall walls containing a sunken patio: in the central altar of the patio, a sculpture of a seated man was

[119] Ruppert in fact documented roof adornos on the galleries of two gallery-patio structures, the Mercado and Structure 2D6 (1943:229, 231, Figs. 1,4b,10a,17d).

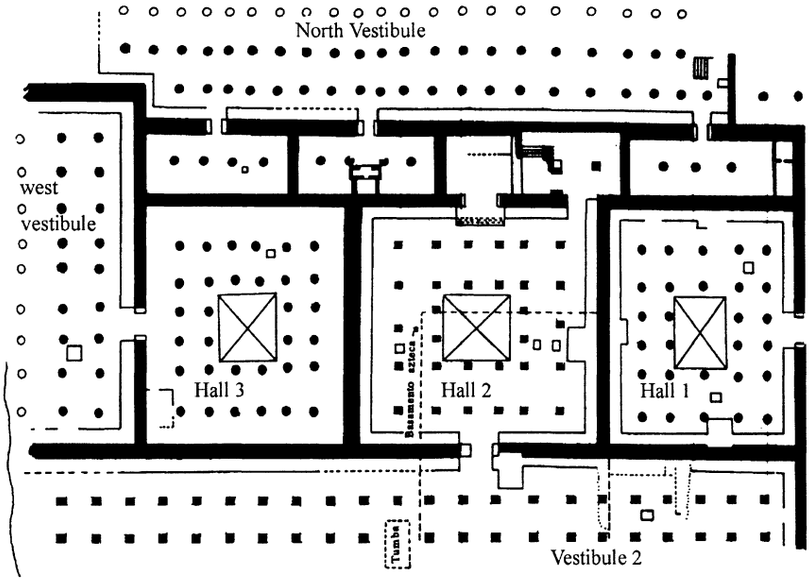


Fig. 6.48

Building 3, Tula, Hidalgo (from Diehl 1989:18). Small squares in Halls 1, 2, and 3 are "fire pits."

accompanied by a disintegrated plaque of mosaic turquoise, almost surely a mirror back (Krochock 1998:37; Hers 1989:151-2).

The closest matches for the Chichén gallery-patios are found at Tula in Building 1 and Building 3 (the "Palacio Quemado"). Building 3 (Fig. 6.48) consists of three connected rooms with the same plan as the gallery patios: they have a sunken center surrounded by rows of columns and a great colonnaded gallery on the south side, with an extra bank of small rooms to the north. The interiors of Halls 2 and 3 as well as the rear wall of the "gallery" were lined with benches, just like the Mercado and the Temple of Hieroglyphic Jambs. The carved friezes on the Mercado and Palacio Quemado benches are very similar, consisting of processions of "dignitaries" walking underneath a feathered serpent motif. Significantly, Hall 2 contained two chacmool sculptures: underneath the one that sat directly in front of the "altar" on the east side was a cache that included several sandstone disks with small pieces of jade and turquoise, almost certainly from mosaic mirrors with iron pyrite faces and turquoise and jade backs (Diehl 1989:25). Each of the three large rooms also has square pits set into the floor that Diehl (after Acosta) calls *tlecuiles*, or fire-pits (1989:21). One of these was excavated by Acosta underneath the south altar of Hall 2: it was filled with ash and contained a very burned green-stone figurine. These fire-pits are reminiscent of the square "fire-boxes" of the gallery of the Mercado. Also like the Mercado, Building 3 was eventually completely burned, and probably collapsed almost simultaneously (Diehl 1989:26). Acosta, the excavator of the Tula Grande site center, initially believed that Building 1 served as a ceremonial meeting hall for nobles, though he later changed his mind and proposed that it was the residence of the last Toltec ruler of Tula. Diehl notes the apparent absence of kitchen areas and the limited number of rooms, and suggests that Acosta's first suggestion is more likely (1989:26). Archaeomagnetic dates indicate that the end of Tula Chico and the beginning of Tula Grande (the section of the site that contains the Palacio Quemado) fell at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. If Krochock is correct and the GMT is accepted, then the 832 date of the Hieroglyphic Jambs inscription may indicate that Chichén's gallery patios preceded Tula's, but a tremendous amount of work remains to be done to integrate the chronologies of northwest Mexico, Tula, and Chichén.

A final building that may be analogous is Structure 20 at Nohmul, a late addition to the Late Classic Nohmul site center excavated by Hammond, D.Z. Chase, and A.F. Chase. Structure 20 is a 15.6m^2 building on a 20cm-high plinth; its center contains a sunken patio 3.2m x 4.2m; and it has a single narrowish door in its west wall. D.Z. and A.F. Chase (1982:599) say that "data recovered during excavation would indicate that Nohmul Structure 20 must have had perishable wooden columns in its interior to support its roof." In these respects it is similar to gallery-patios. Although the structure has no "gallery," the Chases (1982) believe that evidence for one might be located with further excavation. A large refuse deposit at the rear contained utilitarian and household objects including mano and metate fragments, lithic materials, a bark beater, a spindle whorl, and domestic plainware pottery; it also contained shell and both animal and human bone, much of it cracked and burned (1982:599). The Chases conclude that the structure had at least a partially domestic function, although the presence of burned human bone in the refuse deposit is enigmatic. The ceramic data from the structure can fit the "total overlap" model of the Cehpech and Sotuta ceramic spheres (D.Z. and A.F. Chase 1982:610) – the model that seems to be emerging as the most credible in recent Chichén studies – and thus is plausibly contemporary with Chichén's gallery-patios. The presence of burned human and animal bone in the midden together with apparent domestic refuse is odd, and I assume that it is this strange factor that leads the Chases to postulate that the function is "partially domestic." A "partially ceremonial" function would then also seem to be implied.

A great deal remains to be learned, and can be learned, about these structures at Chichén, and the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure is an ideal candidate for a thorough, problem-oriented excavation.

VI.10 The Akab Dzib

VI.10.1 The Akab Dzib lintel text

The sole inscription in the Akab Dzib, an enormous multi-roomed range structure on a low platform, is carved on a lintel over the interior door of a two-roomed tandem chamber, the only one in the building that faces south (Fig. 6.49). No other carved inscriptions have been found in the building. The carving on its lintel falls very much into the southern lowland tradition, both iconographically and textually. On the underside, a man in a feathered headdress sits gesturing with extended forefinger on an upholstered seat, next to what may be a censer. He is introduced to the viewer with a phrase that typically accompanies portraits of royalty and nobility in the Maya area:

u-b'aah Y-ajawal "Jawbone" "Fan"
It is the image/self of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"

Ch'ak-Ohl Ba-te' Ajaw
Ch'ak-Ohl Ba-te' Ajaw

The text on the underside continues by specifying the *tuun* and the k'atun (the 11th *tuun* of K'atun 1 Ajaw) of the "forming" (*pat-wan-i*) of the "carved thing" of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan," and finishes with an unknown verb whose object is *bolon tuun-al haab-ta?* "nine-year 'something'." At least one and probably both of the verbs take non-Yucatecan verbal endings – **wa-ni** *–wan-i?* in the first case, and **ji-ya** *-ji:y* (Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999:71) in the second.

The inscription on the lintel's front gives not the 11th, but the first *tuun* in K'atun 1 Ajaw[120] as the date of a probable ritual "embracing" (*pet?-aj* (A2),) involving the "carving"-dedication of the dwelling of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan."

U-JUUN-pi TUUN-ni	**ta JUUN AJAW-wa**
u-juun-pi tuun	*ta juun Ajaw*
the first tuun	in K'atun 1 Ajaw

PET?-AJ yu-"bat"-li-IL
pet?-aj y-u..-il-il
is embraced the "carving"

U-2-OHL-la ti-i	**U-WAK-WAK-pu-AHK na-hi**
u-cha-ohl-ti'	*u-wak-wak-pu-ahk naah*
the second? door? of	the Wak Wak Pu Ahk Naah

U-K'UH-lu o-to-ti	**Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"**
u-k'uhul otoot	*Yajawal "Jawbone-Fan"*
the holy dwelling of...	Yajawal "Jawbone-Fan"

K'UH-lu ko-ko-ma	**K'IN-chi-ni ba-PAKAL-la**
K'uhul Kokoom	*k'inich ba pakal*
Holy Kokoom	Radiant Head Shield

The subject of the "dedication" is the "two/second? *ohl-ti'*" (B2-C1), a term that is not entirely transparent. In its use of the *u-...-ti'* construction, the expression

u-"2"-ohl-ti'-u-wak-wak pu-ahk naah
the second ohl-ti' of the Wak Wak Pu Ahk House

may be parallel to the expression

u-pakab-ti'-il y-otoot
the lintel of the dwelling

that appears on the Las Monjas and T4L lintels – although why *ti'* does not take a partitive **-IL** suffix in the Akab Dzib context I do not know. The role of the *ohl* is not clear: *ol* and *jol* have overlapping glosses in Yucatec: *ol-na* and *hol-na* both mean "opening of the house," or "door"; but since the text already provides us with a word for "door" in Yucatec, this seems redundant. Also possible is the Ch'olan/Ch'orti' *jol*, whose glosses also overlap with *ol*, both of which can mean "head," or, in architectural contexts, "roof." Thus *ohl-ti'* may be rendering "door's-roof" as another word for "lintel." That it is the "two/second door's-roof" may refer to its position over the interior "second" door of the chamber. I do not have a satisfactory solution for this passage: *ohl-ti'* may just be a word for "entrance," or it may be something else entirely.

The dwelling, with its interesting but obscure name, Wak Wak Pu Ahk Naah, is owned by the man pictured on the underside of the Lintel. That he is or was human seems certain: 1) he is portrayed on the underside of the Akab Dzib lintel in traditional lowland royal portrait style and introduced with a typical *u-b'aah* formula; 2) he takes titles associated at Chichén and elsewhere with human men, including *ch'ak-ohl ba-te'* and *k'inich* (an epithet commonly used by Maya kings); and 3) he is called *K'uhul Kokoom*, a Yucatecan patronym (Cocom) long associated with the early history of the site. Interestingly, no one else named at the site takes the *Kokoom* title.

The dwelling itself is called a *k'uhul otoot,* "holy dwelling." This phrasing is unique in Maya inscriptions, but does not necessarily signify that the dwelling is that of a god; rather, the dwelling itself is explicitly attributed to a human man. It is tempting to conclude that the "dwelling" in this context refers to the Akab Dzib structure as a whole and that we are being presented with textual evidence for an elite residence in what is in many respects a likely-looking place. This inscription continues, however, with another architectural reference in which the space is attributed to another personage, a woman.

ha-i	**U-..-OHL**
ha-i	*u-..-ohl*
This is	the ?

tu-K'UH-lu	**["carapace"]TUUN?-ni**
tu-k'uhul	*["carapace"]-tuun?*
in/for/at the holy	["carapace"]-*tuun* of

[..]-K'IN-..	**ya-na-"bat"**
..-ki'n?	*y-an..*
..-K'in-..	the mother of

[120] This gap between the dedicatory activities on the front and underside of the lintel may have to do with the "nine-year [something]" mentioned in the underside's text – perhaps a nine-year anniversary or dedicatory refreshing of the lintel, room, or building.

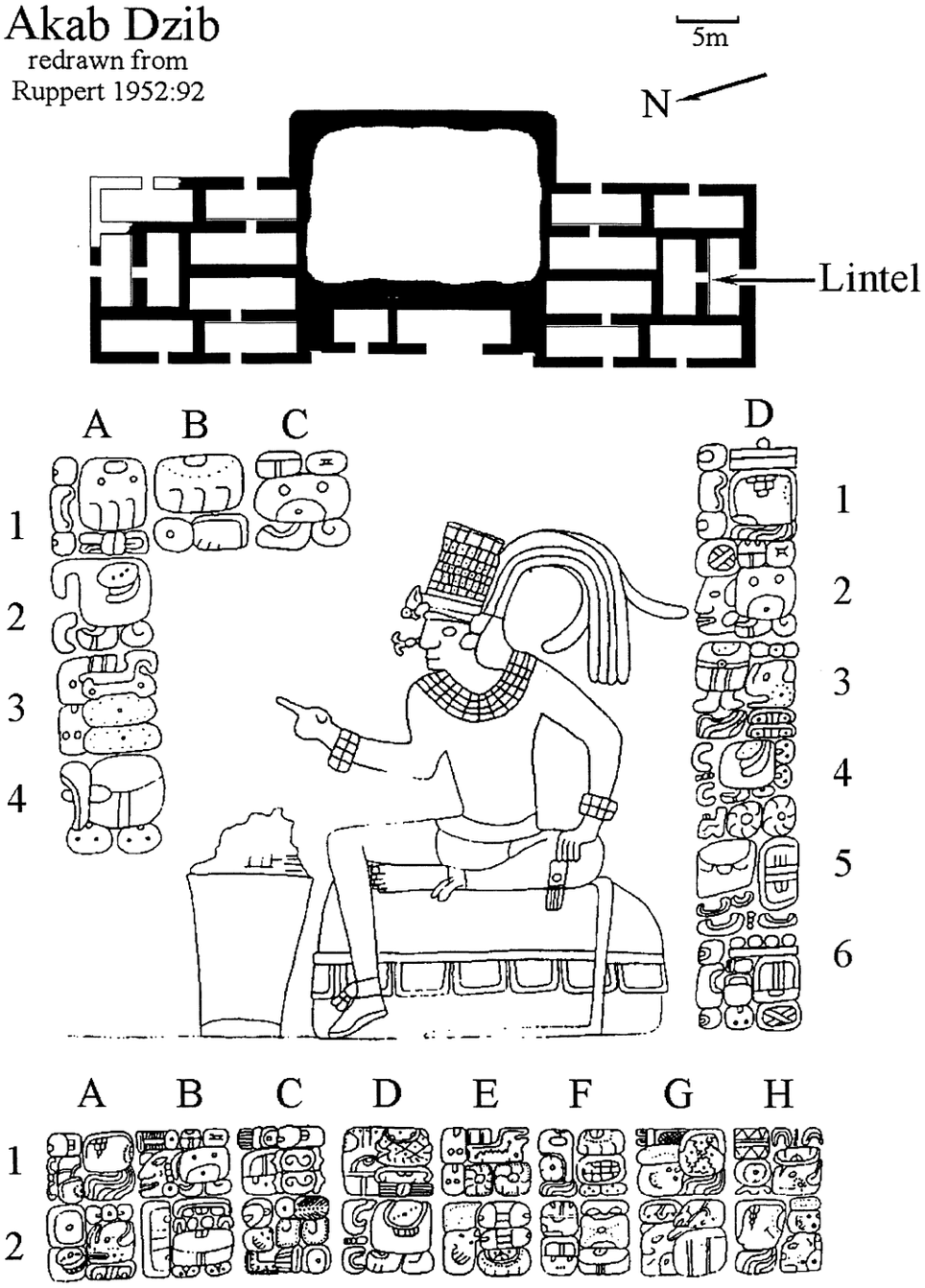


Fig. 6.49 The Akab Dzib, Chichén Itzá. Plan adapted from Ruppert (1952:Fig. 60); Lintel drawing by Ruth Krochock.

i-IX AAT-... TUUN-ni K'UH-lu IXIK
Ix Aat... Tuun K'uhul Ixik
Ix At..Tuun, Holy Lady

The "carapace" glyph in this instance is, like the dwelling itself, referred to as "holy." Its "owner," *..-K'in-...,* is connected to the woman *Ix Aat-.. Tuun* by the **ya-na-"bat"** – so-called "mother-of" – glyph, and so may be a woman or a female ancestor. Stuart points out (pers. comm. 2001) that the **ya-na-"bat"** collocation appears between the names of two men on Piedras Negras Stela 8, making the "mother of" translation problematic; and since there is no solid reading for the glyph it may be that it functions much as the *huntan* glyph functions in the Palenque texts, to indicate a relationship of caretaking, protecting, or parenting that can hold between people or between people and gods.[121] That is, we cannot be certain if "owner" of the "holy 'carapace'-*tuun*" is a contemporary human, a goddess, or perhaps a recent ancestor.

[121] It is perhaps worth noting, given the probable *y-an...* beginning of the **ya-na-"bat"** expression, that the verb root *an* in Yucatec languages means "to protect" or "to help," and that *aj anat* is glossed as "patron or defender," and as "helper, protector" in Barrera Vasquez (1980:16,17).

The expression *ha-i* that begins the clause above reorients the text to its original subject, the architecture, to say something else about it, which is typical of *otoot* dedicatory inscriptions. While I cannot say definitively why the *otoot* is attributed to Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan" and the "carapace" place is attributed to *..-K'in-..,* it may well be that she has dominion over or involvement with this space inside the larger domain of his dwelling. It could also be the case that Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan" is in fact dead at this time and that these two rooms are a shrine for his veneration. We have neither birth nor death dates for him nor anyone else at Chichén; and there is no reason to insist that he is a living person here or in the Casa Colorada text, whose latest recorded date is around eight years earlier than the Akab Dzib latest date.[122] It is interesting that only Yawajal "Jawbone"-"Fan" takes the *K'uhul Kokoom* title at the site; and that the Casa Colorada text, which recounts burning and conjuring for the gods probably by K'ak'upakal, ends with the statement that "it is his realm, Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan." Perhaps he is associated with the founding of the city. The otherwise unknown *k'uhul otoot* phrase might then reflect the nature of these chambers as an ancestral shrine.

VI.10.2 Physical description

There is very little archaeological information available for the Akab Dzib. The structure is unexcavated, though Ruppert published a plan and description in his 1952 work on Chichén's architecture. The building's plan is best compared to the East Wing of Las Monjas, a comparison made by John Bolles in his field notebooks (1932, Notebook C:46-47). The Akab Dzib is an 18-room structure, four ranges in depth, capped at each end by a double transverse chamber; the East Wing is three ranges in depth, capped at the end by a single transverse chamber. The two wings of the Akab Dzib are separated by a solid roof-high masonry mass, much as hypothesized by Bolles for the Monjas East Wing. Both buildings sit low on the ground; and Bolles notes that every door from an outer to an inner chamber in the Akab Dzib has a step up, just as in the East Wing (1932-4:46C). Ruppert did not note the presence of any stairs that might have led to a superstructure on top of the masonry core, as is the case with Las Monjas. The Akab Dzib, unlike the Monjas, is undecorated; it exhibits none of the Puuc mosaic façade sculpture of the East Wing, save for the standard three-member medial and superior moldings. Ruppert viewed the building as a palace-type structure. He noted many-layered plaster floors, indicating frequent refurbishing; "ventilators" on both sides of doorways and in the outer end-walls; and two pairs of plastered tongue-and-groove cord-holders on the inner side of each door (1952:93-94). Lincoln also suggests that it functioned as a true palace or elite residence (1990:606-7); and Schele and Grube (1995:131) see it as a residence of the Cocom family based on the inscription.

VI.10.3 Summary comments on the Akab Dzib

I have no trouble with the idea that the building was a residence for an important Chichén family or lineage, but I am not certain that the inscription indicates precisely that fact. The lintel front qualifies the dwelling as a *k'uhul otoot,* a "sacred dwelling," an expression unknown in other *otoot* contexts. The text goes on to respecify the nature of the space as a *k'uhul "carapace"-tuun,* possibly a divine "enclosure," as I suggest in the next section. In short, although the Akab Dzib is probably the best candidate for a traditionally-conceived "elite residence" or "palace" at Chichén Itzá, the epigraphic evidence for the building as the living home of the Cocom family is ambiguous. It is possible that the double southern chamber that contains the inscription is a shrine room dedicated to the mother or female ancestor of the woman named at G2-H2, perhaps an important woman in the Kokom household; but the text awaits a better understanding.

VI.11 Summary of results of structure-by-structure analysis

The aim of this chapter thus far has been to examine the evidence for the kinds of personages that own dwellings at Chichén Itzá and to combine this evidence with available architectural and archaeological information to develop a picture of the uses of structures as the Terminal Classic Maya may have seen them. The *otoot* dwellers referred to in the texts of Temple of the Four Lintels and Lintels 2 and 6 of the Las Monjas Second Story are unquestionably supernatural; it is extremely likely that supernatural figures are dwelling owners in the cases of Lintels 3-5 of Las Monjas, the jambs of the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, the lintels of Yulá, and the Temple of the Initial Series. The dwelling registered on the Lintel 3 of the Temple of the Three Lintels most likely belongs to Chok Watab; though the syntax is uncertain. The dwelling on the Akab Dzib lintel is unquestionably owned by Yawajal "Jawbone" "Fan," who seems to have been a historical personage, but who may or may not be a living man at the time the text was created; that his dwelling is called a "holy dwelling" perhaps suggests that he is already an ancestor. The Akab Dzib text also refers to a kind of place, possibly within the domain of Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan"'s *otoot,* that is owned by a woman who also may be either living or dead: she is in any case senior to the woman mentioned at the end of the inscription.

I would go so far as to conclude that there is no particularly good evidence that any of the *otoot* texts at Chichén refer to elite residences. Though archaeological information is sparse, the architectural features of Las Monjas provide strong support for its identification as a series of god dwellings; the sub-temple of the Initial Series building shares a standardized plan with the Temple of the One Lintel and a number of other structures, some of which are very clearly non-residential; and the gallery-patio Hieroglyphic Jambs structure is a member of a class of buildings with a very particular configuration and probably an equally specific set of purposes, which I suggest may have to do with the maintenance of sacred fires drilled in the city center.

VI.12 The "carapace" glyph at Chichén as an architectural term

The glyph in question is a cartouche containing a webbed pattern that appears, in iconography, on the buds of waterlilies and on turtle carapaces (Fig. 6.50). Krochock (1998:47) reads its various occurrences as *nab* and glosses it

[122] It is interesting that the verbs in the Casa Colorada inscription are nearly all recorded in the completive aspect, as if it were a retrospective text.

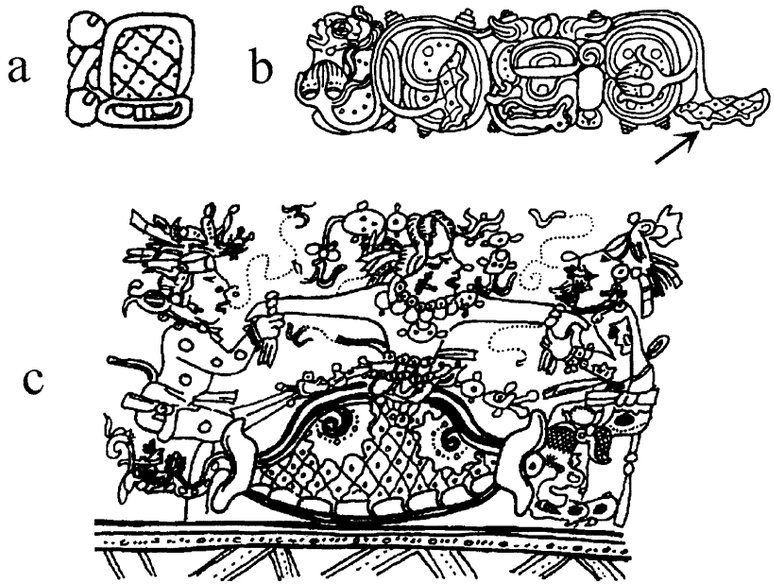


Fig. 6.50

Webbed pattern in Maya iconography: (a) carapace glyph from the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, West Jamb; (b) waterlily, from Schele and Miller (1986:Fig. 24); (c) turtle carapace, from Kappelman (2002:70).

as "waterlily," "courtyard," and "plaza." García C. also reads it as *nab* and translates it as "plaza," noting that no Maya dictionary contains this gloss, and that it must be a metaphorical reference since *nab* in reality means "extension of water, pool, or lake" (2000:30). García C. refers to Copán Note 86 by Schele and Grube (1990) as a source for southern lowland contexts for the *nab* reading, and I assume that note is also the source for Krochock's reading. That paper discusses evidence for a reading *nab* for the "darkened Imix" glyph based on its iconographic associations with water, and proposes that it is a metaphorical reference to Maya plazas. It is now generally accepted that the "darkened-Imix" glyph reads *ha'*, "water." Copán Note 86 never actually considers the webbed glyph, so I assume that García C. is accepting the network of semantic associations discussed for *nab* and applying it to the Chichén context.

The *nab* reading for the webbed glyph might be supported at Chichén by the presence of possible phonetic complements. On Las Monjas Lintel 7a:E (Fig. 6.51b), it is preceded by a **NAAH** logograph, and post-fixed by a **-b'a** syllable. It is also post-fixed by **-b'a** on Las Monjas Lintel 3a:B1 (Fig. 6.51a). The *nab* reading is unlikely to be correct, however, because it does not account for other phonetic evidence to be discussed shortly.

The glyph is almost certainly logographic: it consistently occurs between the third-person ergative **U-** and the morphosyllabic suffix **-VL**. It is also undoubtedly architectural at Chichén, and must constitute either a spatial subset of *otoot* space, an equivalent space, or a larger domain within which an *otoot* exists (much like the *kab'-ch'een* expression at Yaxchilán). I will discuss its textual contexts first in order to demonstrate that it is an architectural reference at Chichén, and reserve a consideration of its possible reading and meaning for the end of the section.

The glyph occurs eight times at Chichén (Table 6.3) in the texts of Las Monjas, the Temple of the Three Lintels, the Casa Colorada, the Temple of the Initial Series, the Hieroglyphic Jambs Structure, the Akab Dzib, and possibly Yulá. Of the eight occurrences, 6 are lintels: five of these contain *otoot* lintel-dedications on their undersides, and one (Las Monjas 7) dedicates *woj-il,* "glyphs." The "carapace" reference always appears on the lintel front. Lintel-front texts at Chichén seem to perform several functions: they can give a short summary of the longer text on the underside (T4L Lintel 2a); they can supply information about a supplementary action (often the *y-iliw utzil* "he sees/divines goodness" expression) concerning the dwelling or its divine occupant; or they can re-specify the nature of the space involved (Las Monjas 4a; Akab Dzib lintel front). The "carapace" references thus usually appear in the context of supplementary or summary information about the kind of space being dedicated or acted upon or in.

Las Monjas Lintel 3 records the dedication of a dwelling owned by someone or something that is in turn "owned" by Ix K'ayam, the mother of K'inil Ko...l. As discussed in a previous section, the glyph that specifies the nature of that dwelling-owner is eroded, and his or her name is not given. The front of the lintel (Fig. 6.51a), however, repeats the dedicatory phrase in exactly the same form used on the underside of this lintel and those of Las Monjas and the T4L in general. Instead of

*u-...-l-naj-***ki** *u-pakab'-ti'-il u-k'a-il*
y-otoot *[owner name]*

– the typical dedicatory phrase that appears, for example, on T4L Lintel 2 – we here get (at A1-B1)

*u-...-l-naj-***ki** *u-pakab'-ti'-il u-k'a-il*
u-jol u-sak-"carapace" *[owner name]*

That is, there is a direct substitution between *y-otoot* and "the *jol* ('entrance?') of the white "carapace," indicating that it is something that can also have a *pakab'* "lintel" and (depending on the gloss of *jol*) an entrance. The owner of the *sak "carapace"* is Chaak B'olon Pet (B2), an individual who is then identified as the *kiit-yan-lil*(?) – probably a type of patron – of a woman named Ix Atan Ajaw (C1), in turn the

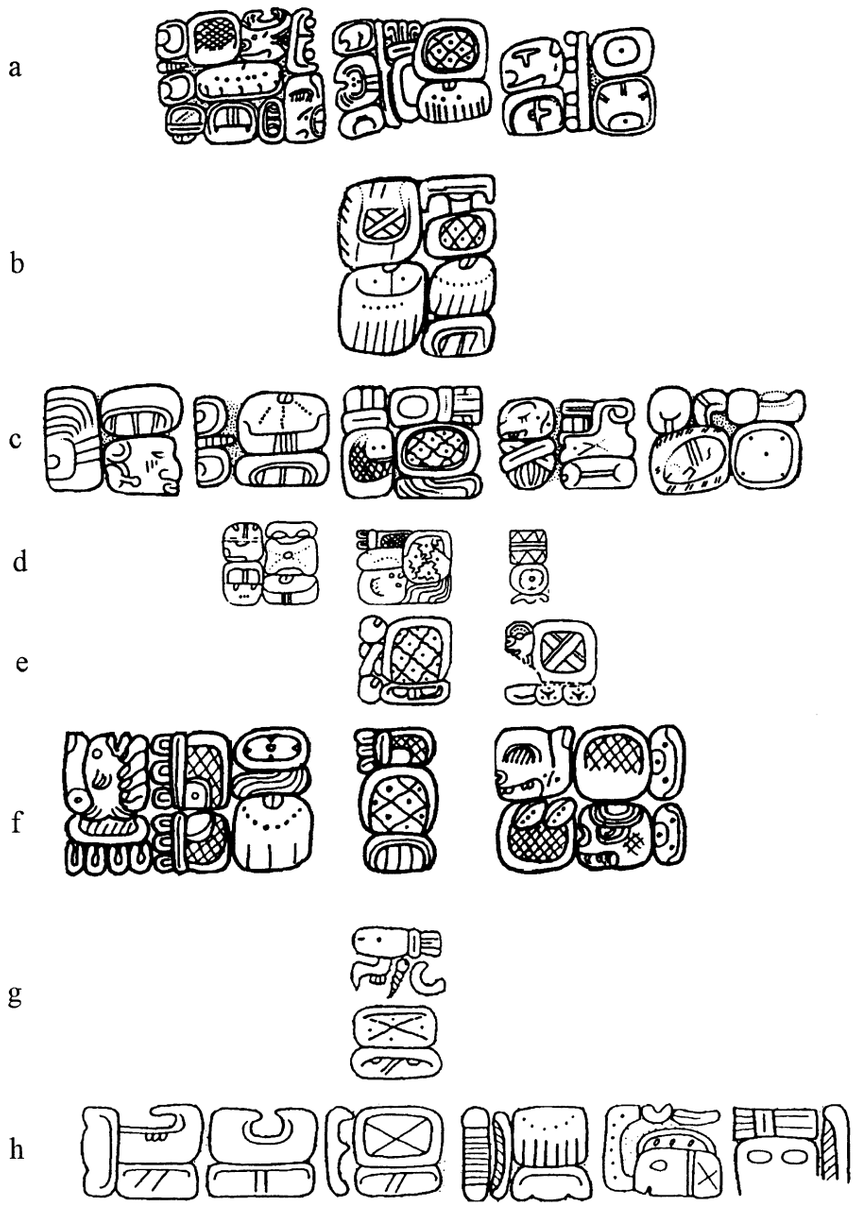


Fig. 6.51 Instances of the "carapace" glyph at Chichén Itzá: (a) Las Monjas Lintel 3a; (b) Las Monjas Lintel 7a; (c) Las Monjas Lintel 4a; (d) Akab Dzib lintel front; (e) Hieroglyphic Jambs, West Jamb; (f) Casa Colorada, Glyphs 20-22; (g) Temple of Three Lintels, Lintel 3a; (h) Initial Series Lintel front.

mother (D1a) of Ix K'ayam, the owner of the owner of the dwelling on the underside.

Chaak B'olon Pet may also be the supernatural owner of the dwelling, which is re-described on the lintel front as a *sak "carapace,"* belonging to him as the god or deified ancestral patron, perhaps of a line of women. The name Chaak B'olon Pet may also occur on **Las Monjas Lintel 7:F6,** where he is the agent of a verb whose action takes place *tan* "within" "something" (unreadable). The front of that same lintel says that the *woj-il* "glyphs" – the object of dedication of the monument – are owned by a woman Ix Tok-..., who is the *mim* "grandmother" of another woman Ix ..-ki; and the text finishes with another reference to a specific kind of "carapace", *y-ohm-naah-"carapace"-b'a-il* (Fig. 6.51b). It is possible that Chaak B'olon Pet is a god or ancestral patron specific to women or to the women of this lineage or family.

Las Monjas Lintel 4 dedicates the lintel of the dwelling of Chok Watab. The front of the lintel registers an action *y-iliw utzil* "he sees goodness" probably performed by K'ak'upakal. The indirect object of the "seeing" verb is the *sak "carapace"- tuun* "white *"carapace"* stone" of Chok Watab (Fig. 6.51c). Other indirect objects of "goodness seeing" are *otoot* "dwellings" and *k'uh* "gods." It is notable that here, as on Lintel 3a, the *"carapace"* is qualified with the adjective *sak.* Chok Watab owns both the dwelling and the *sak "carapace"- tuun* on Lintel 4a, suggesting a case parallel to that of Lintel 3a above.

Another *"carapace"- tuun* appears on the front of the **Akab Dzib** lintel (Fig. 6.51d), in the context of the "carving" dedication of a door of the *k'uhul otoot* "holy dwelling" of Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan." The original object of dedication, the *ohl-ti'* of the dwelling, is re-specified at the

TABLE 6.3:	OCCURRENCES AND CONTEXTS OF THE *"CARAPACE"* GLYPH AT CHICHÉN ITZÁ			
	transcription	**assoc. archit. terms**	**associated verbs**	**location**
1	**U-"bat"-lu-na-ja-ki u-pa-ka-b'a-ti-i-IL U-jo-lo U-SAK-*CARAPACE*-b'a cha-ki BOLON PET?-..**	*jol, k'a, pakab, otoot*	"carving"	Las Monjas Lintel 3a:B1
2	**yo-ma-NAAH-*CARAPACE*-b'a-IL**	*woj-il*	scattering? (*chok?*)	Las Monjas Lintel 7a:E1
3	**yi-li-wa u-tzi-li tu-SAK-*CARAPACE*-[TUUN]-ni U-cho?-ko wa-..-a-b'i**	*otoot*	"seeing/divining" goodness (*y-il-iw utzil*)	Las Monjas Lintel 4a:B1
4	**U-..-OHL tu-K'UH-lu *CARAPACE*-[TUUN]-ni..-K'IN?-**	*otoot, ohl-ti'*	"carving"	Akab Dzib lintel front:G1
5	**U-*CARAPACE*-IL a-AT-la**	*otoot*	*k'al-aj-[k'in?],* arrival/birth (*hul/sih*), bathing? (*at?*)	Hieroglyphic Jambs West Jamb:C6
6	**TZAK-ji tu-K'IN tu-b'a tu-*CARAPACE*-IL k'a-k'u-pa-ka-la**	*kab'an (?)*	fire-drilling (*joch'-k'ak'*), burning (*pul*), conjuring (*tzak*)	Casa Colorada: Glyph 22
7	**wi-ya-*CARAPACE*-IL**	*otoot*	*pas*; "carving"	Temple of Three Lintels Lintel 3:I2
8	**[verb] U-*CARAPACE*-IL U-ka-b'a-na YAYAX "RABBIT"**	*otoot, kab'an(?)*	?	Initial Series Lintel front:C1

end of the text as the *..-ohl* at/for the *k'uhul "carapace"-tuun* of someone who is the mother of a woman named Ix Aat-.. Tuun K'uhul Ixik. The terminology, as discussed above, is somewhat obscure, though it may have to do with the lintel as the "door's roof"; nevertheless, the structure of the text is clear, and it suggests an identification of the space of the *otoot* with that of the *"carapace."*

The doorjamb texts of the **Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs** identify the dwelling owner (East Jamb:A5-C5), Atal, with the *"carapace"* owner (West Jamb:C6-A7), Atal, suggesting, again, an overlap in the physical and semantic ranges of the term (Fig. 6.51e). The verbs associated with *"carapace"* may include "arrival" or "birth," and possibly "bathing." The *"carapace"* reference is followed by an *otoot* reference in a way that suggests that the *"carapace"* may be a spatial subset of the dwelling.

In the inscription of the **Casa Colorada**, a *"carapace"* is the site or perhaps the beneficiary of a conjuring act performed by K'ak'upakal (Fig. 6.51f), much as the *"carapace"-tuun* of Chok Watab is the beneficiary of K'ak'upakal's "seeing goodness" act on Las Monjas Lintel 4a.[123] This *"carapace"* passage is immediately preceded by two fire-drilling statements for the gods Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil and "Te U Chok"; and is immediately followed by burning references. It is thus mentioned in the context of fire-related activities, much like the god-dwellings in the Temple of the Four Lintels Lintels 2 and 4 and Yulá Lintel 1.

"Carapace" appears in two other *otoot*-related contexts in which little supplementary information is given. There is some chance that these two occurrences represent a different word, because the graphic variant is slightly different; but the contexts and the inflections are appropriate ones. One is on the **Temple of Three Lintels** Lintel 3, which dedicates the dwelling of Chok Watab as a patron of K'inil Ko...l (Fig. 6.51g). The reference is probably a simple stative sentence. Because the first sign could be either **ti** or **SAK**, we have

ti-wi-ya-"CARAPACE"-IL
or
SAK-wi-ya-"CARAPACE"-IL

[123] The syntax of this passage allows for alternate interpretations, but does not alter the association of the *"carapace"* with the conjuring act. The primary question here as on Las Monjas Lintel 4a is whether the name following *u-"carapace"-il* is the owner of the *"carapace,"* the agent of the "seeing" or "conjuring" verb, or both. What I would like to suggest is that in each case K'ak'upakal "sees goodness" or "conjures" for the benefit of the *"carapace"* of a god. The syntax of these texts can easily be construed to support this, but it can also be construed to support other hypotheses: i.e., K'ak'upakal may be the owner of the *"carapace"* in the Casa Colorada text.

Possibly the dwelling is, as in other contexts, being specified as a particular kind of *"carapace."* The other context occurs on the front of the **Initial Series** lintel (Fig. 6.51h). The text on the underside of this monument is concerned with the dwelling of Chok Watab, and, as noted in a previous section, seems to have little to do with the text on the front edge. The latter inscription (see Fig. 6.38) gives

10-tuun ta jun Ajaw
[verb] u-"carapace"-il u-kaban
Yayax "Rabbit" Kan
yi-ta-ji Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil
yi-ta-ji u-yajaw k'uhul-.-il k'uh
Bolon ti-... ajaw

In the 10th tuun of K'atun 1 Ajaw
[verb] the "carapace" of the realm of
Yayax "Rabbit" Serpent
"along with" Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil
"along with" his lords? Holy ... God,
The Nine ... Lords

The subject of this lintel front is thus an action involving the *"carapace"* of or in the realm of Yayax "Rabbit", along with other gods. The Initial Series lintel front may re-characterize the dwelling of Chok Watab, the subject of the main text, as the *"carapace"* of Yayax "Rabbit" together with the usual group of gods, Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil and the B'olon ti-... Ajaw. While it is not necessary to assume that both texts refer to the same space, the juxtaposition of *["carapace"]* and *otoot* in other texts suggests that they do.

The phonetic contexts that the "carapace" glyph must deal with at Chichén are the following:

1. U-"carapace"-IL
2. U-"carapace"-b'a-IL
3. yo-ma-NAAH-"carapace"-b'a-IL
4. U-"carapace"-ni

The glyph also occurs in the Dresden Codex 2d in two side-by-side contexts involving the taking (*k'am*) of an object by two gods, where the "carapace" glyph obviously represents the object taken (Fig. 6.52). In one case, the object taken is a skirt or apron-like garment, which a death god is starting to wrap around his waist, while in the other, it is a bundle of cloth, as if the skirt were folded up: this object is definitely not architectural. In the Dresden context, the "carapace" glyph takes a **-ki** suffix:

5. **U-"carapace"-ki**

Fox and Justeson suggest a value **PIK** for the webbed logograph in this context, based on the Yucatec word *pik*, "skirt." Unfortunately, it is very unlikely that the "carapace" glyph at Chichén signifies "skirt"; and any reading has to deal with all three suffixes: **-ba, -ni,** and **-ki**. How can a thing be a built space and a textile at the same time?

It might be considered that the carapace glyph is a logograph for something that encloses or "goes around," and that it may read *mak* or *mahk*. *Mak* appears in a number of Maya languages as the term for a kind of tortoise and for its shell. A more pictographic turtle carapace is sometimes used in the spelling of the month name Mak in Classic inscriptions. *Mak* spelled **ma-ka** also appears in the Classic inscriptions in verbal contexts as "to cover, close," but its glosses in Ch'orti' include "cover, surround, enclose" (Wisdom 1950). It can be used in conjunction with body adornments, as in

mak-u-k'ab	finger ring (Wisdom 1950:96) (encloses, encircles the finger)

and appears with an instrumental suffix and complex vowel with a textile

mahkib e tzupon	flap of shoulder bag (Wisdom 1950:96) (note the complex vowel)

There is some possibility, then, that the Dresden 2d shows the skirt as something that goes around or encircles the waist, or as something that covers (note that the death god is naked and is moving to cover himself); and that the **-ki** suffix indicates both the final consonant and the complexity of the vowel. One would expect an instrumental suffix, however.

Fig. 6.52

Dresden Codex 2d, after Fox and Justeson (1984:Fig. 18).

Mak is also used in architectural contexts:

mak e yotot	house roof "covering of the dwelling"
mahkib u hor e otot	roof thatch "covering-thing of the head of the dwelling"
mahkib u nak e otot	wall thatch "covering-thing of the belly of the dwelling"
maku'il yotot	inside the house "the enclosed-ness? of the dwelling"
u maku'il e yotot	interior of the house, room (Wisdom 1950)

Krochock (1998) supposes that the **U-"carapace"-ni** compound that appears on the Akab Dzib lintel and on Las Monjas Lintel 4a is in fact a "carapace" glyph superimposed over a *tuun* glyph. Her suggestion is perhaps supported by the shape of the cartouche enclosing the webbed pattern on the Akab Dzib lintel, which is the same as the shape as the cartouche of *tuun* glyphs. In this scenario, the glyph would actually read **U-"carapace"-TUUN-ni**. It is worth noting that Wisdom (1950) gives

mak-tun	stone fence, any enclosure built of stones

Possibly the north central room of the Monjas Second Story and the south-facing room of the Akab Dzib are being referred to as stone enclosures, *mak-tuun.*

The **-b'a** suffix that appears twice in the Chichén inscriptions is problematic. I can only suggest that we may be dealing here with **-ba** as a morphosyllabic instrumental suffix *-ab'*: as Houston, Robertson, and Stuart (2001:17) note, the **-b'i** suffix is typically used to indicate instrumental suffixes in the inscriptions, but its vowel *(-Vb')* is indeterminate. *-ab'* does function in both Ch'olan and Yucatec languages as an instrumental suffix (though *-ib'* predominates in Ch'olan languages) and is reconstructed for proto-Ch'olan as such (Kaufman and Norman 1984:145). *Makab'* or *mahkab'* would then be a thing that encloses – in other words, an enclosure. Wisdom (1950:96) gives

mahkib e ak'ach	chicken pen
mahkib e chitam	pig pen

In the last passage of Las Monjas Lintel 7a, we may be getting a specification of kind of enclosure involved:

yo-ma-NAAH-MAK-AB'-IL
y-ohm naah makab'-il
"it is the foam-house?! enclosure"

The form of the "carapace" glyph is suggestive, and may help to link the architectural and garment contexts. The associations of the back of a turtle with the earth and with the birth of gods – particularly the emergence of the maize god shown in a number of ceramic contexts emerging from a cracking turtle carapace – are well known (Taube 1985:175, 1988b:198; Quenon and Le Fort 1997:897). Quenon and Le Fort have proposed that the net skirt worn by maize god impersonators such as the one on the Buenavista Vase – whose pattern is the same as that of the "carapace" glyph – represents the turtle carapace from which the maize god emerges, evoking that mythological episode. That an item of clothing can be seen as placing its wearer in a cosomlogical framework is an idea familiar from ethnographically-documented Maya communities: weavers of huipils in the Chiapan and Guatemalan highlands weave the geography of the universe into their garments, such that the wearer of the garment emerges through the neckhole as the axis mundi (Morris 1987:108). The turtle shell as *mak* may have the additional significance of a "realm," or a "domain."

There is an interesting depiction of an enclosure in the Codex Borgia in pages 11-12 of the ritual sequence, showing a square enclosure as the body of an enormous crocodile, identified by Seler as the Earth Monster, Tonatecuhtli (Byland 1993:xxv). The crocodile's body forms the walls of the enclosure and is marked with year glyphs and with the same dotted web pattern as the "carapace" glyph. While the reading *mak* for the "carapace" glyph is far from solid, the idea that the "carapace" glyph may refer to the enclosures or dwellings of the Chichén gods works well in every context in which the glyph appears.

VI.13 The implications of the distribution of personal names, titles, and god dwellings for the political organization of Chichén Itzá

Most and possibly all of the inscribed structures or rooms in those structures are god dwellings in at least some phase of their use, rather than elite residences. Further, many of the proper names at the site are those of gods. The remaining personal names at the site – those of humans – can be shown 1) to have a particular physical distribution, and 2) to take sets of titles that differ from those taken by supernatural personages and reflect a political hierarchy. A more nuanced understanding of political relationships at Chichén than was previously possible can be achieved by looking at how personal human and supernatural names are distributed across the architectural landscape of the city, and by looking at the roles associated with those figures.

VI.13.1 Who, what, and where is K'ak'upakal?

Many have noted that the name K'ak'upakal occurs more frequently than any other at the site. It can also be shown that K'ak'upakal takes a unique set of titles, that he assumes a unique set of roles, and that his name has the widest physical distribution at the city.

Table 6.4, at the end of this chapter, shows the occurrence of personal names of humans and supernatural figures with the various titles present at the site. It does not include those personal names whose contexts are quite unclear – namely, those that are eroded, appear only once in the inscriptions in ambiguous contexts, and/or are possibly titles. Leaving these names out does not affect the overall impression or validity of the table. It is clear from the table that some of the titles taken by K'ak'upakal are distinct from those of any other personage at the site, god or human. He is the only human male who uses the *K'uhul Ajaw* title, associated with divine lords in the southern lowlands as the basis for the traditional Emblem Glyph.[124] No other person at the site takes the titles

[124] A single other instance of that title occurs on Temple of the Three Lintels Lintel 1, where it runs directly into the name and titles

K'uhul Aj K'ak' or *ch'ahoom*. He also is the only person to use the titles *K'ak'nal Ajaw, Ok'in K'awiil,* and *u-nuun?-il...-l,* which I did not include in the table for reasons of space. He shares the *K'uhul Aatel Waaj* title with three other humans (Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan", K'inil Ko...l, and Wajujaw) and the *ba-te'* title with those three plus A-k'e Took'. What is most notable is that he never takes the *y-ajaw k'ak'* title shared by K'inil Ko...l, A-k'e Took', and Kal-..kaw. The *y-ajaw k'ak'* title is known to be that of a subordinate lord in some contexts: a good example occurs on the Palenque Temple 19 platform panel, where K'inich Ahkal Mo' Nab, the holy lord of Palenque, is flanked by a lord labeled with this title.

K'ak'upakal's distinctive status is reflected by his peculiar and particular set of roles in the texts, which do not fall neatly into human or divine categories. Unlike the humans K'inil Ko...l or the lords named in the Temple of the Four Lintels and Initial Series inscriptions, he never clearly "owns" a god at Chichén: the Initial Series text might relate him to a god or ancestor in this way, but specific glyphs and syntax on that monument are currently too poorly understood. The single passage in which his relationship to Chok Watab might be clarified is too eroded to read (central panel of Las Monjas Lintel 4). K'ak'upakal also never appears in a dependent **yi-ta-ji** clause, unlike the nobles with whom he shares titles. On the other hand, neither does K'ak'upakal, like the gods Yayax "Rabbit" or Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil, own any *otoot* dwelling. The Casa Colorada text may indicate that he possesses a "carapace"/enclosure(?) space, but the syntax of the relevant phrase is not straightforward. Even if he does "own" the "carapace" space, it is not clear from other inscriptions (i.e., the Akab Dzib lintel) whether this is a kind of space exclusively "owned" by gods.

K'ak'upakal occupies textual positions and roles that are parallel to those of K'inil Ko...l in the Initial Series lintel and the Temple of the Four Lintels texts, but in all of the inscriptions that include both personages, he is invariably mentioned first. Unlike K'inil Ko...l, he is rarely the agent of the verbs having to do with burning rituals, such as the *joch'-k'ak'* or *pul* verbs. He does seem to be associated three times with the *y-il-iw utzil* phrase, a collocation that may have to do with witnessing or perhaps with foretelling abundance or divining; and he also is very probably the agent of the *tzak* conjuring verb on the Casa Colorada text.

There is a single context in which K'ak'upakal may occupy a position subordinate to someone else: on the Casa Colorada at glyphs 25 and 26, he is described as *y-ajaw wa..ta:b(?)* (Fig. 6.53). Martin and Grube identify the *y-ajaw* collocation as denoting an unequal relationship between lords (e.g., 2000:19); i.e., it marks an ascending hierarchical relationship between the name before and the name following the expression. Note that, although the *wa..ta:b* seems to be the same name as in that of the proposed ancestor/god Chok Watab, the "Chok" is missing here, and so there is no guarantee that the name refers to the same figure or to a person at all. Other *y-ajaw* examples occur as part of a full name: for example, Yajaw Te' K'inich is the name of two Caracol kings, and Yajaw Chan Muwan is the name of a king of Bonampak. Therefore, Yajaw Wa..ta:b could be one of K'ak'upakal's titles. Nevertheless, it is also possible that we are getting a reversal on the Casa Colorada hieroglyphic band of the possible god-human relationship suggested between Chok Watab and K'ak'upakal on Las Monjas Lintel 4.

The idea that the rule of Chichén Itzá involved brothers originated in Landa's *Relación*, and was bolstered by the now-defunct "sibling" reading for the **yi-ta-ji** glyph. Additional evidence for the "brothers" idea is adduced by Krochock (1998:108; 2001:159) and García C. (2000:67-69) following Kelley (1982), who identify a parentage statement for K'ak'upakal on Las Monjas Lintel 3 indicating that his mother and the mother of K'inil Ko...l are the same. There are, however, two problems with this parentage statement. One is that between the name of Ix K'ayam at E1a and the **ya-na-"bat"** so-called "mother of" glyph at E4, there is another possessed noun – probably with an architectural referent – followed by female titles that may or may not belong to Ix K'ayam; further, the beginning of the name phrase of K'ak'upakal that follows is eroded, and may incorporate another possessed noun or name of another personage. The second problem is the interpretive difficulty noted above with the **ya-na-"bat"** glyph: if it cannot be strictly construed as a genetic relationship, then the female "owner" of the thing named in Las Monjas Lintel 3:E1b may be a sort of "protrectress" rather than a mother to K'ak'upakal or whomever is named in the succeeding eroded phrase.

K'ak'upakal's name not only appears more frequently than any other does, but it is more widely distributed. It occurs to the north and south of the site at Halakal and Yulá and in all of the inscribed buildings save for the Temple of One Lintel, the Hieroglyphic Jambs, Structure 6E1,[125] and the Akab Dzib. The Halakal lintel front is the sole context in which he appears in a **yi-ta-ji** clause, in a textually though probably not politically subordinate position: here, his name is associated with that of Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil, a supernatural figure, and he may be witnessing an event at the minor center of Halakal as an important dignitary, a documented function of the **yi-ta-ji** clause at other sites.[126]

of Ix K'ayam. It may go with the name of Chok Watab, but both his name phrase and the syntax of the lintel are unclear.

[125] Various scholars have proposed that one of the figures on the Str. 6E1 south column can be identified as K'ak'upakal. The other figures on this column have names that are explicitly associated with Chanal K'uh "Sky God" epithets; and the proposed K'ak'upakal's association with them might be construed as meaning that he also is a god or an ancestor. However, the name that accompanies the figure is not clearly that of K'ak'upakal: the shield-like element interpreted as *pakal* is more like the "fan" in Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"'s name, and the **tu-pi** that follows that glyph never appears in any other of the numerous instances of K'ak'upakal's name and title strings. If this depiction *does* represent K'ak'upakal, then it has to be considered that he may be a divine or ancestral figure, or, minimally, explained what he is doing in the company of people with supernatural titles who resemble him in every respect.

[126] **yi-ta-ji** is also used to incorporate the presence of witnessing gods at rituals in many texts from the lowlands. Here again, the possibility that K'ak'upakal is more than a contemporary lord could be considered. It is true that until better understandings of Chichén's inscriptions emerge, there may remain some doubt as to whether he is a contemporary human being or possibly a deified

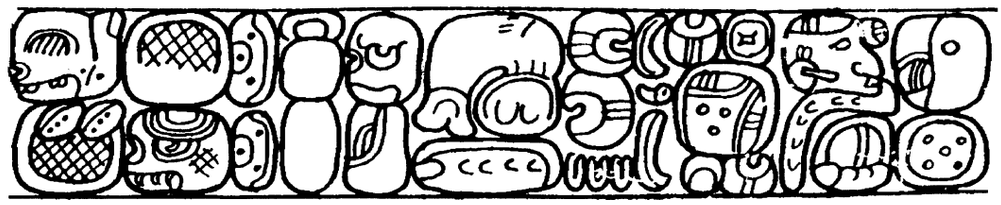


Fig. 6.53 K'ak'upakal's title phrase in the Casa Colorada inscription, Glyphs 25-26.

K'ak'upakal is, if not the only human male figure named in the Las Monjas texts, definitely the most important: he is mentioned on all of the lintels of the north central room and its flanking east chamber. That is, with the possible exception of a personage named on Las Monjas Lintel 7 who is of uncertain identity and ontological status, K'ak'upakal is the only contemporary human man associated with this important, heavily inscribed central set of god dwellings. Though its text is problematic because eroded, he may be the "owner" or human caretaker of Chok Watab on Lintel 4 of that structure.

It is important to note that Coggins believes that K'ak'upakal is a title relating to fire ritual rather than a personal name, a possibility which might explain its wide distribution in the texts of a city so concerned with fire rites, as well as some of the name's more enigmatic occurrences (e.g., Temple of the Three Lintels Lintel 1). I think, however, that the use pattern of the name more closely fits that of a core name with appended titles. The full name, K'ak'upakal K'awiil, "Fire is the shield of K'awiil," resembles in structure the names of a number of lowland kings, such as K'ak' U-ti' Chan, "Fire is the mouth of the snake," or Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil, "Eighteen are the 'selves' of K'awiil."

VI.13.2 Other contemporary men in the inscriptions

In contrast to K'ak'upakal, Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan" is mentioned only in two site-center structures, the Akab Dzib and the Casa Colorada, and never in the peripheral buildings. He takes titles assumed by no one else, including K'uhul Kokoom, K'inich B'a Pakal, and Juun-Pik Took', though this last title also appears on the Halakal lintel, where it is not certain to whom it belongs. K'inil Ko...l, on the other hand, is never mentioned in the site center proper (Las Monjas, Casa Colorada, Akab Dzib); he is, rather, associated with architectural complexes in the southern periphery, namely, the Lintels Group (Temples of the Three and Four Lintels) and the Initial Series Group; and he shares titles with both K'ak'upakal and Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan" (*K'uhul Atel Waaj*) and with subordinate lords (*y-ajaw k'ak'*). His mother, Ix K'ayam, does play an important role in the Las Monjas inscriptions, as well as in the Lintels Group. The distribution of K'ak'upakal's name encompasses and goes beyond all of these spheres.

The four probable lesser nobles that appear in the Temple of the Four Lintels also have certain distributions. For example, A-k'e Took's name occurs only in texts that also contain K'inil Ko...l's, and in only two buildings, the Initial Series and the Temple of Four Lintels (Lintels 1, 2, and 4). The Initial Series building is the closest to the site center, while the Lintels group is further down Causeway 7. Wajujaw also appears in two structures, in the Temple of the Four Lintels, where he seems to have an *u-tajal* relationship with both K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko...l, and at Yulá, where he is also tightly linked with K'ak'upakal but not with K'inil Ko...l. That is, Wajujaw appears to be one step further out on the network than A-k'e Took' (Temple of Four Lintels and Yulá, versus Initial Series and Temple of Four Lintels). The other two lesser nobles (Ox Pakab' Matam and K'uhul Kal..kaw) appear nowhere else but the Temple of Four Lintels. No other demonstrably human figure at the site appears in more than one architectural context save for Ix K'ayam, whose distribution and buildings were discussed in the section above. These spatial relationships are summarized in Fig. 6.54.

VI.13.3 Distribution of supernatural names

The supernatural personage with the widest distribution on the site is Chok Watab. He is the dwelling owner of the north central room of Las Monjas; he owns a dwelling on the Initial Series Lintel, which I think most likely comes from the sub temple of the Initial Series mound; he is a dwelling owner – if an ambiguous one – in the Temple of Three Lintels; and he is probably named in the Caracol inscription. Although he (probably – see the section on the north central chamber of Las Monjas) shares the Juun Yajawal Winik appellation with one of the figures on the 6E1 column whose sole glyphic identification is that title, it is not uniquely Chok Watab's. Te' U Chok, another possible deified ancestor, takes the same title on the Halakal lintel, such that it cannot be asserted that Chok Watab is the 6E1 figure.

The next most prominent supernatural is Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw: his Monjas dwelling flanks Chok Watab's to the east. He also has a dwelling, connected to Las Monjas by a sacbe, at the Temple of the Four Lintels, where he is the dominant although not the only divine dwelling owner. The front edge of the Initial Series lintel identifies the locale of that dwelling as the *kaban* "realm?" of Yayax "Rabbit", along with Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil and the Bolon ti-... Ajaw. It is interesting here that Yayax "Rabbit" and Yax

ancestor. Nevertheless, I believe that for the moment he can be considered a human, given 1) that colonial Yucatec texts refer to K'ak'upakal as an historical person and war captain of the Itzáes, 2) that his epithets include human titles, 3) that he and K'inil Ko...l play parallel roles in the T4L and Initial Series texts, and 4) that he probably performs a conjuring on behalf of the gods on the Casa Colorada lintel.

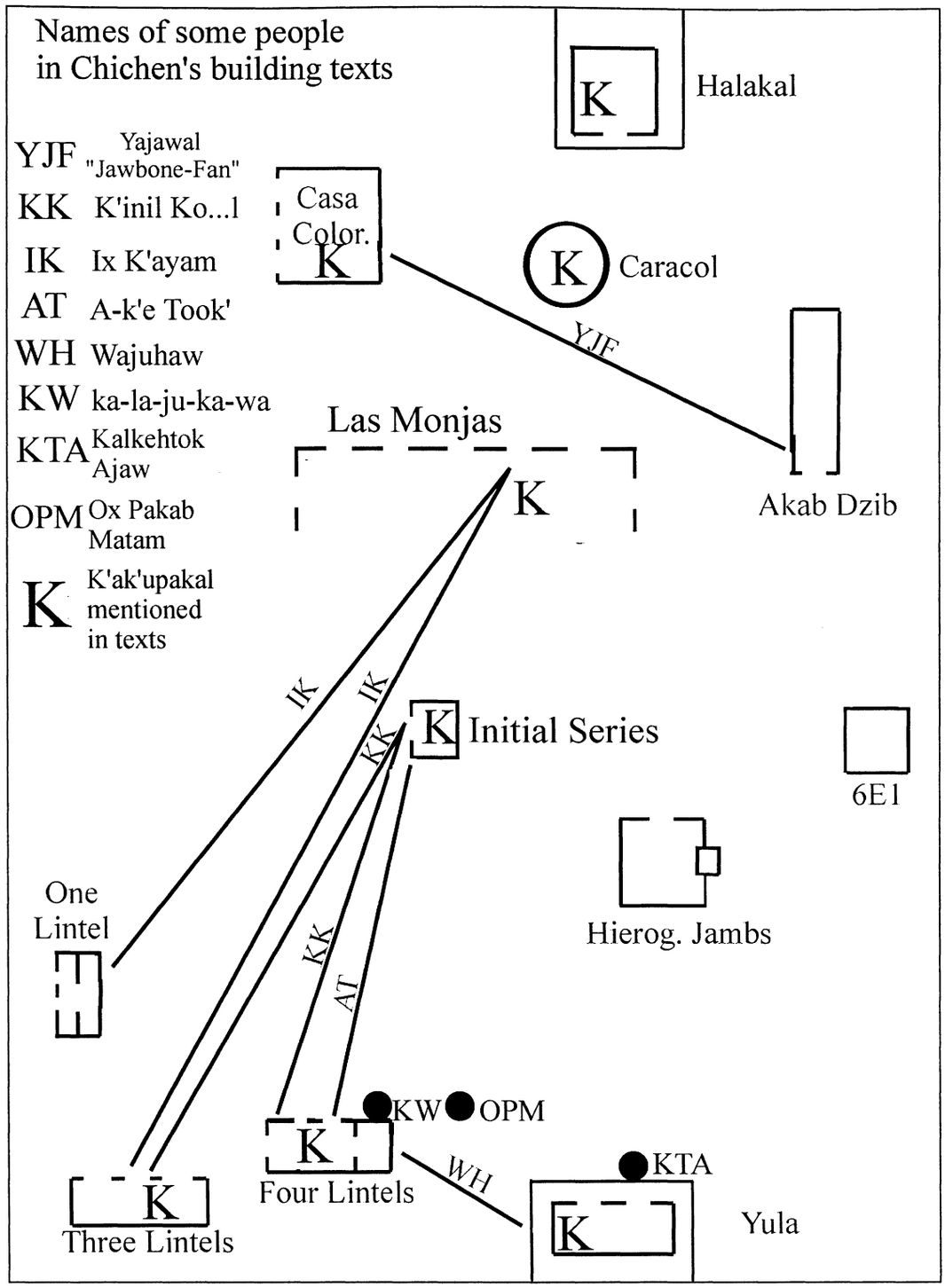


Fig. 6.54 Distribution of human names in the texts of inscribed structures at Chichén Itzá. Blacks dots represent names with only one instance on the site.

Uk's "realm" "frames" the dwelling of Chok Watab, much as their dwellings flank his at Las Monjas. Yayax "Rabbit" is also mentioned in the Caracol; but he is missing from the Casa Colorada, and does not appear with his "partner" Yax Uk' at Halakal to the north.

Yax Uk''s Monjas dwelling flanks Chok Watab's to the west. He appears accompanying Yayax "Rabbit" on the Initial Series Lintel, but does not appear any further south than that, having no space in the Lintels Group. His other contexts are more northerly: he has fire drilled for him in the text of the Casa Colorada in a ritual in which K'ak'upakal probably "conjures" (*tzak*) and he appears with K'ak'upakal in a series of **yi-ta-ji** clauses on the Halakal lintel several kilometers north of the city center.

Yax Uk''s Monjas dwelling (Lintel 6) is next door to the dwelling of Te' U Chok (Lintel 5), who also has fire drilled for him in the same Casa Colorada ritual. Te' U Chok is probably (if the glyphs are correctly identified) also the

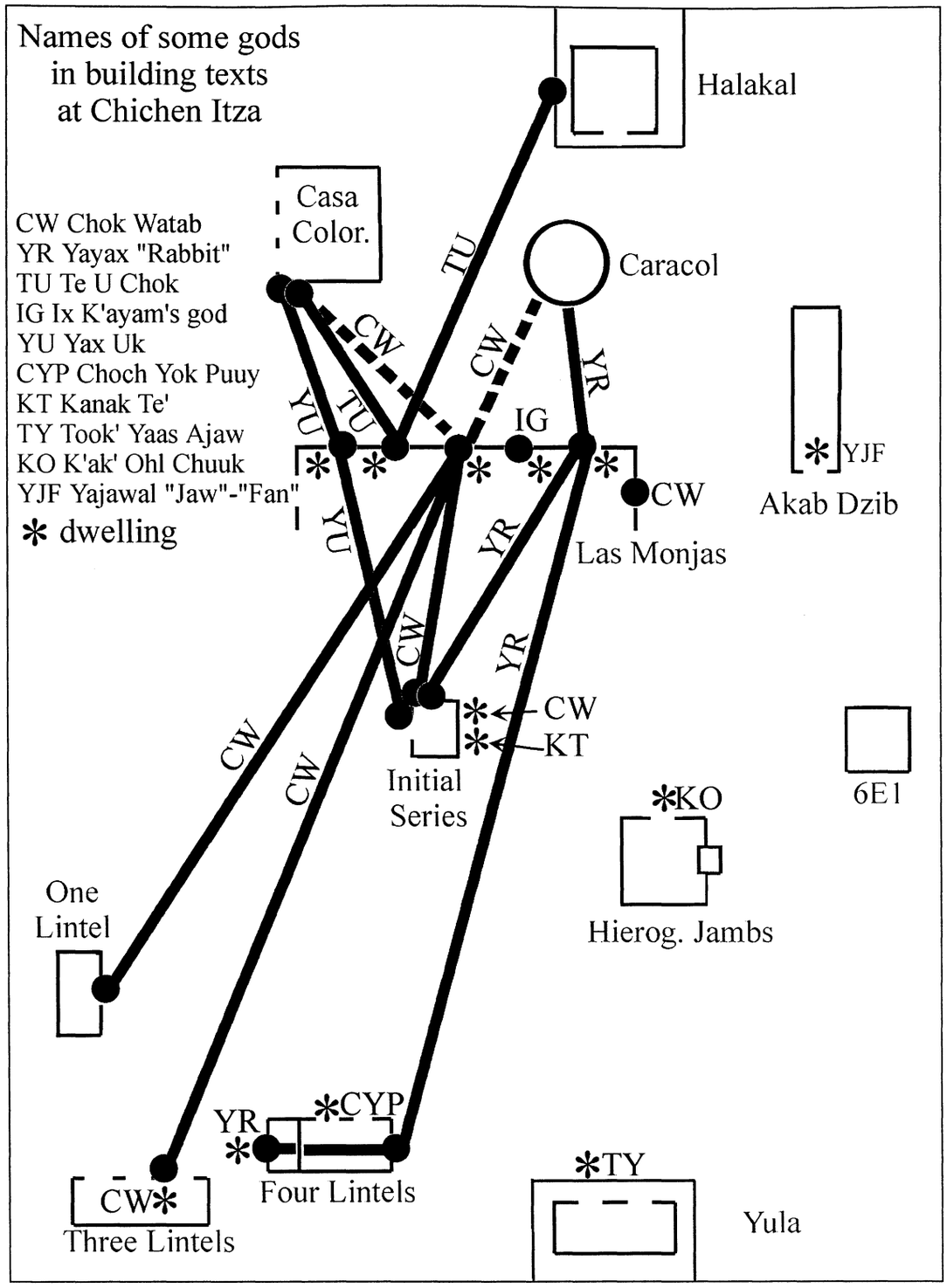


Fig. 6.55 Distribution of supernatural names in the texts of inscribed structures at Chichén Itzá.

principal protagonist of the Halakal text, in which whatever event is recorded takes place in the company of *Chanal K'uh* "Sky Gods."

Finally, Choch Yok Puuy's name appears only on Lintel 3 of the Temple of Four Lintels, suggesting that he is perhaps a local lineage-specific god. These spatial relationships are summarized in Fig. 6.55.

With regard to the *Chanal K'uh* title, it is striking that in two cases, on the Halakal Lintel and the south column of 6E1, protagonists who have clear supernatural titles are portrayed looking fully human, dressed as warriors and carrying weapons. I am led to hypothesize that many of the important supernatural figures at Chichén are ancestors, possibly quite recent ones, who perhaps played important roles in the military events that appear partially responsible for establishing the city as a great cosmopolitan center. In particular, Chok Watab seems to be a good candidate for a

recent ancestor who has an important central shrine in Las Monjas, who has smaller shrines located around the city as at the Temple of the Initial Series, and who functions as a patron of the city's most important men and/or their dwellings, as may be indicated by the dwelling possession statement on Temple of Three Lintels Lintel 3. It is interesting that he is the only supernatural figure with whom K'ak'upakal seems to have a direct relationship (Las Monjas Lintel 4).

VI.13.4 Chichén's women and lintel dedication practice

Ruth Krochock has recently published an account of Chichén's women that emphasizes their role in the legitimation of the rule of foreign men (2002). Of the five women she examines, two have a "penis" logograph in their names, which she provisionally translates as Yucatec *ton*, "penis." The penis logograph also appears in the title that she transcribes *k'ul ah ton le wa* and glosses as "holy he of the penis lineage": this title appears with the names of K'ak'upakal, Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan", K'inil Ko...l, and Wajujaw. Krochock also identifies a woman "Ix 'penis'-'pyramid' Tuun" named on the Akab Dzib lintel front as Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"'s mother; and another "penis" woman "Ix 'penis'-**na** Ajaw" as the mother of Ix K'ayam, making her the grandmother of K'inil Ko...l, and, according to Krochock and García C. after Kelley, of K'ak'upakal. Positing that the two "penis" women are related representatives of a local "penis" lineage, Krochock hypothesizes that non-local men are marrying into this lineage in order to establish their own power, that the "holy he of the penis lineage" title reflects this affiliation, and that the phallic theme in the House of the Phalli refers to the same lineage. She believes that women are mentioned in the inscriptions of Las Monjas because they are important ancestors who helped legitimize the rulership of Chichén Itzá (2002:167).

I think that the available evidence provides little support for this hypothesis. First, the penis logograph must be read phonetically, not iconographically. The presence of the logograph in each of the two women's names occurs in different spellings. In the first, we have

IX "penis"-na AJAW-wa
Ix ...n Ajaw

and in the second

i-IX "penis"-"pyramid" TUUN-ni
Ix ..... Tuun

That is, in the first instance, the penis is being used to spell an **n**-final word. The second instance is a completely different name, and we have little idea how the penis logograph is working here because we cannot read the second "pyramid" syllable. In the case of the penis title, it is invariably spelled (Fig. 6.56)

K'UH-lu a-"penis"-le wa-(WAAJ)-ji

The **a** before the penis logograph is never the T12 sign, most commonly used to spell the **AJ** agentive; rather, it is always T228 or T229, the syllable *a*. It is likely, then, that the penis sign at Chichén is read *aat*, "penis," as it is at many lowland sites. Further, the use of the logograph does not mean that the intended meaning is "penis." The **AAT** logograph is used, for example, to spell the name of Copán's sixteenth king, Yax Pasaj Chan Yoaat, or possibly Yopaat, which Martin and Grube translate as "Lightning god" (2000:209). Similarly, in the spelling of the Chichén "penis title," the meaning of the penis logograph has to be considered in the full context of the title, which may well read *K'uhul Aatel Waaj*, presently untranslatable. It is certainly interesting that the penis logograph is used so frequently at Chichén. There may also be alternative spellings of *aat* or *at*: we can recall the name of Atal on the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, and there are other examples in the Caracol texts. Any hypothesis about the role of this word or the penis logograph as indicating a lineage name or concept would have to account for its different contexts and affixes in the texts.

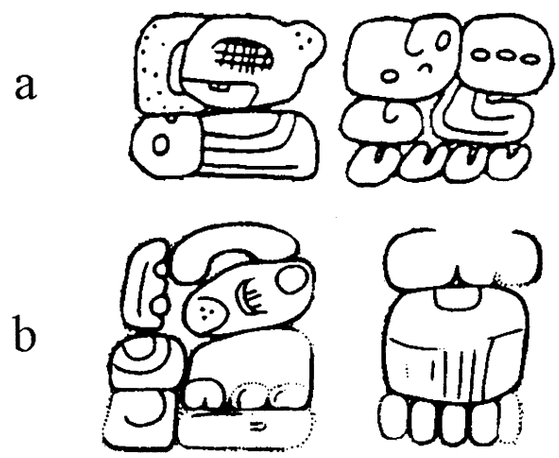


Fig. 6.56 Two examples of the "penis" title: (a) **K'UH-lu a-AAT-le wa-ji** (Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 1:D2-C3); (b) **U-K'UH-lu a-AAT-le wa-WAAJ-ii** (Las Monias Lintel 7:B3-A4).

It should also be noted that there is evidence for only two instances of a man claiming a woman in a parentage statement, and it is the same man and mother in both cases. Ix K'ayam is unmistakably called the mother of K'inil Ko...l in two places, on the Temple of the One Lintel lintel, and on Lintel 3 of the Temple of the Three Lintels. The problems with identifying Ix K'ayam as K'ak'upakal's mother have been detailed above. Finally, the claim that on the Akab Dzib lintel front Ix Aat-"Pyramid"-Tuun is the mother of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan" cannot be substantiated: her name follows the "mother of" glyph rather than preceding it. The name that precedes the "mother of" glyph is rendered using only half a glyph block, and it is not clear what the sex of the person is, though we can assume for the time being that it is probably a woman. This older woman is the "owner" of the *k'uhul "carapace"/enclosure?* that is part of the dwelling of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan."

It is even more important to understand the *context* of these women's names in the inscriptions. Without this context, epigraphers and archaeologists will continue to interpret Chichén's texts as if they were little more than cunningly constructed political statements. For example, Krochock describes the text-terminal mention of Ix Aat-"Pyramid"-Tuun on the Akab Dzib lintel front this way:

> [P]erhaps Yahaw Jawbone Fan would have preferred not to mention the significant role of Lady Multun Ahaw [*Ix Aat-*"pyramid"-*tuun*], the woman who gave him legitimacy to rule, because it might take away from his position of prominence. Because it was necessary to include her name, perhaps he arranged the structure of the phrase so that her name appears at the end of the text (Krochock 2001:161).

Ironically, in trying to argue for the importance of women at Chichén, Krochock discounts some of the only good evidence for female agency at the site.

There are at least seven female names in Chichén's texts. The seventh occurs at Yulá and I will discuss her later. It can be observed that the names of the other six women occur in three pairs at the ends of lintel-front texts; in each case, the older woman is mentioned first as the link to the architecture or to the divine owner of the architecture. On the Akab Dzib lintel front, a woman is said to be the owner of an architectural subset of the dwelling of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"; she is then said to be the mother of Ix Aat-"pyramid"-Tuun who is also called a K'uhul Ixik, "holy woman" (Fig. 6.57a). On Las Monjas Lintel 3a, the woman Ix-Aat-na Ajaw (possibly Ix Aatan Ajaw) is related by the expression *u-kiit-yanilil* to the owner (probably divine) of an architectural subset of a god dwelling; she is then called the mother of Ix K'ayam (Fig. 6.57b). Ix K'ayam is also the "god-owner" in the text of the underside of the same lintel. In the last case, Las Monjas Lintel 7a records that "these are the glyphs" of Ix Tok Leb/Lem, who is the grandmother (*u-mim*) of a woman Ix **"Ajaw"-ki** (Fig. 6.57c).

That is, the majority of clear female parentage statements belong to women, not men; and they are given in the context of self-referential inscriptions (i.e., "these are the glyphs") on the lintel fronts of god-dwellings. I suspect that what is going on is that politically "live" women are dedicating family shrines to important patron gods in the names of their near female ancestors – mothers and grandmothers – much like dedicating a shrine to your mother's favorite saint in the side chapel of a cathedral. The younger generation is the active one: Ix K'ayam is the mother of a contemporary very high noble, K'inil Ko...l, who is erecting his own inscriptions. Her mother would very likely be deceased at the time of erecting a text that cited her, as would the grandmother of Ix **"Ajaw"-ki**. Similarly, Ix Aat-"pyramid"-Tuun is called a K'uhul Ixik, a common royal female title, while her mother is given only half a glyph block, highlighting the prominence of the younger woman.

Krochock proposes that the thirty-one spindle whorls recovered in Bolles' Las Monjas excavations indicate that spinning and weaving took place at this locale on a regular basis, and that Las Monjas was a primary residence for some of the site's important women, four of whom are found in its texts. While I agree that the East Wing of Las Monjas was most likely a residence at some point in its history, the construction of the Second Story as a series of god dwellings may have changed the dynamic of this area. We have almost no contextual evidence, as I discussed in the section on Las Monjas archaeology, for the use of the plaza-level buildings that surround the massive Second- and Third-Story constructions. They could as well have housed ritual personnel, for the maintenance of the massive shrine, as a royal family. Also, no record of context for the spindle whorls exists. Their presence could equally well indicate that one of the activities going on around the main building was the spinning and weaving of garments for the numerous god images that were undoubtedly housed in the niches of the Second Story: in modern-day Chiapas and Guatemala, weaving the garments of the saints housed in the churches is an honor given to the best weavers (Morris 1987).

The foregoing ideas do not necessarily contradict the idea that foreign men were marrying local women for legitimacy purposes; but the evidence for it is diminished. The parentage statements that are clear are indeed for female

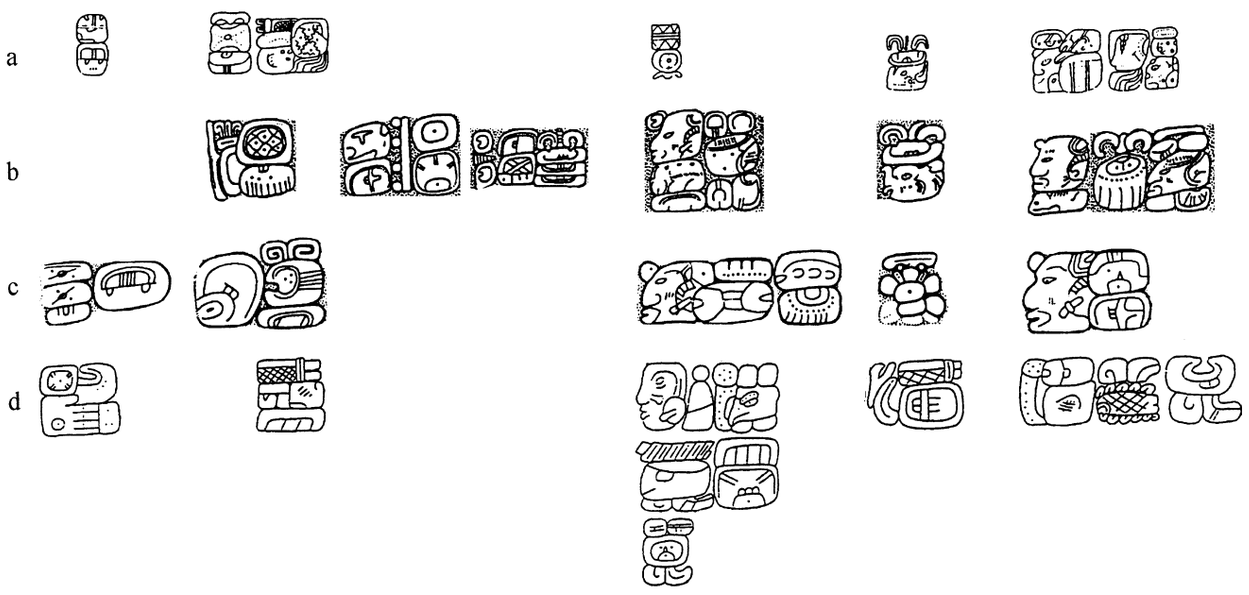


Fig. 6.57 Women at Chichén Itzá: (a) Akab Dzib lintel front; (b) Las Monjas Lintel 3a; (c) Las Monjas Lintel 7a; (d) Yula Lintel 2.

ancestors; whereas the male relationship statements – *u-kiit, u-sak-kiit,* and *u-kiit-yan(i)lil* – are, at least for now, considerably more ambiguous in their meaning. What is most interesting is that women in their prime are dedicating ritual spaces to elder women in their families. The involvement of more than one woman with the dedication of a ritual space is reminiscent of Lintel 23 at Yaxchilán, where a number of women from the same family participate in the dedication text and probably the ceremony. The practice of women relating to the places of their female relatives rather than to those of the men also reminds me of Hanks' discussion of the way that Yucatecan women refer to the household of their father as *nal inmàamah* 'my mother's place', or to the home of parents-in-law as *nal inswèegra* 'my mother-in-law's place': as Hanks notes (1990:99), "[t]hese usages are typical of the indexical pattern according to which women refer to households by way of the senior woman."

The final example of a probable woman appears on Yula Lintel 2:A3-D2 (Fig. 6.57d):

k'al-aj-k'in	*tu-woj-il*
is bound	**for?with? the glyphs of**

Ix ..	*K'uhul Ajaw ...*	*ka-te Ajaw*
Ix ...	**Holy lord ..**	**Ka-te? Lord**

ya-tu-ki *K'uhul Wajujaw*
ya-tu-ki **Holy Wajujaw**

ha-i K'ak'upakal K'inich K'awiil
it/he is K'ak'upakal K'inich K'awiil

Here, the "glyphs' belong to a woman who is called a holy lord. She is related to a male figure with the collocation **ya-tu-ki**, which is not deciphered and not seen elsewhere at Chichén. It is difficult to tell whether she is a living or an ancestral human, or a god. I imagine that she is a human and that her "glyphs" are being dedicated in what is otherwise called, later in the same inscription, *y-otoot k'uh*, the god's dwelling – much as in the other women-oriented dedicatory passages at the site. This is also an example of a human male lord relating himself to a woman – the structure of the text is much like the structure of the paired-women texts: as I noted above, there is still evidence for men tying themselves to women, whether or not through parentage statements. Incidentally, this passage provides the best evidence for Coggins' idea that K'ak'upakal is a title rather than a personal name: the name Wajujaw is directly followed by a demonstrative pronoun "this/he is" and K'ak'upakal's name, suggesting that Wajujaw is also K'ak'upakal.

VI.13.5 Mul tepal at Chichén Itzá

Most Mayanists have accepted some form of the thesis that a striking shift occurred in the structure of Maya government at the end of the Terminal Classic and beginning of the Postclassic. This shift allegedly involves the disappearance of the institution of divine kingship as expressed by the title *k'uhul ajaw* and cessation of the tradition of stela erection, and the subsequent development of a system of power sharing between important elites. The *mul tepal* "joint government" idea as adopted by archaeologists and epigraphers originates in Roys' (1943) discussion of ethnohistorical sources that indicate that at the time of the conquest, *mul tepal* as a form of government by supreme council was an operational system. This ethnohistorical data was later integrated with archaeological information from Mayapan, the apparent successor of Chichén Itzá as the premier city on the peninsula and inheritor of its lineages (Roys 1943; Pollock *et al.* 1962), to suggest a joint government model for that city, although Stanton and Gallareta N. cite Ringle to the effect that while the ethnohistories mention a king of Mayapan, there is no reference to *mul tepal* (2001:231).

The penetration of Chichén's texts, beginning with David Kelley's (1968) identification of the name K'ak'upakal, began to suggest the possibility of significant correspondence between ethnohistorical documents and Terminal Classic inscriptions. The discovery of a great number of personal names in the texts and the apparent lack of the traditional Classic-period focus on the power and activites of a single ruler demanded explanation. Now, several lines of evidence form the foundation for the assumption of *mul tepal* government at Chichén. Landa's description of Chichén Itzá as being ruled by three brothers forms a baseline, and has been interpreted both literally and figuratively. The literal interpretation was fostered by Stuart's initial decipherment of the **yi-ta-ji** glyph as "sibling," which permitted Schele and Freidel's "brotherhood of princes" interpretation of Chichén's political structure (1990:359-361). Later revision of the **yi-ta-ji** decipherment to reflect the idea of formal companionship rather than literal kinship (MacLeod, cited in Grube 1994a:326) allowed a more figurative interpretation of Landa. Grube (1994a) embraces this approach, isolating groups of companions linked by the **yi-ta-ji** glyph to support the idea of a non-monarchical government. He states (1994a:326) that no hierarchical differentiation is indicated by the titles associated with these companions, but that the prefixing of *k'ul* to various titles might represent patronyms, implying that various lineages were involved in the sharing of power. There is some ambiguity with these *k'uhul* titles: for example, the name Wajujaw appears both with (Four Lintels Lintel 4:G7-G8) and without (Four Lintels Lintel 1:D3-C4) the adjective *k'uhul.*

William Ringle (1990) has also suggested that patronymns are identifiable in Chichén's texts, though he bases his ideas on phonetic readings of certain glyph compounds. Some of Ringle's proposed patronymns probably cannot now be supported. K'awiil, which occurs as part of K'ak'upakal's title string, is certainly a Yucatecan patronym, but is also a common feature of ruler names from the Early Classic onward. Some support for his claim that it is K'ak'upakal's patronym may be found in the text of Yulá Lintel 2, where his name is recorded as K'ak'upakal K'inich K'awiil "K'ak'upakal Glorious K'awiil" (C1-D2). Ringle also proposes that the "skull" in the **ko-"skull"-la** portion of the name of K'inil Ko...l can be read Yucatec *pol,* "head"; but there is no phonetic evidence to support this reading, nor do I know of a reason for accepting the vowel shift from *kopol* to *kopul* (Copul), the attested variant of the Cupul patronym in the *Relaciones de Yucatan* (Ringle 1990:236). Still, Ringle may easily prove to be correct, especially if the vowel change can be shown to be valid. Finally, the proposed Can (Kan) patronym in Yax T'ul's (Yayax "Rabbit"'s) name

phrase is probably not a patronym but a descriptor of Yayax "Rabbit"'s serpentine nature.[127]

The most certain patronym is Kokoom (Cocom), spelled out as part of Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"'s name; possibly Ringle's Hau (from the name K'uhul Wajujaw (**wa-ju-ja-wa**)) patronym may also be viable (1990:235). By analogy with the K'uhul Kokoom patronym, though, one would think that the patronym would be Wajujaw, not just Hau. Ringle (1990) also identifies a collocation in Chichén's texts that he read *holpop*, known from colonial Yucatan as a title for third-level administrators whose offices and duties were rotating. This identification leads him to suggest that most of the individuals in Chichén's inscriptions are second- or third-level officials and that their association with so much dedicated architecture suggests that they maintained considerable power (1990:240). The proposed *holpop* reading is not supportable now, since its contexts in Chichén's texts make it clear that it has a particular grammatical function, that it is probably verbal, and that it may be a deictic element (García C. 2000:10). However, Ringle's intuition that many of the human male names represent those of lower-tier nobles, as evidenced by the title *y-ajaw-k'ak'*, remains correct. They may have "maintained considerable power," though whether it was more than at any other site where second tier nobles are named (Yaxchilán, Palenque, Copán, etc.) is questionable, especially given the fact that their names occur away from the site center in noble compounds, much like at Copán.

As I have begun to show above with the table of names and titles and the discussion of the physical distribution of those names, considerably more resolution on the hierarchy of relationships at the site is attainable than has previously been achieved. When combined with a better appreciation of the purpose of Chichén's texts, the nature of this hierarchy begins to look much like that at other sites.

It is clear from the work of other scholars that Chichén's texts focus on the dedication of structures; and it should be evident from my own work that the overriding concern is with these structures as sacred spaces, that are referred to or characterized in multiple ways, and that are the subjects or sites of fire- and conjuring-based rituals for the benefit of their divine inhabitants. The reason for the erection of these inscriptions has generally been treated as a question of political rhetoric. Schele and Freidel note that

> [t]he nobles of this city shared extraordinary privileges with their rulers. The texts of Chichén Itzá are scattered throughout the city in places traditionally reserved for the use of kings: on the stone lintels spanning the doorways of public buildings; on the jambs of these doorways; on freestanding piers in doorways, an architectural fashion of the Terminal Classic period; and on friezes decorating the interiors of these buildings (1990:356).

Similarly, Krochock has characterized the inscriptions as part of an "innovative program of political rhetoric" (1998:3). She asserts that they were used to disseminate political information, documenting the actions of leaders of an incipient form of *mul tepal* (1998:6); and that a later phase of Chichén's political life "discontinued the use of public writing in favor of elaborate narrative pictorial scenes" (1998:3) that communicated political and ideological information to a more cosmopolitan audience.

The texts do document what Grube calls "collectively executed rituals" (1994a:325), at least in the cases of the Temple of the Four Lintels and Yulá Structure 1 – although exactly what form of participation is recorded by the **yi-ta-ji** glyph is not known. In the cases of those structures, it must be noted that the actual agents of the ritual actions are rarely, if ever, verifiably the lesser nobles at the site; rather, K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko...l seem to be the principal agents of burning, "auguring" (*y-il-iw utzil*), and conjuring. Further, the characterization of these texts as political rhetoric needs to be tempered by the fact that they simply cannot be seen as "public writing," nor their locations as "public buildings." It is likely that few of the inscribed buildings were entered by more than a few select nobles and priests. Las Monjas as the central dwelling of the city's gods is certainly located in a large site-center plaza, but it is perched upon an intimidatingly vertical platform to which access was undoubtedly restricted. The inscriptions of this structure would have been visible only to someone standing directly underneath them. In the Temple of the Four Lintels, one of the lintels is mounted with its inscribed face inward over an interior door of the structure, such that its front would only have been readable by torchlight to someone standing within the interior shrine. The preponderance of the occurrence of texts on the undersides of lintels emphasizes, for me, that these texts are generally not audience-oriented. The outward-facing parts of the texts are, to some extent, more accessible, and it is interesting that they tend to contain more information about the involvement of human personages, particularly in the case of the women, with the architecture.

It is surely true that Maya writing in stone is a political exercise, and that for lesser nobles to be recorded as participants in important ceremonies and as "owners" of the site's patron gods or ancestors augmented prestige and cemented alliances. But the creation of relationships with gods and the cementing of alliances are living processes, networks of social relations that make and remake themselves in the contexts of face-to-face encounters and ritual action – occasions that bring together different factions and lubricate social and political relationships. While it is obviously important to appreciate the political nature of texts, they have other purposes as well. The bulk of political maneuvering undoubtedly took place before the carving of the text, in official and unofficial political and ritual contexts. The texts reify relationships that have been worked out in those living contexts, and then continue to act as part of the being of the building, part of the ongoing loquaciousness of the structure. Several scholars have suggested that writing is an essential aspect of object sacralization or "ensouling" itself; i.e., that the act of writing upon something constituted an important part of its ritual activation. The importance at Chichén of the dedication of "glyphs," and the emphasis

[127] I have wondered, however, if Kan Ajaw is a reference to Calakmul, whose ancient name is, of course, Kan. Perhaps Calakmul was seen as, or was, an origin place for important and possibly recent Chichén ancestors.

upon whose glyphs they are, is probably reflective of this attitude toward the act of writing.

The most basic function of the majority of the texts at Chichén Itzá was to acknowledge the relationships between gods/ancestors and humans, and the actions that human beings undertook on behalf of the gods and their dwellings, probably on the sites of their dwellings. The texts were likely an intrinsic part of the ritual activation of the buildings. These relationships and activities can be interpreted as political to the extent that K'ak'upakal dominates them in the site center, and to the extent that lesser nobles in the site periphery have "possessive," possibly caretaking or patron-client relationships with important gods: in these latter contexts, K'ak'upakal in each case occupies an overseeing or supervisory position, with the exception of the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs, whose inscriptions predate the others by around four decades. For example, in the Temple of the Four Lintels Lintel 1, two men are recorded as "owners" of the god Yayax "Rabbit" in parallel passages. In the first passage, Wahujaw's god "ownership" statement is directly followed by a statement of his *tajal* relationship to K'ak'upakal; in the second passage, the "ownership" of the god is attributed to K'inil Ko...l, who is then "accompanied" (**yi-ta-ji**) by another man, A-k'e Took', rather than related to K'ak'upakal. That is, K'inil Ko...l is structurally equated with Wahujaw, not with K'ak'upakal. Given 1) K'ak'upakal's predominance in the site center; 2) K'inil Ko...l's strong presence in the southern Initial Series/Lintels Group area and the consistency with which he takes second position to K'ak'upakal when they appear in texts together; and 3) Wahujaw's confinement to the more extreme periphery of the site at the Four Lintels structure and Yulá Structure 1, it is not difficult to accept that a fairly clear hierarchical relationship exists between these men, reflected in both the content of the texts and in the proximity of their relative spheres of influence to the center of the site and to Las Monjas in particular.

A second function of the hieroglyphic texts, as discussed in the previous section on Chichén's women, seems to have had much to do with the production of the glyphs themselves as an offertory act. The glyphs are said to "belong" to elder human women (or possibly very proximal ancestors); there may also be an instance of K'ak'upakal "owning" the glyphs on the underside of Las Monjas Lintel 1 – the name phrase is very eroded, but includes the title K'ak'-nal Ajaw. It may be that erecting an inscription to a god or ancestor in the name of a close and possibly deceased kinswoman was considered to be helpful to the soul or cause of a deceased or elder person in the underworld. The act may be akin to that of lighting a candle for a deceased relative on all-souls day on the altar of a Catholic church.

The gods who are represented by dwellings in Las Monjas can obviously have dwellings in more than one place, and it is virtually certain that the god dwellings whose inscriptions survive represent a small portion of those that were originally scattered across the landscape of the city. Each major family, or perhaps lineage, could have maintained a minor temple dedicated to one or more gods in their own compounds, fostering ritual, and, of course, political interchanges with the site center temples and personnel, perhaps entailing processions along the causeways that connected them to Las Monjas and the city center in general. It may be that some gods were quite specific to certain families, such as the god Choch Yok Puuy, who shares the Temple of the Four Lintels dwelling with Yayax "Rabbit" and is mentioned nowhere else at the site. K'ak'upakal's name may have been invoked in these peripheral contexts, much as Yax Pasaj's name was invoked in suburban contexts at Copán, without necessarily implying his presence or participation.

Where does this leave us with *mul tepal*? It is certainly true that a number of historical names occur in the inscriptions in a very short time period between A.D. 869 and 889. It is true that K'ak'upakal shares important epithets with a number of these figures, including K'inil Ko...l, Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan," and Wahujaw, and that some of them take titles preceded by the *k'uhul* epithet that identifies divine kings in the Classic lowlands. At the same time, physical spheres of action at the site as reflected in the distribution of personal names in the site's inscribed buildings can be delineated, and the hierarchical relationships implied in the texts are reflected in a text's distance from the site center. K'ak'upakal occupies ritual and, apparently, "overseeing"-type roles occupied by no other character at the site. He takes titles shared with no other human male, and does not take titles shared by lesser nobles (e.g., *y-ajaw k'ak'*). The only male name at the site that is not overshadowed by K'ak'upakal's is that of Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan," but his name is confined to the Akab Dzib and the Casa Colorada. It is interesting that while K'ak'upakal performs, in the Casa Colorada text, a conjuring for the benefit of the gods for whom fire is drilled, the entire sequence of rituals is summed up at the end of that text as being *u-kaban* "in the realm" of Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan." Perhaps Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan" and K'inil Ko...l had districts of authority at the site, the former's in the vicinity of the complex of buildings immediately north of Las Monjas and including the Akab Dzib, and the latter's to the south centering around the Initial Series and the Lintels Groups.

In sum, the texts provide, in my view, no explicit evidence for dual or triple kingship, as Lincoln has suggested, nor for significant power sharing, as many have concluded: the roles and domains of K'ak'upakal, K'inil Ko...l, and Yajawal "Jawbone" "Fan" are plainly not equivalent. While the texts do not paint K'ak'upakal as a paramount or divine leader in the tradition of the southern lowlands, he does have a presence and a kind of authority not demonstrated by any other human. Instead, the inscriptions provide evidence for realms of ritual and political action and entitlement that are hierarchically and spatially structured. Stanton and Gallareta N. have recently reached similar conclusions. They note (2001:231) that the major difference between K'ak'upakal and, for example, Bird Jaguar of Yaxchilán is not to be found in their respective governmental styles – both of which apparently required a certain level of acknowledgement of subordinate lords – but in the strategies used to negotiate these relationships, and in the degree rather than the existence or non-existence of centralization of power. They write

> [Bird Jaguar's] loyal subordinates were also placed on some monuments, in order to secure their support for the paramount, as well as secure support for

> themselves among their constitutents through an association to the paramount (2001:231).

At Chichén, the ruler's strategy may have involved providing physical and ritual access to and sharing of caretaking relationships with important patron gods such as Yayax "Rabbit" and Yax Uk' "Deer Antler" K'awiil.

Recent work by Cobos and others on the causeway system at Chichén has led to other hypotheses about its political organization. Cobos and Winemiller (2001) believe that two periods of causeway construction can be delineated at Chichén, corresponding to two different groups of Sotuta ceramics. They believe that the earliest causeways originated in Las Monjas, connecting the High Priest's Grave Group and Monjas complex with the Southwestern Group, the Lintels group, and the Initial Series Group; whereas the later causeway system originated in the Great Terrace, integrating the earlier causeways and connecting to peripheral groups that contained gallery-patios, temples, and altars. They believe that Las Monjas was the center of the early network connecting to the High Priest's Grave complex to the north and the groups to the south and southwest (2001:288). From the textual point of view, Las Monjas is certainly the main point of reference, where the site's most powerful gods have their most impressive dwellings and are looked after and propitiated by the city's most important people.

Cobos and Winemiller also think that the two periods of construction represent two variants of social, political, and economic organization. The first they conceptualize as a period with a loose and decentralized government, where relatively homogenous social relationships obtain between palace groups of roughly equivalent status, connected by causeways. They believe that

> the presence of range structures, believed to be domestic buildings, in the Monjas Complex, the Initial Series Group, the Ho' Che Platform, and the Temple of the Three and Four Lintels shows the presence of homogenous social relationships at Chichén Itzá (2001:288).

The texts cannot be construed to support this last idea. The functions of the Las Monjas Group – at least in the period of the Second Story, which is roughly contemporaneous with the inscriptions from all the other groups – are clearly different from those of the Initial Series Group, with its full complement of buildings of every conceivable description; and the functions of both of these groups again are different from those of the sparsely built-upon connected platforms that house the Temples of the One, Three, and Four Lintels. At least in the case of the Temple of the Four Lintels range structure, the building is not an elite residence.

VI.14 Conclusion

This chapter represents a particular perspective on Chichén's texts; they are remarkably rich and much remains to be learned. There is a great deal to be discovered about particular people or deities, about the significance of titles and patronyms, and about kin and relationship terms. Much information about ritual life is contained in difficult passages in the texts of the Temple of Four Lintels and particularly in the lintels of Yulá. What I have tried to show is that the texts to a large extent revolve around the relationships of nobles to patron gods and their dwellings, and that the political life of the site *as expressed in the texts* revolves around supernatural patronage and probably stewardship of both site-wide gods such as Yayax "Rabbit" Kan Ajaw, and gods who were probably lineage specific, such as Choch Yok Puuy. The political power of a person may have been related to his or her proximity to and differential involvement with important gods and their dwellings, and seems to be reflected in the distance from the site center of monuments containing their names.

Information about political organization can certainly be gleaned from these texts; but epigraphers should be clear that just because texts reflect political structure does not mean that the primary purpose of the texts was rooted in political machinations. Rather, those machinations precede and succeed the creation of the text, although the carved stone can always remain as an active voice, creating impressions and beliefs in those that encounter it. The texts can be construed as concrete acts of devotion that both reflect and perpetuate the status of men and women important enough to dedicate a family shrine at Las Monjas. This analysis does not completely dismantle the idea that shared power was a feature of Chichén's political organization, but it does show that hierarchy was present in the application of certain titles to certain people, in the spatial distribution of those names and titles at the site, and in relationships of caretaking and patronage between gods and people.

TABLE 6.4: OCCURRENCE OF TITLES WITH CORE NAMES IN THE TEXTS OF CHICHÉN ITZÁ

Title ⇒ Core name ⇓	K'uhul Aj K'ak'	K'uhul Ajaw	ch'a-hoom	K'in-ich B'a Pakal	Hun-Pik Took'	K'uhul Kokom	K A W	B'a-te'	ch'ak-ohl b'a-te'	Yajaw k'ak'	u-tajal	K'uhul Ixik	Chanal K'uh	Jun Yjwal Winik	Chan Yo-k'in	16/9 ok'in	9 Ajaw	ohl-is k'uh	Zuhuy Ajaw
KKP	X	X	X				X	X											
YJF				X	X	X	X	X	X										
KKL							X	X	X	X									
A.Tok'								X		X	X								
K'uhulWaju-jaw							X				X								
K'uhul Kal... kaw									X	X									
Ox Pkb Matam											X								
Ix K'ayam												X?							
Ix Atn Ajaw																			
Ix Tok Le																			
Ix At.. Tuun												X							
Ix ...ki																			
... k'in																			
Chok Watab														X					
"Te U Chok"													X?	X					
Yx Rabbit													X			X	X		X
Y. Uk' K'awiil															X				
Choch Yok Py													X		X				
T. Yaas Ajaw																			
Chak 9 Pet																			
Yaxhal Chaak													X						
5 Sabak Ajaw																		X	

Abbreviations:
KKP K'ak'upakal
YJF Yajawal "Jawbone"-"Fan"
KKL K'inil Ko...l
KAW K'uhul Aatel Waaj

CHAPTER VII: THEMES, COMPARISONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has looked at the inscribed *otoot* structures at four large Maya sites with the goal of understanding the reasons for the application of this emic category to particular buildings, the role of the buildings in their respective communities, and something of the cognitive organization of the category. Several themes have emerged, which overlap and intersect in different ways. This chapter does not attempt to recap the outcomes of the individual site-oriented chapters, since each of them has produced a series of site-specific conclusions with local implications: summaries can be found at the end of each chapter. Here, rather, I pull out the major ideas, make comparisons to structures and objects from sites not discussed in the rest of the study, especially Palenque, and address the larger objectives outlined in the first chapter.

VII.1 Overlap between structure "types" and other kinds of space

The treatment of *otoot* structures at the several sites in this investigation has suggested that dwellings can be spatially and conceptually framed in a number of ways. The Chichén Itzá lintels, especially at Las Monjas and in the Akab Dzib structure, show that a god's dwelling can be a single chamber or part of one; they also show that the space of a god dwelling overlaps with a kind of spatial frame represented by the "carapace" glyph, which I have suggested signifies some sort of enclosure. The text of the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs makes an equation between a god dwelling and a type of altar; and the parallels between Copán dwellings and other kinds of monuments, particularly altars and the cruciform sub-stela vaults, reinforce this equation.

Susan Gillespie (2000) has recently discussed conceptual relationships between various kinds of spaces such as altars, houses, cornfields, villages, and cosmos as a series of "nested houses" or concentric containers. She also notes, as I have, that the "house is associated with passivity; it is the most appropriate locale for sitting and sleeping behaviors that relate to the notion of properly being in one's place" (2000:159). This is a notion that Hanks (1990:389) has expressed this way:

> ...[N]ot only do places have owners, but *agentive forces*, potential owners, *have assigned places*.... [A]ll animates, including spirits and directional winds, occupy relatively fixed positions. They may move habitually from their places – movement may be one of their defining features – yet they remain anchored to them and return there. *Spirits in their cardinal locations, birds in their* k'uh *'nest', a man or woman* y oó'l u meyah *'over his-her work', and* kulá'an *'seated, at home' are examples of this* (Hanks 1990:389, emphases mine).

Gillespie's notion of "nested houses" is a good conceptual device, and I think it may partially account for the overlap in spatial realms that I have been addressing. What I think it misses, and what Hanks at least implicitly recognizes, is that the Maya built environment is an inherently and *diversely* inhabited one; and further, that built spaces as animate beings or as extensions of animate owners exist in a complex environment generated by their differentially powerful and temporally modulated corporeal fields, in relationships that are not nested, but contested and negotiated. Below I summarize these aspects of the work and provide further examples from other buildings and objects.

VII.1.1 Spatial terms in other buildings

As noted in the Copán chapter, the Palenque Cross Group temples as god dwellings equate many kinds of built space. For example, the south alfarda of the Foliated Cross temple records the 9.12.19.14.12 5 Eb 5 K'ayab *och-naah* rite for the ... *K'an-Naah*, which is then described as the *pib'-naah* "sweatbath" of the god of Kan B'alam. In the text of the main tablet, the same ... *K'an-Naah* is equated textually and iconographically with the *Yaxha'al Witznal* location depicted on the tablet as an animate cleft maize-sprouting mountain, and described as the location of a god-conjuring undertaken in mythological time by the primordial lord of Palenque.

Further, one of the inscribed panels of the doorjambs of the Foliated Cross temple recounts an *och-naah* rite on the same date, 5 Eb 5 Kayab, for a named *naah*, the *B'olon Pet(?) Naah*: the text then says that this is the name of the *kun-il* of the god "GII." While it is not clear what a *kun-il* is, it is certainly an architectural element and is probably another way of characterizing the building: a single structure can have several names, like the Copán Temple 11 gods' dwelling, as well as Palenque House E, the *otoot* of Pakal, probably named both the *Sak Nuk Naah* and the *"Starry Deer Caiman"-nal.* Finally, a bar of text in the figural scene of the main Foliated Cross tablet says

pib'-naah	*y-otoot*
the "sweatbath" is	**the dwelling of**
u-k'uh-il	*... K'inich Kan B'alam*
the god of	**... K'inich Kan B'alam**

The Foliated Cross temple, a god dwelling, is therefore described by a series of overlapping architectural terms (*otoot, kun-il*, and *pib'-naah)* and a naturalistic form (the animate maize mountain) with various levels of literal and metaphorical meanings.

VII.1.2 Spatial terms and semi-portable objects

Architectural terms also occur on large or semi-portable objects. For example, the "death's-head" monument discovered by Maudslay fifty feet southwest of the Foliated Cross temple (Maudslay 1898-1902, Vol. III:32) records the fire-entering, on the same 5 Eb 5 K'ayab date as that temple, of the *pib'-naah* of the death god (see Fig. 1.14). It is not clear to what the *pib'-naah* refers: it may refer to the Foliated Cross temple, or it may refer to the death's head monument itself. This is a chair-shaped and chair-sized stone upon which sat, Maudslay believed, the carved skeletal head found with it. The carved house-models from Copán (see Fig. 5.27) are other examples of solid semi-portable stone objects that are identified as structures belonging to gods: in those cases, the monument is identified as the *way-*

Fig. 7.1 Piedras Negras Lintel 12:L1-P2. Drawing by John Montgomery.

b'il, "thing for sleeping/dreaming," of the god, who can be pictured on the side of the monument as if seen through a doorway. A *way-b'il* can also be characterized as an *otoot*, as shown on the Early Classic Piedras Negras Lintel 12, which records (Fig. 7.1)

el-naah	*u-way-b'il*	*y-otoot ...*
"is house-censed	his *way-b'il*	the dwelling of..

The name of the dwelling owner in this case appears to be the sun god and possibly a series of other gods.

VII.1.3 Spatial terms and portable objects

Various portable objects use the term *otoot* in their texts. Some of these may refer to an actual structure, whereas others probably refer to the inscribed object itself. The black lidded cache pot from Tikal, discussed in the Oxkintok chapter and also below, (see Fig. 7.11) is an example of a case in which the referent of the *otoot* is undetermined. Perhaps the best-known portable *otoot* is the Tortuguero box (see Fig. 1.13), a looted wooden box whose underside dedicates the object with *pat-laj y-otoot u-may-ij*, "is formed the dwelling of his *may-ij*" (Stuart, personal communication 1999; Zender 2002). Stuart has posited that *may-ij* is "offering," from Ch'olti' and from Quichean languages, and renders *otoot* as "house or container," giving "offering box." There are also looted inscribed "poison bottles" and small pottery flasks (e.g., Coe 1973:Plate 77) called *y-otoot u-may*: these may be tobacco containers, since *may* occurs in the Tzeltalan languages and highland Maya languages as "tobacco"; the word is also associated with tobacco or chile snuff in Yucatec (Barrera-Vásquez 1980:513). One example of a poison bottle (Robicsek and Hales 1981:Table 20b) simply bears one large glyph **yo-to-ti** *y-otoot*.

Marc Zender (2002) has recently written on the Tortuguero box and believes that the *may-ij* of that text refers to tobacco as well. One can then translate, as Zender does, *y-otoot u-may* as "his tobacco/snuff container"; however, in the context of this discussion, I think the phrase might be taken more literally. Tobacco, like any substance used extensively in curing and ritual, is an animate and personified substance all over the Americas (e.g, Thompson 1946; Robiscek 1978:37-43; Wilbert 1987). Berlin and Berlin (1996) document the extensive use of native tobacco in the treatment of gastrointestinal diseases in highland Chiapas, noting that it is referred to as *anjel* "angel" in Chamula; and that in Tenejapa, the ground, snuff-like form of tobacco is referred to as *bankilal*, "older brother (male speaking)" and carried inside the tunics of older men in "small, highly polished bottle gourds" called *tzul bankilal* "bankilal's gourd" (Berlin and Berlin 1996:298-99). A wonderful ancient parallel may be the small fat-bodied restricted-neck flask, just ten centimeters high, fitted with two tiny handles just large enough for a cord to pass through; it could easily have been worn around the neck (Coe and Kerr 1998:Plate 77). Its inscription calls it *y-otoot u-may Ix Chin*, "the dwelling of the tobacco of Lady Chin." [128]

Another interesting possibility for a portable *otoot* is a looted Late Classic carved slate "scepter" (Coe and Kerr 1998:Pl. 35-36; Kerr 3409); one of its broad sides shows a hunter with a blowgun in a rectangular enclosure, the other a seated lord, and both sides and one edge are inscribed. The text on the hunter side suggests an impersonation scene of a god in his dwelling:

u-b'aah	*ti um? k'uh*	*ta ... otoot*
it is himself	**as *um?* god,** [129]	**in .. dwelling**

mul-xi ajaw lak'in ok?-k'in
Mul-xi (Muluux?) Ajaw, East Ok?-k'in

The text on the other side probably describes the object itself (possibly not a scepter, but an ornamental stone cap for the top of a blowgun like that held by the hunter); while the inscription on the edge incorporates another interesting *otoot* reference:

u-b'aah	*chiik*	*ux-otoot ch'ok*
it is himself	**Chiik**	**Three-Dwelling Youth**

u-chanal "Quirigua"(?) Ajaw
Guardian (of?) Quirigua Lord

This little text probably refers to the hunter as the Three-Dwelling Youth: he may be one of the hero twins (or impersonating one of them). "Three-dwelling Youth" is a curious title, unique in Maya texts, and I comment on its possible significance below.

Whether the slate object Kerr 3409 was considered to be itself the *otoot* of a god is uncertain. Good modern comparisons for these portable *otoot*s are the Lacandon *balche* brewing canoes. McGee writes (1996:132) that they are conceived of as models of the gods' dwellings: the canoes are thatched and decorated with the same signs found

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[128] One wonders if the portrait head in the cartouche on the non-text side of the flask is a portrait of personified tobacco: the figure gives the impression of being inside the pot, as if seen through a window. Further, the cartouche is surrounded by leaves bearing a three-circle device. This leaf is a rather specific iconographic convention, and the inscription on the pot opens the possibility that it represents a tobacco leaf. The leaf of *Nicotiana tabacum* has a "long acuminate apex" (Berlin and Berlin 1996:297) – that is, a sharp-pointed tip with slightly concave sides. The leaves depicted on the pot also have a curious sharp apex, as does the leaf that serves as an earflare for the figure on Pier D of House D in the Palenque palace complex. Tobacco may thus have a specific iconographic convention for the Classic Maya.

[129] There is a very interesting parallel text on Kerr 7966, another "scepter"; its text describes a dance by a Naranjo ruler **ti u-mu K'UH-ti** *ti um-k'uh-ti?* The presence of the **-ti** suffix on the **K'UH** logograph is unusual and calls into question the locative function of the **-ta** suffix on the **K'UH** on the other "scepter." In any case, this god or condition, Um K'uh.., is tightly connected with this type of object.

on the actual *yatoch k'uh* "god house" structure that houses the *lakil k'uh,* "god pots." The god pots themselves are not called *otoots*; rather, they are explicitly anthropomorphized, given modeled faces and symbolic internal organs and their parts described with bodily terms (McGee 1998). The gods descend during rituals and become embodied in the pots (e.g, McGee 1998:43): that is, the gods do inhabit the vessels, at least at important ritual junctures. Further, small stones are placed in them that are sometimes called "benches" (Davis 1978) – apparently where the god sits when he descends – making a tighter analogy between pot and structure.

The vase Kerr 2695 depicts the interior of a structure whose piers or doorjambs are inscribed simply *tz'iib-al-naah y-otoot bakab*, "the writing (written-on?) house is the dwelling of the bakab." In this instance, the inscription almost certainly refers to the *depicted* building rather than the pot as a dwelling. What sort of place this epithet describes we cannot be certain; but inside it are shown a lord with two women bearing a shield and a tie-on mask, as well as a male attendant holding up an obsidian mirror. Presumably the lord is getting dressed for some event, an activity that we might expect inside a residence, but that also might take place in a more specialized building.

VII.1.4 Dwellings as animate openings

A number of *otoot* texts suggest in one way or another that the structure itself is a kind of opening or passage, or that rites associated with the dedication of the structure involve openings in the earth; in some cases, there are iconographic or physical indications of these openings. A good example is Copán Structure 11: the text very probably refers to the intersection of the crossed corridors as a *xay*, "crossroads," intimately related to the cross-shaped openings below Copán stelae and the "skeletal maw" and "quatrefoil" altars. Further, the central raised chamber is framed by carved representations of the underworld maw; and a vertical masonry shaft runs downward into the mound. I have suggested that the texts of Copán Structure 18 and the associated Stela 11 may refer to the tomb within Structure 18, and that the ritual events associated with the dedication date and nearby period-ending date involve the opening out of the earth and the emergence of supernatural beings. The hieroglyphic bench text of Structure 9N-82 may also refer to the mouth of a well or hole; and its façade iconography invokes the *Sak Bak Nah Chapaat,* the supernatural centipede that Taube (2002) has recently discussed as a passage to and from the underworld: in fact, the *chapaat*-mouth "windows" on the façade sit atop *naah* glyphs, such that one could plausibly "read" the façade as "White Bone Great Centipede House." At Chichén Itzá, there are very interesting records of "earth opening" activities recorded as *pas-chab'* in the Temple of the Four Lintels, and on the Halakal lintel, in conjunction with god-dwelling dedications, ritual burning and fire-drilling, and possible "seeing" or divination events that might involve communication with gods through these openings.

There are also indications of this "opening" theme at Palenque: for example, one of the names of the Temple of the Sun *pib'-naah* structure as recorded on one of its alfardas is *K'inich Pas-chab',* "Great Earth-opening," or possibly just *K'inich Pas*, "Great Opening," and the central device on its tablet is the stylized skeletal maw "throne": certainly the Cross Temple shrines as *pib'-naah* "underground" houses were places for initiating underworld communications. Probably the most explicit reference to a king's dwelling as an opening or conduit is the text from the Starry Deer Caiman bench from the South Subterranean structure in the Palenque Palace (discussed in the chapter on Yaxchilán), where the location is described as a passage to the sky and to the earth (see Fig. 3.23). Another opening in an *otoot* is the "psychoduct," the covered stone duct that leads from the tomb in the Palenque Temple of the Inscriptions up to the structure at the top: as I discuss briefly below, the Temple of the Inscriptions, and specifically the tomb inside of it, are probably characterized as' Pakal's *otoot.* The Palenque psychoduct is reminiscent of the masonry shaft in Copán's Structure 11, which may connect to a tomb as yet undiscovered. This "duct" is also present in Oxkintok Structure CA-3 where it connects the "Pop" chamber – which almost certainly contains a tomb – to the chambers that remained open when the Pop chamber was sealed. It is likely that some of these structures had oracular functions, particularly those that housed the tombs of dead kings and nobles.

Not all "openings," of course, are created equal. Many, many places on the ancient Maya landscape would have been possible zones of communication with other realms, from small house altars to cruciform vaults beneath stelae to the skeletal maw chamber in Copán Structure 11 with its shaft into the depths of the mound. All of these would have been inhabited by different sorts of people and supernatural beings with different potentialities for good and harm, usefulness and irrelevance. Not all of them would have been appropriate for everyone seeking commerce with other realms: as Timothy Knab has described (1995:57-63) and as the jambs of Copán Structure 18 suggest (see Fig. 5.35), each opening has different characteristics and would have been used by different types of people and beings. The Maya built and natural environment would have been a complex and sometimes treacherous one, pockmarked with "holes" and dwellers in buildings and things.

The focus on openings and earth-openings cannot be separated from the concern with buildings as beings, in some cases specific named cosmological beings. The Starry Deer Caiman motif is of course part of the great complex of ideas relating to serpents and serpent-like beings as conduits and indicators of transformational states. The most obvious expression of buildings as beings are the widespread mouth-doorways, most prevalent in the Rio Bec, Chenes, and Puuc architectural styles (Gendrop 1980, 1998; G. Andrews 1986; Stamp 1970), but present elsewhere, as in Copán Structures 11 and 22, and in the recently excavated stuccoed temple at Ek' Balam. While ethnographic information indicates that modern ordinary dwellings are ensouled and animated in dedicatory rites that involve ritual feeding and purification (e.g., Vogt 1976:52-55; Bunzel 1952:37-40; Stross 1998:33-35), this animacy seems to be a generalized and diffuse one. The hieroglyphic and iconographic evidence suggests, on the other hand, that monumental dwellings and buildings were part of a much more specific and elaborate sacred geography that was concerned with giving transformational states and locations permanent expression.

The phenomenon of dwelling ownership by deity impersonation identities is a part of this expression.

There is no question that the monumental dwellings I have investigated were multi-dimensional and multi-functional, such that structure names and indications of animacy can only be a partial characterization of any building. Nevertheless, dwellings and buildings as animate cosmic beings and/or as important and enduring embodiments of a royal or noble person, and as openings to other realms, must have had their own influential corporeal *iknal* fields, and we should expect that this sort of corporeal field, defined in both space and time, would have influenced site planning and layout. This has been adumbrated in a skeletal way at Yaxchilán, where there is a large enough set of dwellings owned by parallel kinds of beings (i.e., human members of the royal family) to look at their temporal and spatial relationships. Certainly, without abundant textual information, we will have a hard time detecting the influence of these corporeal fields that are given permanence through the built environment, but we cannot discount them in the ongoing effort to understand Maya site planning.

VII.1.5 Dedication and space

I have stressed that dedicatory texts are highly formulaic over a period of at least 400 years; that they often function in a protective fashion to "perimiterize" inhabited space; that the glyphs themselves are embodied ritual speech; and that writing and carving itself may be considered a kind of offering or service to the gods. Michael Coe's (1973) recognition that the Primary Standard Sequence had a "chant"-like quality led him to hypothesize that it was a kind of mortuary incantation. While specific content of his idea is probably not correct, his intuition that the PSS was a kind of incantation deserves to be reconsidered, if an incantation is formulaic ritual speech with a certain magical goal. A defining characteristic of ritual speech is that the speech itself is considered to be the active agent of ritual action that brings about the desired effect, such that, for example, pronouncing the names of deities in a prescribed way causes them to become present.

What precisely the *t'ab'* "ascend" action accomplishes is still foggy, in its many contexts on architecture and vessels; but the *k'al* "bind" and *pet* "embrace, encircle" verbs express ethnographically well-known ritual actions of setting out bounded space and protecting it from marauding spirits and bad events. The *k'al* verb is a very common one on ceramic drinking cups, and can even co-occur with the *t'ab'* verb in the same text in immediate sequence: for example, Kerr 1377 and 1522 both begin *PSSIG k'al-aj t'ab'-ay* "PSSIG it is bound, it goes up."

That the same verbs are used with buildings, doors, and portable objects like *uk'-ib'* "drinking cups" and *lak* "plates" links them together as open spaces that need to be protected: perhaps the practice of "binding" royal and noble drinking cups and plates was a preventative measure against poisoning. The physical movement inherent in the creation and reading order of monumental texts, particularly around doorways, is analogous to the rotational movement required to read PSS texts on Maya vessels. It may be that the inherent movement in these texts effects the constant reiteration of the ritual formula, analogous to the prayer wheels and flags of Tibetan Buddhism, where each rotation of an inscribed cylinder or flap of a prayer flag in the wind sends the prayer out over and over again.

Marc Zender (2000) has recently completed a study of a pair of plates from the Gardiner Museum in Toronto and the Duke Museum of Art, looking in detail at their Primary Standard Sequences, which are nearly identical. As he shows, the inscriptions begin

> *k'al-aj y-ich u-tz'iib'-il u-lak*
> **is bound the *ich* of the writing of his plate**

While Zender notes (2000:1040) that there is no appropriate surviving Ch'olan gloss for *ich*, MacLeod (1990) long ago proposed that *y-ich*, a common element in ceramic PSS phrases, was "its face" or "its surface." I think that she was on the right track: in all Yucatecan languages, *ich* means "face, eye, countenance" and "fruit," as well as the "chili pepper" that is also found as the usual meaning of *ich* in Ch'olan languages. Houston and Taube (2000) have recently detailed the creative and procreative powers associated with the eye, as well as its ability to inflict illness, for both the ancient and modern Maya: the power and importance of the eye, face, and countenance in general has been discussed as the reason for the common mutilation of the eye and face areas of carved monuments (Grove 1981).[130] On the plates discussed by Zender, the protective binding of the "countenance" or "face" of the writing may mark the writing itself as a potent, active force.

The inscribed objects that accomplish this protective quality and physically embody the binding or perimeterizing effect, such as door lintels, may acquire an enduring vitality: the Early Classic Oxkintok lintels were re-used in the Late Classic period in other kinds of threshold contexts, whether over another door or buried before an entryway. That they were additionally erected as stelae also points to their having a peculiar vital presence. Fox's (1993:1) idea of a "ritual attractor" as an element in a building that attracts ritual activity and "represents, in a concentrated form, the house as a whole" is probably a reasonable characterization of many of the inscribed architectural elements in this thesis. Ritual attractors can be altars, platforms, or niches, or can be important structural elements of a building, such as corner posts, ridgepoles, and lintels; these structural elements are often personified and may be gendered. As I discuss in the chapter on Chichén Itzá, some lintels may supply evidence for lintels as "door lords."

The interest at Chichén Itzá in the presentation of *woj-il* glyphs and "carving" in the dwellings of gods and the linking of them with particular people is also present at Xkalumkin. The PSS Initial Glyph plays a large role in this presentation, and as I have noted before, a solid decipherment of it is sorely needed. At Xkalumkin, several variations of the

[130] The "eye," "face," "countenance," and "fruit" glosses may well be related to the "chili pepper" meaning; the chili pepper, as I note in Chapter 2, seems to be considered animate enough to be a kind of animal flesh, rather than a plant, and its lexical designation may relate to its animacy and hot potency, and to the almost pan-Maya *itz,* "sap, essence, potency." Indeed , *itz* is "eye" and "face" in most highland languages.

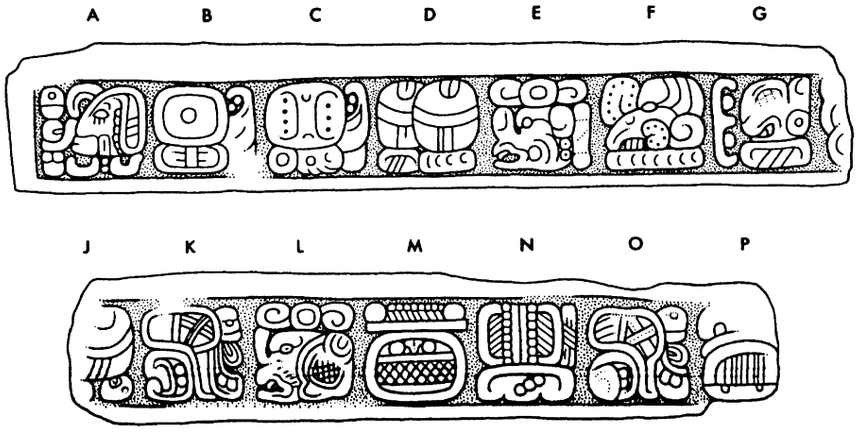


Fig. 7.2

Lintel 1, Initial Series Building, Xkalumkin. CMHI 4:158.

formula for presenting glyphs and carving are present, and can occur with or with the PSSIG or a verb. For example,

•PSSIG	k'al-aj	y-u-**"bat"-lu**-il
•	k'al-aj	u-woj-il
•PSSIG uhtiiy		u-woj-il
•PSSIG		u-woj-il
•		u-woj-il

Whether they are "bound" or not, the existence and "ownership" of the glyphs and "carving" are presented as the salient fact. The third example is particularly interesting, as it seems to be the glyphs that "happen."

Some interesting glyphic evidence from the Initial Series Building at Xkalumkin supports the idea that glyphs and carvings were made, at least in some cases and in part, to satisfy or give service to gods. The cornice inscription in the Initial Series Building at Xkalumkin begins with the PSSIG and then, like some ceramic vases, gives two consecutive verbs, one of which is extremely rare (Fig. 7.2):

PSSIG	**PET-la-AJ**
PSSIG	*peht-laj*
PSSIG	is embraced

b'o-o-la?-AJ OHL-IL-OHL-EL
b'o'-(l)aj ohl-il ohl-el
the desire/appetite is satisfied

yu-"bat"-..-IL-EL	**u-k'a-IL**
y-u..-il-el	*u-k'a-il*
the carving of	the room/"enclosed area"

Though there are idiosyncrasies in the text and the transcription/transliteration/translation above are not particularly satisfactory, the expression *b'o'-ol* is almost certainly that found in Yucatec (e.g., Barrera Vásquez 1980:58) with related meanings in other Yucatecan languages, meaning "to satisfy a desire, appetite, or wish"; the parallel expression *tim-ohl* "placate, pacify, satisfy" is found in the text of the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque in the context of offerings made to gods. I suggest that this Xkalumkin text indicates that the carving itself is the "satisfaction"; and that the emphasis of the northern Yucatecan dedicatory texts on linking people to glyphs and carving points to the glyphs and carvings themselves as an offertory act, a form of service. The concern for the well-being of the divine inhabitants of the Chichén god-dwellings is probably also expressed by the *y-il-iw utzil* "he sees goodness/abundance" statements on its lintels, which I have suggested mark episodes of divination of good auguries for the dates on which dedicatory rituals are undertaken.

VII.2 The involvement of women with *otoot* architecture

Women are significantly involved with buildings in two of the sites investigated. At Yaxchilán, texts record dwelling ownership for two women, Ix K'ab'al Xook and Ix Sak B'iyaan, in Structures 23 and 11, which are the best candidates of all the structures studied for true living/dressing/sleeping residences and bases for their residents' social action within the royal court. Lintel 23 of Structure 23 (see Fig. 3.13) recounts the involvement of women related by blood and marriage in a building ritual; and I have tentatively proposed, pending better understandings of problematic glyphs, that Structure 23 may be a physical and social headquarters for the women of the Xook family, perhaps even a place for royal women's weaving. It is interesting that there are two mothers involved in the Lintel 23 inscription, one in the parentage statement for Ix Janaab' Xook and the other for the last K'ab'al Xook mentioned in the text, who I think is probably just Lady Xook herself. We know that Lady Xook's personal ascendancy is at its height contemporary with the doorway ritual, and that she is probably the most important person of all those mentioned in the text. That is, a woman in the politically active phase of her life brings her mother in as a ritual participant in the protection of the doorway.[131] Ix Janaab' Xook could be in Lady Xook's generation, but her position in the **yi-ta-ji** clause is parallel to that of Lady

[131] It can be difficult to be sure with **yi-ta-ji** phrases if the participants are living or dead, since death and divinity are not barriers to ritual participation: Lady Xook's mother may have been deceased, since Lady Xook herself would have been of very mature age in AD 724. If we assume that she was at least fifteen years old when she is pictured undertaking autosacrifice at Itzamnaaj B'alam's accession, then she would have been at least fifty-eight in AD 724 when the ritual takes place, and eighty-three at her death in AD 749.

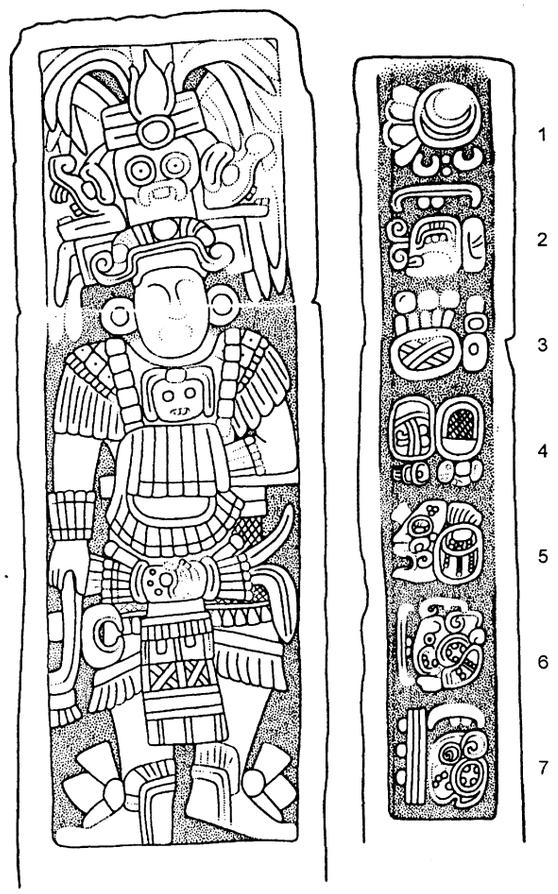


Fig. 7.3 Jamb 6, South Building, Hieroglyphic Group, Xkalumkin. *PSSIG u-woj-il y-otoot Kit Pa' Ikatz u-b'aah-aan Waxaklajuun U-b'aah*, "PSSIG the glyphs of the dwelling of Kit Pa' Ikats, the impersonation-self of Eighteen are his Selves/Heads." Glyph 3 is **to-yo-ti**: though the drawing does not show it, inspection of the photograph shows that the main sign is the **yo** fist. Misordering of syllables common in northern Yucatecan texts. CMHI 4:168.

Xook's mother, and she may therefore be another important female elder.

The parallels with Chichén Itzá are intriguing: there, elder women – mothers in two cases, and a grandmother in one – are related to architectural space again possibly through the agency of daughters and granddaughters, who seem to be the ones who are in their social and political prime. There are three examples, and each circumstance is slightly different (see Fig. 6.57). In one example, the mother of Ix Aat "Pyramid" Tuun is a "carapace"-space owner in the Akab Dzib south chamber, and though the mother is the "owner," the daughter gets the title string. In the second example, the mother of Ix K'ayam, Ix Aatan(?) Ajaw, is related to a "carapace"-space owner in Las Monjas called Chaak Bolon Pet, who seems to be some sort of patron for the elder woman; again, we know that the younger woman, Ix K'ayam, is the "active" one, mentioned frequently at the site and the mother of an important male figure. Finally, Ix Tok-**le-b'a/ma**, the grandmother of Ix "Ajaw"-**ki,** "owns" glyphs on the front of Las Monjas Lintel 7. I have suggested that the younger women are dedicating sacred space, commissioning "glyphs" as a form of sacred tribute or service, and making offerings in the name of their female elders, perhaps in the dwellings or enclosures of patron gods.

In addition to the women's dwellings from Yaxchilán, there is some intriguing evidence for a woman's dwelling at Xkalumkin. The South Building of the Hieroglyphic Group, a group at the southern end of the site core, is a very heavily inscribed building with texts on columns, doorjambs, panels, lintels, and a long cornice above the façade. Although there are a number of names in the texts, the main character seems to be *Kit Pa'*: indeed, Jamb 6 in the interior doorway identifies the building as his dwelling (Fig. 7.3).

On the south slope of the mound, however, Pollock (1980:445) discovered a lintel and two fragmentary doorjambs, which, as Graham notes, probably belonged to a south-facing doorway of a collapsed chamber of the South Building (CMHI 4:171); Pollock did not record their precise position, and it is possible that they could also have belonged to an adjoining building whose façade is partially visible on the map (CMHI 4:156). Each of the three monuments bears texts that refer to women linked with Kit Pa'. The front face of the lintel (Lintel 4) has to do with the *woj-il* of someone whose name is not clear, but a female head prefix appears at E (7.4a). The underside of the same lintel (Fig. 7.4b) shows a woman and a man facing one another across a bowl of paper, and the inscription identifies them as husband and wife:

Ix Man Luum	*y-atan*	*Kit Pa'*
Ix Man Luum	**is the wife of**	**Kit Pa'**

The jambs mention another woman entirely, the same woman on both jambs. It is Jamb 8 (Fig. 7.4c) that provides the evidence for a woman's *otoot*:

yo-to-ti	**IX-B'AAK-e-le**	**IX...**
y-otoot	*Ix B'aakel*	*Ix...*
the dwelling of	Lady B'aakel	Lady...

This Ix B'aakel is also mentioned on Jamb 9 (Fig. 7.4d), in a suggestive text:

IX B'AAK-e-le
Ix B'aakel
Ix B'aakel

U-CHAN-ya-AT/TAN-il/na	**i-tza-ti**
u chan y-atan-il?	*itzaat*
the 4/fourth?/high wife/wives of	the sage

The text suggests that Ix B'aakel is either a fourth wife or, perhaps, the "high" or first wife of the *itzaat* "sage" (a common title at Xkalumkin) who is probably Kit Pa'. The jambs may have even listed the four wives: the extra "Ix" on Jamb 8 might signal another woman's name. These texts indicate that this woman or these women may have had their own quarters within or adjacent to a building that was Kit Pa's dwelling. It is also notable that Kit Pa is a *sajal*, not a *k'uhul ajaw* (indeed, there are no *k'uhul ajaw* at Xkalumkin, only *sajal*s), indicating that multiple marriages were not a privilege limited to royalty. One other text may relate to this "wife-dwelling" issue, and that is the Xkalumkin-area

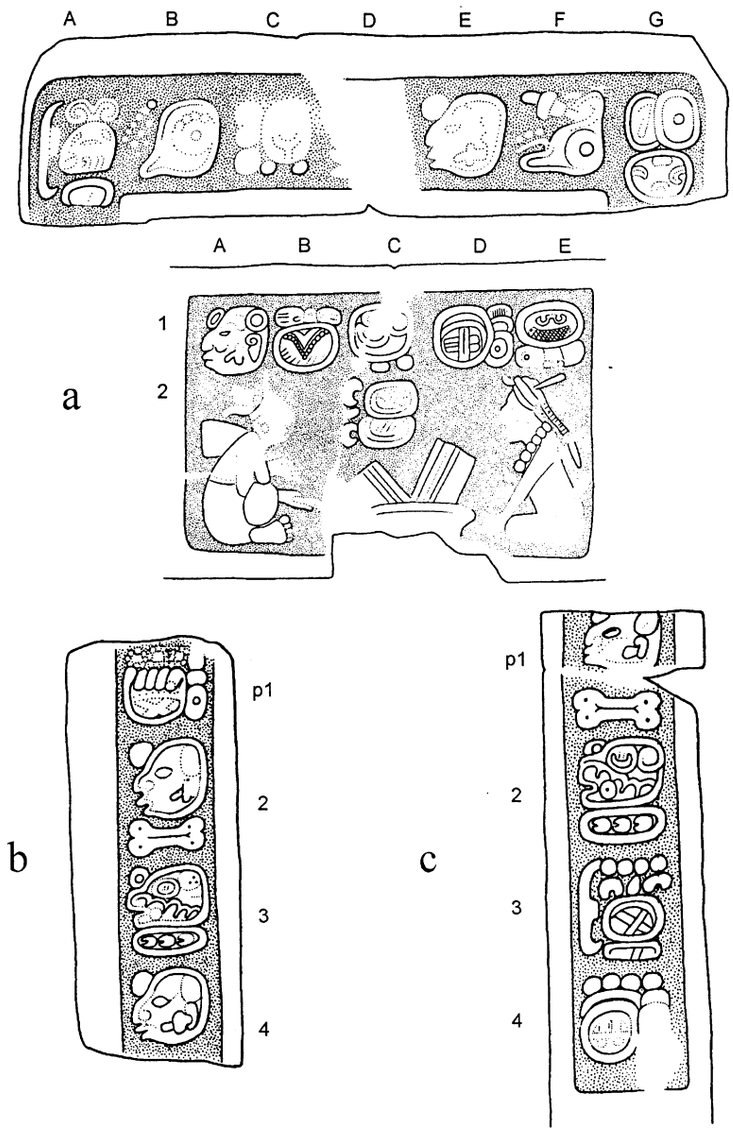


Fig. 7.4 Women in the texts of Xkalumkin. Monuments from the south slope of the South Building of the Hieroglyphic Group: (a) Lintel 4 front edge (CMHI 4:161); (b) Lintel 4 underside (CMHI 4:161); (c) Jamb 8 (CMHI 4:170); (d) Jamb 9 (CMHI 4:171).

column reproduced by Grube (1994a:340). The column is a little confusing, because at least one of the glyphs is inverted, but it seems to say *y-otoot ux-y-atan sajal*, "the dwelling of the three-wife *sajal*," or perhaps, "the dwelling of the three wives of the *sajal*."

In general, then, there is good evidence from Yaxchilán and Xkalumkin that women, both royal and noble, had their own dwelling "headquarters" either in separate houses within their husbands' compounds, or in a room or series of rooms within his dwelling. Further, women devote unique attention to their female elders in ritual contexts, perhaps identifying with their families through female ancestors, much as Hanks documents for Yucatecan women in Oxkutzkab who refer to their households and families using their mothers' names rather than their fathers'.

VII.3 The relationship between emic and etic description in Maya monumental dwellings

I now want to briefly evaluate the relationship between emic characterizations and the etic descriptions that archaeologists might produce of *otoot* buildings, with an eye to why they do or do not overlap and what insights might be beneficial for the ordinary practice of archaeology.

VII.3.1 Similarities in emic description cross-cut differences in etic description

VII.3.1.1 God dwellings

Since gods possess some dwellings and human lords possess others, one might expect to find some clear distinction between the building plans of god dwellings and human dwellings that would reflect the distinction encoded by the etic categories of "temple" and "elite residence." However,

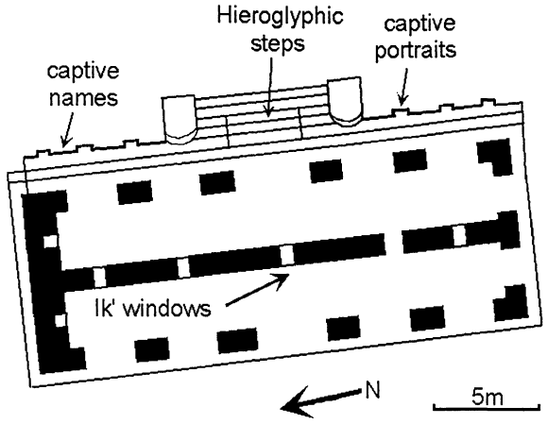


Fig. 7.5 Plan of Palenque House C. Redrawn from Robertson (1985: Vol. II:Fig. 9).

similarity in emic description can subsume significant differences in building layout and overall architectural context.

There is no doubt that some dwellings of gods treated here do show unusual features that distinguish them as specialized places. The Second Story of Las Monjas at Chichén Itzá sits on a high steep-sided platform, and although its room layout is not unlike that of other "palace"-type structures at Chichén, the rear wall of each room contains a series of shallow niches with small lintels, possibly for housing the images of the assemblage of gods who had dwellings there. The "basement" story of Copán Structure 10L-11 is built as crossed corridors that arguably represent the directional roads of the underworld, and its central "chamber" contains a shaft sunk into the heart of the mound of construction underneath it; it too is the dwelling of a god, probably of multiple gods and apotheosized previous kings of the city, as suggested by the Structure 10L-11-sub inscribed step and the carved step of its central bench.

These two structures, textually characterized as dwellings of assemblages of gods, can be compared with a structure that I have not previously discussed, House C of the Palenque palace complex (Fig. 7.5), in order to emphasize that a wide range of architecture can be associated with a similar emic characterization. House C can be at least partially characterized as the dwelling of multiple gods, as recorded on a text carved into the underside of its "eaves" (Fig. 7.6), the horizontal stone slabs along its eastern façade that project outward from the building at the level of the vault spring. Although it is possible that some part of the text is missing,[132] it begins in the southeast corner (A1-B2) with

tu hul-tuun-il(?)[133]
at/on/for the "pierced stone" of

Yax Chiit "Peccary" "Moon"-al *Chiit K'uh*
Yax Chiit "Peccary"-"Moon"-*al* Chiit God

The *hul-tuun* or "pierced stone" at A1 lacks a dedicatory verb, but does refer to the object inscribed, the horizontal slabs that project outward from the front wall, or "eaves": like other eaves of Palenque structures, those of House C have massive cord-holes drilled into them, possibly for draping the façade of the structure with fabric. The name of the "Yax Chiit" god who "owns" them is not easily read, but is elsewhere closely associated with Pakal.[134] The text continues with a phrase (C1-D2)

U-nu-ch'a-IL-ij?
u-nuuch'-il-(ij?)
the eaves? of

U-NAJ/NOJ CHAN-na	**yo-OTOT-ti**
u-naj/noj chan	*y-otoot*
his great/first sky/sky house	the dwelling of

Stuart (1998:379) has suggested that *nuuch'* may be "eaves"; if that is correct,[135] then the eaves are those of "his great/first sky,"[136] probably the name of the dwelling. Finally, if we are meant to continue reading the text from left to right along the underside of the eaves of House C, then it picks up in the northeast corner with the names of the dwelling owners, a series of four god names (E1-H2). The final two blocks of glyphs give, first, the name of Pakal (I1-J2), introduced enigmatically by the "white flower breath" glyph (I1); and second, the date (K1-K2) of the *och-naah* rite that is recorded in the final glyph: Schele saw this event as the ritual "housing" of the gods (1994:8).[137] The date, 9.11.9.5.19 4 Kawak 2 Pax, is around two years after the date

[132] If the inscription was symmetrical, it seems likely that eight missing glyph blocks would have preceded the *tu-hul-tuun-il* block, and would have been located on the south side of House C at its southeast corner. Enough remains of the southeast eave, however, to show that if the inscriptions were perfectly symmetrical at both ends of the house, part of one of the supposed missing blocks should be visible, yet there is no indication of it.

[133] The *-il* suffix may also be the "celt" logograph.

[134] The name of this god occurs in the name phrase of Pakal, where he appears in the "father" half of a parentage statement on the Palace Tablet. Both Pakal and his wife Ix Ts'ak Ajaw apparently impersonate gods on that tablet as the dead parents of Kan B'alam. At C10-D10 on the tablet, the god seems to be identified as a *Kan* "Serpent," possibly a kind of ancestor god.

[135] There is some support for a roof-related meaning for this word. Beyond the fact that the text should, as a dedicatory text, refer to the object inscribed, there is a Tzeltal gloss *nuk'* "roof ledge"; a Ch'ol gloss for *ñuchil* as "three poles on each side of the house that hold up the ridgepole" (Aulie, Aulie, and Scharfe 1999:84); and a Yucatecan gloss for *nuch* as "the 'tijera' of a thatched house" (Barrera Vásquez 1980:581) – that is, the leaning poles that form a scissor-shape by holding up the ridgepole, whose lower end would form the house eaves. The glottal *ch'* is missing from these glosses; another possibly related term is Ch'orti' *nuk'* "neck" or "joint," used in many figurative expressions (Wisdom 1950) to render "joint": perhaps *nuuch'* refers to the eaves as the joint or "neck" between the roof – always the "head of the house" in Mayan languages – and the walls as the body.

[136] Another possibility is that the **CHAN** logograph plays on the homophony with the "snake" meaning of the word, and that they are playing around with the Noh Kan "great serpent" epithet that would refer to the god named in the previous phrase. This same god is referred to as a Noh Kan or Noh K'uh in the inscriptions of Copán.

[137] Since the text runs from the god names directly into the name of Pakal introduced by the "white flower breath" glyph, it is difficult to know whether he is also meant to be a "dwelling owner," or whether a new phrase picks up here. The possibility should be left open that House C is his dwelling along with all of these gods. It may also be that the dwelling is not the structure itself, but the eaves of the structure, where the named gods might dwell as protectors.

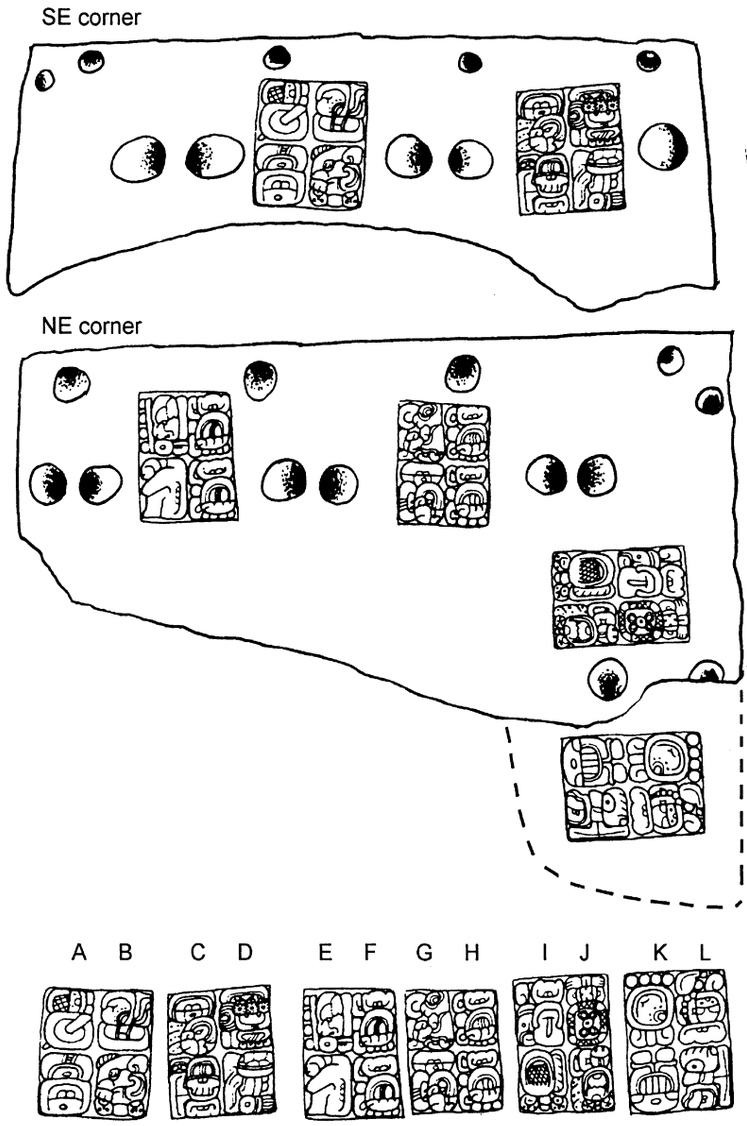


Fig. 7.6 Schematic drawing of underside of Palenque House C eaves with their texts. Text drawings by Linda Schele; panel sketch by author from photos.

of the seizure of Pakal's captives given on the stair of House C (ibid.).

In sum, the texts of the eaves of House C apparently attribute the eaves and dwelling to a series of important Palenque gods and to Pakal himself. The nine stucco supernatural portrait masks that line the gallery of the structure perhaps emphasize the "god-dwelling" identification: as discussed elsewhere in the study, groupings of nine gods are found at other sites.

"Ownership" by an assemblage of gods draws a strong parallel between House C, on one hand, and Las Monjas at Chichén Itzá and Copán's Structure 11 on the other. From a contextual architectural viewpoint, this is an odd comparison, since unlike the other buildings, House C is located in an intimate courtyard of the palace complex on a low-ish substructure (at least within the context of the Palace). Further, its two chambers are defined by piers, having no true walls, and therefore lack the access restriction of the interiors of Copán Structure 11 and Chichén's Las Monjas; the open piers also would have made for a poor sleeping/dressing residence.[138] This courtyard, and indeed the entire substructure of House C, is dominated by captive imagery, and certainly would have had multiple functions, perhaps hosting foreign visitors who were to be intimidated or impressed by the martial display. It should be noted, though, that the other buildings in the East Court, House A and House A-D, were built later, and the architectural context of House C at the time it was inscribed is uncertain; it is possible that at the time of House C's construction, only Houses E, B, and C were present (Robertson 1985:Vol. II:65).

The great variation seen in the design of the three god dwellings (Las Monjas, Copán Structure 11, and Palenque House C) is particularly evident at Chichén Itzá, where all of

[138] However, all of the spaces between House C's piers seem to have been blocked off at some later date, as visible in Robertson 1995, Vol. II:Figs. 199 and 238.

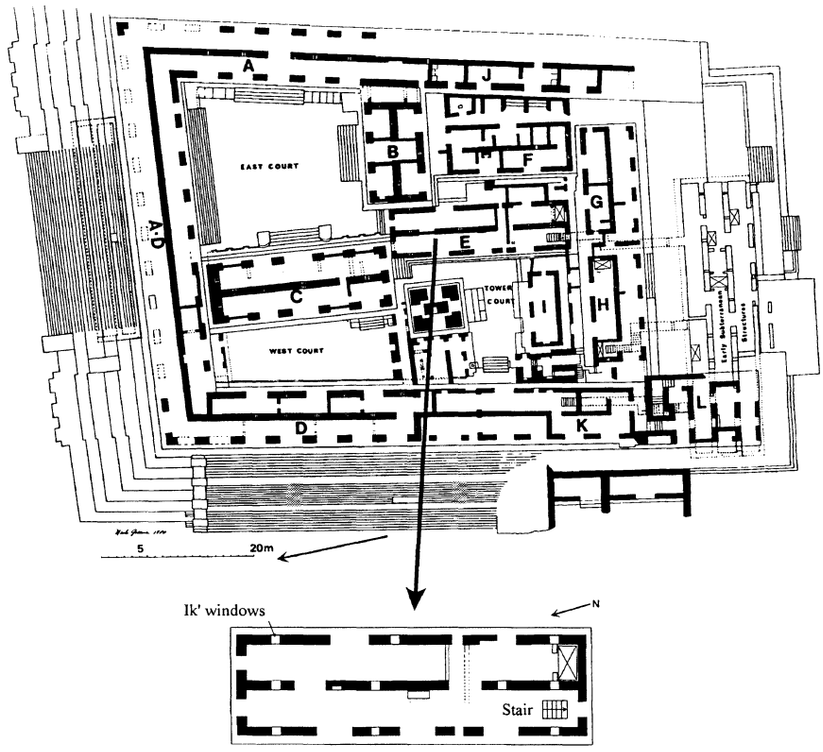


Fig. 7.7

Palenque Palace and House E plan. Redrawn and from Robertson 1985: Vol. II:Figs. 9, 127.

the hypothesized god or ancestor dwellings – Las Monjas, the Temple of the Four Lintels, possibly the Temple of the Three Lintels, the Akab Dzib or its south chamber, the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure, the Initial Series building, and Yulá Structure 1 – have widely varying building plans, substructure heights, and contexts within larger architectural compounds. I do not mean to imply that the function of House C or any of these structures was limited to rites related to these gods; I only wish to point out that this group of structures share an *emic* characterization, but would be described *etically* in very different ways. It seems very likely that gods could "live" in places with a wide range of functions, such as reception of dignitaries, making it difficult to equate "god-dwellings," as defined by the Maya, with "temple," "shrine," or even "ritual structure" as an etic category.

It also seems likely, however, that some god dwellings were more specific in purpose than others, such as the gallery-patio structures at Chichén Itzá. I have proposed that the Hieroglyphic Jambs structure, the Mercado, and other structures like them at Chichén may be fire god dwellings with appropriate installations for maintaining ritual observances related to that god and perhaps to the New Fire ceremony. It is interesting that these structures occur in a wide variety of architectural situations; i.e., they may be on sparsely built platforms with no range structures, or they may be in complex groups with multiple range structures. Here, general architectural and spatial context on the site seems *not* to have much to do with emic characterization or even regularity in etic description of structure plan – except to tell us that the siting of gallery-patio structures depended upon other principles. Whether or not I am correct about the specifics of gallery-patios as fire-god dwellings, as elaborated in the chapter on Chichén Itzá, it is nevertheless apparent that some "god dwellings" may have unique morphologies according to the rites appropriate to the supernaturals housed there. Cases like the gallery-patios, in which both an emic characterization and lack of variation in plan are present, are excellent candidates for problem-oriented excavations.

VII.3.1.2 Named dwellings

There are other cases of differences in architectural plan and context that cross-cut similarities in emic characterization. For example, Copán Structure 11 appears to share its name, the ... *K'an-Naah*, with the Foliated Cross Temple at Palenque, the dwelling of God GII, implying that in at least one dimension, they are emically the same kind of place; but these two structures have very different floor plans.

The same issue occurs with human-owned dwellings: for example, both Pakal at Palenque and Itzamnaaj B'alam at Yaxchilán mount inscriptions during their reigns that state that the "Starry Deer Caiman Place" is their dwelling.[139] If I am correct that Pakal's "Starry Deer Caiman Place" is House E, as I hypothesize in the chapter on Yaxchilán, then the differences in building plan and general architectural setting between House E and Structure 44 are stark. House E (Fig. 7.7) is the earliest building in the upper level of the palace complex, situated at the heart of densely packed later structures, open to three courtyards; and its two parallel chambers exhibit extensive alterations. Structure 44 (see Fig. 3.17), in contrast, is perched at the edge of its high acropolis, its doorless rear side facing the courtyards behind it. It has a

[139] I want to leave open the possibility that the "Starry Deer Caiman Place" is a broader area, such as the Palenque palace area in general, or the West Acropolis at Yaxchilán in general; but the *och-k'ak'* recorded for the *Chan "Starry Deer Caiman"-nal* at Yaxchilán suggests that it was a discrete structure.

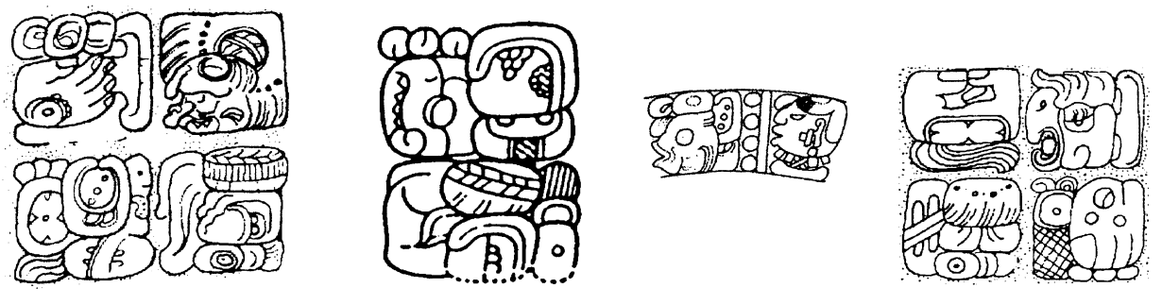


Fig. 7.8 *Naah* name glyphs: (a) *K'al-huun Naah*, after Robertson (1985:Vol III:Fig. 258); (b) *Chahuk Naah*. Drawing by John Montgomery; (c) *B'olon Ajaw Naah*, after Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Fig. 23); (d) *K'inich K'uk' Naah*, after Robertson (1985:Vol. IV, Fig. 95).

single vaulted chamber with benches at each end, though whether its excavators were able to detect alterations will not be known until its publication: I was only able to note the probable addition of vault buttresses.

Several scholars have commented upon the phenomenon of named Maya buildings (Schele 1990a; Stuart and Houston 1994; Stuart 1998; Stuart 2000). Stuart in particular has noted that some names are translatable and may record important functional information, such as the *nikte' naah* recorded on a throne at Toniná, possibly related to the *nikte'-il na* "community house" documented in Yucatec; but he also observes that many names remain obscure (Stuart 1998:380-81). It is difficult to know whether a structure name is directly related to some role that it plays or some set of activities that takes place in or around it, or whether names are conferred for some other reason, such as linkage with a particular family, identification with a mythological episode, simple physical description, etc. The *nikte'-naah* appellation from Toniná probably does relate to a set of socio-political functions – though without documentary evidence, it would be hard to get "community house" out of *nikte'-naah,* which literally translates as "flower house." Some functional significance probably holds as well for the *k'al-huun naah* "headband-binding house," part of the name of the Palenque *otoot* dedicated by a possible royal regent for an important rite-of-passage ritual, during K'an Joy Chitam's captivity (Fig. 7.8a). Names like the *Chahuk Naah* "Thunder House" of Piedras Negras Throne 1 (Fig. 7.8b); the *B'olon Ajaw Naah* "Nine Lord House," a woman's burial place on Tikal Altar 5 (Fig. 7.8c); or the *K'inich K'uk' Naah* "Radiant Quetzal House", the *otoot* of Kan B'alam on the Palenque Cross Tablets (Fig. 7.8d), are more or less impenetrable at the present time, save for informed speculation.

What is important is that, although some names may be idiosyncratic and personalized, others recur at more than one site, suggesting that these buildings *may* have an institutionalized role: the "Starry Deer Caiman"-place *otoot*s of Yaxchilán and Palenque; the *Suutz'-nal* "Bat Place" *otoot*s of Oxkintok and Yaxchilán; and the *...K'an Naah otoot*s of Copán and Palenque are all examples. The *Wi-Te' Naah* Teotihuacan-linked "origin" house – associated, for example, with Lady Xook's *otoot* – is widely distributed, and could refer to a single and actual ancient house, a mythological place, a physical structure at each site, an impersonation identity for a building, as I suggest in the chapter on Yaxchilán, or all of the above.

There might be some embryonic pattern discernable in the shared building names of these structures. The *...K'an Naah* names the Temple of the Foliated Cross and Copán Temple 11, both of which are conceptually underground places, in addition to being god dwellings (of the god GII and multiple gods, respectively); the *Chan Suutz'-nal* and *Sak Suutz'-nal* names are both applied to Early Classic royal dwellings, retrospectively in the case of Yaxchilán Structure 22 (*Chan Suutz'-nal*) and potentially retrospectively in the case of Oxkintok Structure CA-3 (*Sak Suutz'-nal*) or whatever Early Classic structure Oxkintok Lintel 13 came from; and *"Starry Deer Caiman"-nal* is a contemporary reference by Late Classic kings to their own dwellings (Pakal at Palenque and Itzamnaaj B'alam at Yaxchilán). If Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil's Structure 22 at Copán and the other Starry Deer Caiman bench structures at that site are the same kinds of Starry Deer Caiman places, as I have proposed, then they may also follow the pattern of being contemporary references. It is critical to note, for the benefit of the archaeologist looking for regularity in etic description as the basis for classifying structures, that what makes a place a *"Starry Deer Caiman"-nal* or a *...K'an-Naah* seems not to be a particular ground plan or architectural feature: for example, the only thing the Starry Deer Caiman structures share is that they are all either on an acropolis-type area and/or are the highest buildings in their groups when they are constructed.

That buildings and dwellings are named at all is significant: for example, I doubt that the *otoot*s of the lower strata of society were named. The names probably signal a qualitative difference between the dwellings of royalty and nobles and those of the less fortunate, as elsewhere in the world. The difference calls to mind McKinnon's (1991) discussion of named and unnamed houses in the Tanimbar Islands of Indonesia: here, a named house in the early twentieth century had a degree of permanence and continuity with relation to both ancestors and land that was not exhibited by unnamed houses. Named houses were physical, social, and conceptual entities at the same time, and kept special altars and heirlooms that allowed them to maintain an enduring ritual relation to the founding ancestors of the house (McKinnon 1991:84-106). McKinnon recalls Leach's well-

known distinction between chiefly dwelling-houses and "ordinary" dwelling-houses in Highland Burma (McKinnon 1991:98). There, a lexical distinction is made between the two: as Leach notes,

> the fundamental difference between the two is not in any feature of design but in the fact that the house of the chief contains a special compartment known as the *madai-dap* which is a shrine dedicated to the Madai *nat*, the chief of the Sky Spirits (*mu nat*), who is looked upon as an affinal relative of one of the chief's remote ancestors (1965:108).

In both cases, named dwellings or chiefs' dwellings house special kinds of altar complexes: that is, there is a god-dwelling inside the chief's dwelling that sets it apart from other kinds of buildings. Other dwellings in these societies have altars as well, but the named or chief's dwellings are locales with privileged access to ancestors. Mary Helms writes in *Access to Origins* that elites can act as legitimate aristocrats and exercise power the way they do because "commoners regard and accept them as qualitatively different types of beings from themselves, and vice-versa" (1998:5). The same probably goes for named Maya buildings as privileged places of access to ancestors and origins: although most Maya dwellings have now and probably had in the past an altar, the presence of deities and ancestors in royal, noble, and supernatural Maya dwellings is immediate and proximate in a qualitatively different way.

VII.3.2 Similarities in building plan cross-cut differences in emic characterization

VII.3.2.1 "Temple"-type plans

The reverse of the theme of the previous sections is also true in some instances – i.e., *similarities* in plan cross-cut *differences* in emic dimensions. The floor plan of each of the Cross Group temples is essentially identical, and is shared by many other structures at Palenque (Fig. 7.9a). The texts of the Cross Group structures are explicit that these are the dwellings of gods; and therefore we can probably feel comfortable extrapolating this role to other buildings at the site. These structures exemplify a "temple"-type or ritual structure plan, with their high substructures and enclosed interior shrine or altar area. But an apt comparison can be made between the plans of the Cross Group temples and those of the Copán *otoot* structures including Structures 10L-22, 10L-18, 9N-82, 9M-146, 8N-66C, and 9M-194b and 195B (Figs. 7.9b,c). All are highly symmetrical, and incorporate central, closed-off areas flanked by side chambers: for the Palenque structures, the central rear area is actually made into a mini-building housed inside the main temple; whereas in the Copán structures, the rear area is a raised bench area, flanked by walls or set back as its own chamber. In each case, the area holding the mini-structure or bench can be completely closed off by a curtain, as indicated by the presence of cordholders in the appropriate locations; indeed, the entire front façade of a single-door structure like Copán Structure 9N-82 could have been sealed with one curtain. The façades of the Palenque structures have an open aspect, with piers instead of solid walls, but their elevation and daunting staircases similarly and significantly restrict their access. Unlike the Cross Group structures, however, the texts of the Copán *otoot*s 9N-82, 9M-146, and 10L-22 indicate that they were "owned" by humans, rather than supernaturals.

Another variation on this plan might be that of the Initial Series structure at Chichén Itzá (Fig. 7.9d) probably a dwelling for a deified ancestor or ancestors. In this structure, and many others like it at Chichén, the façade is relatively open and supported by one to three piers, whereas the inner room has a single narrow doorway and no other access. In the Initial Series structure, access restriction is again provided by a high sub-structure. The Temple of the Inscriptions, one of Pakal's dwellings, as I discuss below, is a building of similar type: its forward chamber is fronted by piers, and its inner chambers are accessed by a single door each (Fig. 7.9e). The central chamber is certainly a zone of communication with other realms, since it is this room into which the psychoduct connecting to Pakal's tomb "empties."

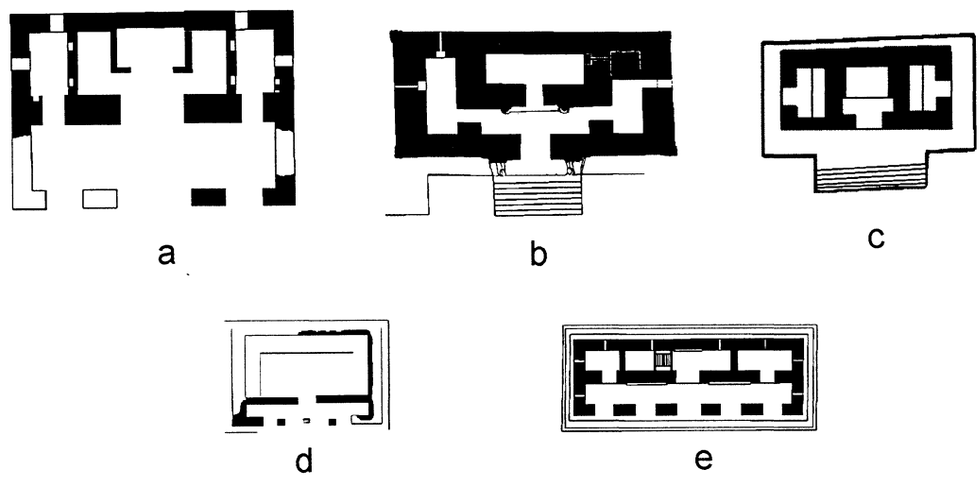


Fig. 7.9 "Temple-type" plans: (a) Temple of the Foliated Cross, after Robertson (1985); (b) Copán Structure 22. Redrawn after Hohmann and Vogrin (1982); (c) Copán Structure 9M-146, after Leventhal and Baxter (1988:57); (d) Temple of the Initial Series, after Ruppert (1952); (e) Temple of the Inscriptions, after Schele and Mathews (1998:99).

In sum, very similar plans seem to be associated with ownership by humans, deified ancestors, and gods. One might interpret this to mean that the basic design of a structure has little to do with its emic characterization, but I think it suggests rather that the distinctions between the human, ancestral, or divine owners were not pronounced; and in fact, they are undermined by the phenomenon of deity impersonation, and of dwelling ownership by impersonation identities.

VII.3.2.2 Elite residence-type plans

How do the dwellings addressed in this study relate to archaeological thinking about the characteristics of elite residences? Features associated with elite residence include multiple rooms, low substructures compared to temples, irregular plan or evidence for internal/external modification over time, location in a patio context, true walls as opposed to piers, perhaps non-central built-in benches, and some provision for privacy, whether in elevation, room arrangement, or provisions for drapery (e.g., Harrison 1970; Hendon 1991:901-904; Sanders 1989; Webster 1998:24). Structures that possess three or more of these characteristics are Yaxchilán Structures 10, 11, 22, and 23; Palenque House E; Oxkintok Structure CA-3; possibly Copán Structure 9N-82; and Chichén's Akab Dzib, Temple of the Four Lintels, and possibly the Temple of the Three Lintels. Of these, the Temple of the Four Lintels stands out as a clear exception to the elite residence "template": for all its low substructure, irregular plan, provision for privacy in its room arrangement, and indications of possible modifications (see Chichén Itzá chapter), it is the clearest god dwelling at that site. The Akab Dzib was almost certainly a residence, fulfilling almost all of the above criteria; but the *otoot* referred to in its text may be a single inner chamber rather than the entire structure. Copán Structure 9N-82 exhibits modification over time, is located at the head of a courtyard group, has three rooms and provision for privacy, and is "owned" by a human (who may or may not have been living at the time of the inscription); but its emic characterization is identical to that of Structure 9M-146, an isolated single-phase building on a relatively high substructure, with rooms painted according to the directional colors – as Leventhal (1979) believes, a good candidate for a "ritual" structure.

Yaxchilán Structures 10, 11, and 23, the *otoot*s of Bird Jaguar, Ix Sak B'iyaan, and Ix K'ab'al Xook, seem to be the most likely candidates for structures housing the daily activities of royalty. Structure 10, for example, has several rooms, an irregular plan, evidence of modification over time, and benches in its rear rooms; further, its texts do not suggest any special function. Structure 11 has a low substructure, is located in a private courtyard, has multiple rooms with non-central benches, and again its texts suggest no special function. Structure 23 exhibits an asymmetrical plan, modifications over time, and like Structure 11 makes provision for privacy and has non-central benches – elaborately cubby-holed in Structure 23's case. Its texts do suggest special qualities linked to the moon and to impersonation of the moon goddess by Lady Xook, and it is important to realize that she was at least sixty years old at the time of the dedications of the structure, such that there is a retrospective quality to the texts and a conscious enshrining of her royal identity in the building – which is not to say that she did not live in it. Although not very different in the relevant qualities from Structure 10, 11, and 23, and nearly identical in overall locational context on the site to Structure 23, Yaxchilan Structure 22's texts suggest a special ceremonial function related to accession.

VII.3.2.3 Summary of relationships between building plan, architectural context, and emic characterizations

Overall, structure plan and general architectural context do not seem to be particularly good guides to the emic characterization *otoot*; and the emic characterization will not predict structure plans or overall architectural context. It seems more useful to look for regularity in structure plans as indicators of native cognitive units on an intrasite rather than intersite basis: this method proved particularly successful for Becker (1971, 1982) in identifying plaza plans and Tourtellot (1983) in developing a detailed structure typology at Seibal. Otherwise, the generalization of "elite residence"-type or "temple-type" characteristics may lead to misleading identifications, as with the Temple of the Four Lintels, or may mask more than they reveal.

In at least one case, the *otoot* structures in the Sepulturas area of Copán, I have proposed that emic structure classification as identified through texts *can* be extended to other uninscribed buildings, based on a conjunction of physical characteristics, including floor plans, general architectural context, iconography, and chronology. The gallery-patio structures at Chichén Itzá, whose plans (as observed without excavation) show very little variation, are another instance in which I believe that the "god dwelling" identification developed from the inscription in the Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jambs can probably be safely extended to the group.

VII.4 A historical transformation in the nature of the royal/noble otoot?

Royal dwellings seem to be created in at least two ways: I describe them below and posit a possible historical transformation in the way that they are conceived.

VII.4.1 Curated royal dwellings

Other groupings of dwellings can be derived from the combination of textual and archaeological data, besides those described in the sections above. One of these groups contains the curated dwellings of early kings later used as ritual installations: by "curated" I mean that they are conserved with minimal exterior modification although surrounded by several later construction phases. The group includes Palenque House E; Yaxchilán Structure 22; and possibly Oxkintok Structure CA-3. House E is described by a later king as the *otoot* of Pakal named the *Sak Nuk Naah*, on the Tablet of 96 Glyphs, discovered a couple of meters in from its east façade in front of the Tower's steps. As briefly described above, House E (Fig. 7.7) is a two-chambered structure with many interior modifications: it was the first structure on the renewed platform of the palace acropolis and was gradually tightly enclosed by later constructions, though its exterior was left essentially untouched. Yaxchilán

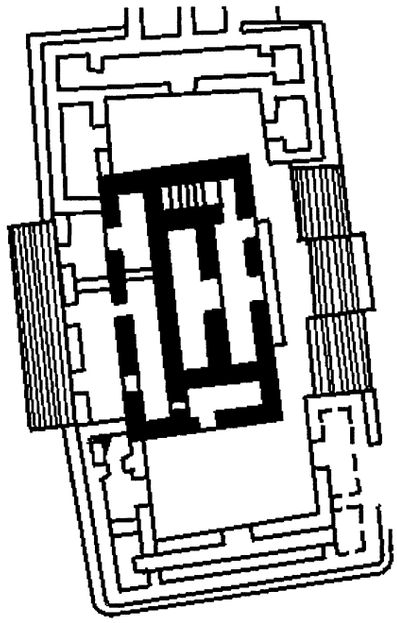


Fig. 7.10 Tikal Structure 5D-46 plan, after Harrison (1999:187).

Structure 22's (Fig. 3.32) Late Classic text describes it as the *otoot* of the Early Classic king "Moon Skull," and after Bird Jaguar refurbished it, he used it for his accession ritual 300 years after its original fire-entering ceremony. Oxkintok Structure CA-3 (Fig. 4.12, 4.13), almost certainly the original setting of at least one of the Early Classic dwelling dedication lintels, encapsulates a particularly long developmental history. That development is apparent, for example, in its Early Classic fill ceramics, introduced Middle Classic tombs, series of architectural expansions and modifications (including the staircase that buried the front of the building), and Late Classic dump on the floor of its central chamber – as well as the way it was eventually surrounded by large Middle Classic pyramids. These buildings all seem good candidates for original living residences that were gradually transformed into ritual and ceremonial sites by the descendants of their inhabitants. Structure 10L-2 at Copán as the *otoot* of Ruler 12, K'ak' U-Ti' "Imix Monster" K'awiil, may be another example. In its isolated location on the Great Plaza it seems an unlikely living residence for that great king, but in its emic characterization, isolated location at the north end of an early plaza area, and nature of later modification (stairs built over the front of the façade), it is an interesting comparison with CA-3.

Another example may be Tikal Structure 5D-46 (Fig. 7.10), mentioned briefly in the chapter on Oxkintok. It consists of an early structure at the east end of the Tikal Central Acropolis that was progressively enclosed by later construction but left intact and accessible. The inscribed rim (Fig. 7.11) of the lid of a carved black vessel cached under its main stair dedicates an *otoot* that has been said to belong to the great Early Classic king, "Jaguar Claw" (e.g., Schele and Mathews 1998:78,94; Harrison 1999:77-78). The inscription has some syntactical and grammatical problems, and it is therefore not clear to whom the *otoot* belongs, what sort of *otoot* it is, or whether the term may even refer to the pot itself as a dwelling as David Stuart has suggested (personal communication, 1999). If we accept that the *otoot* on the pot does refer to the building itself, as Schele and Mathews (1998) and Harrison (1999) suggest, then there is a good case for the long-term curation of an Early Classic royal dwelling within an architecturally densely packed Late Classic series of courts, probably with an altered role. This is essentially Schele and Mathews' hypothesis, and they term the Late Classic version of the building an ancestor shrine (1998:79). In all of these cases, a building's architectural and archaeological context is a primary indicator of its role.

The phenomenon of ancestral dwelling places becoming ritual sites is well-known ethnographically (e.g., Bloch 1995; Waterson 1990). As Waterson notes for the Indonesian "origin-houses," "the South-East Asian house is not always primarily, or even at all a place of residence," but "they still remain the ritual centers for the clans, and it is these houses which individuals will name as 'theirs', even if they reside elsewhere" (1990:43). That is, dwelling and residence are easily separable concepts.

VII.4.2 "Contrived" royal dwellings

In contrast to the process of progressive sacralization of dwellings by long-term curation, royal dwellings can be forged in other ways. That is, they can be constructed as elaborate repositories for identity with the impending ancestordom of their occupant in mind. A good example

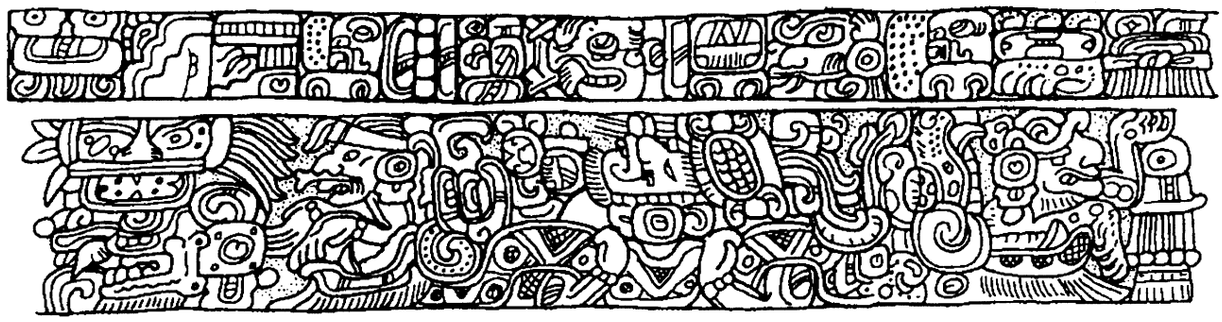
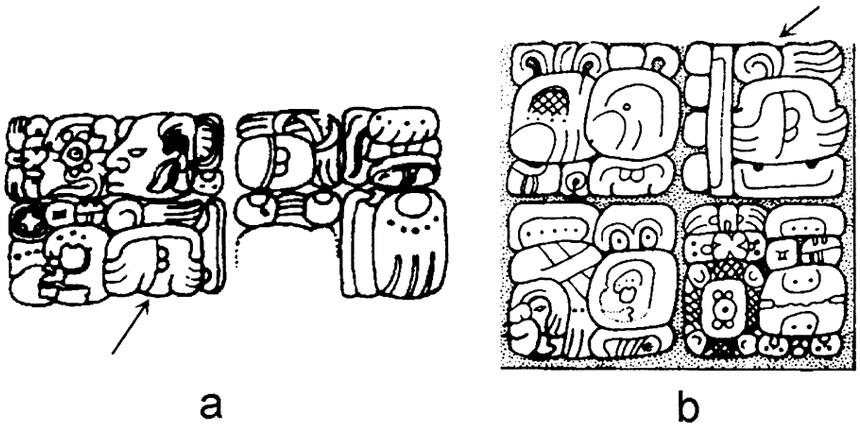


Fig. 7.11 Text of Early Classic carved cache vessel from under stair of Structure 5D-46, after Schele and Mathews (1998:78).



a b

Fig. 7.12

The *Te' Naah* as the Temple of the Inscriptions: (a) Hieroglyphic Stairs of House (C6-D6). Drawing by Linda Schele; (b) Temple of the Inscriptions West Panel (S11-T12). Drawing by Linda Schele.

comes from the reign of Pakal the Great at Palenque, who has at least three named dwellings attributed to him.

I suspect, as I say in the Yaxchilán chapter, that the *Sak Nuk Naah,* a posthumous reference to Pakal's *otoot*, and the "*Starry Deer Caiman"-nal*, a contemporary reference on Bench 1 in the Southern Subterranean structure, are the same place, House E (though it is important to point out that neither of those monuments is directly attached to House E itself). The third place is the *Te'(?) Naah* "Tree(?) House," given as the name of Pakal's *otoot* on the inscription of the House C stairs, an inscription created during his reign (Fig. 7.12; see Fig. 7.5). Those steps give Pakal's birth and accession dates as well as a series of historic political events involving Calakmul, Tikal, and Yaxchilán, and the seizure of several captives at a date contemporary with the structure. The text ends in a slightly eroded passage (Fig. 7.13a) with Pakal's name, the citation of a dwelling name, *Te'(?)-Naah,* and the phrase *pat-laj Lakamha'* "it was formed at Lakamha'":[140]

...K'inich Janahb' Pakal K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw
...K'inich Janahb' Pakal Holy B'aakal Lord

Te'(?)-Naah u-k'aba y-otoot
Tree? House is the name of his dwelling

pat-laj	*Lakam-Ha'*
it is formed/done	**at Lakam-Ha'**

Curiously, the dwelling is mentioned not as part of a dedicatory statement, but more like a title, as if this building were an intrinsic part of Pakal's identity.

Schele (1994:6) noted that there seemed to be a relation between the *Te' Naah* name on the House C stair, and that on the west tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions, *B'olon Te' Naah*, "Nine/Great Tree(?) House," described there as the name of the *muk-il*, the "tomb" of Pakal (Fig. 7.13b); the tablets, begun by Pakal, were finished by his son Kan B'alam. I think that they are in fact the same structure, and that since the tomb of Pakal *is* the Temple of the Inscriptions, the dwelling name on the House C stair refers not to House C, but to Pakal's burial monument.

It may seem early for Pakal, who dies in 683, to be talking about the Temple of the Inscriptions at the date associated with the *Te'-Naah* dwelling phrase on the House C stair: this date appears to be 9.11.6.16.11 (Schele 1994) in AD 659, twenty-four years before Pakal's death. This might cast doubt upon my interpretation and lend support to the identification of the name with House C itself. Other information in the text is indeed closely tied to House C: the names of four of the six captives depicted and named on the basal platform of House C are repeated in a **yi-ta-ji** clause in the stair text, in association with the structure name. However, as Hammond (1986:2) has noted, it is likely that the House C basal platform was refurbished at a later date, suggesting that this text might be significantly retrospective, possibly even erected by one of Pakal's sons. It is also easy to imagine that the Temple of the Inscriptions and Pakal's tomb inside were under construction at this date: Pakal is fifty-six years old, aging, and apparently engaging in active warfare if the captives mentioned are his, and he would have been planning for his death. Schele hypothesized that these captives were sacrificed for the dedication of House C; I wonder whether, given that the house names are basically identical, these prisoners could be among the donors of the bodies (Ruz 1973:50-52) that ended up in the stone box at the base of the stairs to Pakal's tomb in the Temple of the Inscriptions. In this case, the **yi-ta-ji** glyph would record an interesting form of participation in the ritual. The *Te' Naah* "Tree House" may describe the tomb chamber, with its "orchard" of ancestors: Pakal's forebears are depicted as trees growing out of the ground on the sides of his sarcophagus, and he himself ascends the great world tree on the sarcophagus lid.

Pakal therefore had at least two "dwellings" of very different character, one as at least potentially a true living home in the palace complex that was gradually transformed into a space with a wider range of ceremonial uses, and one designed explicitly by him as a burial site and a ritual space from the start. This example provides a clear separation between residence as a lived process and dwelling as a long-term existential condition.

[140] Although the drawing does not show it, inspection of the stair reveals that D6b is **PAT-la-ja**, *pat-laj*.

Other examples include Copán Structure 22, which was expressly built and inscribed by Waxaklajuun U-b'aah K'awiil himself as an ideal dwelling place for his identity as the maize god. Because of the paucity of physical remains associated with Structure 22, we may never know whether or not this building was a primary residential locus for Waxaklajuun; I have argued that it is unlikely, and hope that the ongoing studies of the very large architectural complexes around the site epicenter, such as Group 10L-2, will shed more light on whether Copán rulers before Yax Pasaj may have lived away from the Acropolis. Copán Structure 18 is also analogous: though the fragmented text is not clear about who is the dwelling owner, the building is strongly identified with Yax Pasaj and the tomb in its base is built into it in a single phase, like the Temple of the Inscriptions. On a smaller scale, Copán Structure 9M-146 was a large single-phase structure built during the reign of the sixteenth king as the *otoot* of an *aj-k'uhun* of the fifteenth king; unlikely to be a residence, it seems more a self-conscious repository for the official identity of an important noble and possible ancestor, as well as being part of a concerted program of installation of monumental *otoot*s by the sixteenth king.

I wonder, then, if the tendency to construct and dedicate one's own, elaborate dwelling as a self-conscious legacy and enshrining of personal identity is a Late Classic phenomenon with perhaps mid-seventh century beginnings. In this scenario, Pakal's reign would have encompassed both traditions, and indeed, the later tradition probably did not exclude the earlier.

Parallel transformations are known elsewhere. Marshall (2000), for example, describes the transformation of the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) house of the west coast of Vancouver Island. Until the end of the nineteenth century and a little beyond, large dwellings with plain exteriors and partitioned interiors housed several related nuclear families under a house chief, and the economy was house-based. These dwellings and their precise locations were heavily curated in both prehistoric and historic times (2000:79). Demographic and economic changes, particularly the introduction of a cash economy from commercial fishing, sealing, and canning enterprises, broke the dependence of families on the rights to particular fishing stations held by chiefs, and upon the communal labor needed to exploit them. Families moved out of the big house into nuclear family dwellings, and, according to Marshall, chiefs turned to material culture to publicly assert rank and status (2000:96). Houses were rapidly rebuilt, often several times over, rather than gradually changed, their exterior opulence was emphasized, and their internal partitions disappeared. As Marshall notes, "by the turn of the century, the house dwellings no longer housed people; they housed ritual paraphernalia, formal ceremonies, and sometimes guests" (2000:94).

Although the Nuu-chah-nulth case is not a precise parallel to the Maya case, we can note the transformation of the chief's dwelling as a structure whose prestige came from long-term occupation and physical continuity with only incremental change, on one hand, into a dwelling newly built to display wealth and status, on the other. Later Maya kings seem to be designing the face and character of their own "ancestordom": they can easily look back at centuries' worth of monumental inscriptions and take in the fates of the legacies of previous kings, and then construct their own in more conscious ways. They install their identities or aspects of their identities in prominent places: in a place like Copán, with its Acropolis crowded with the constructions of past kings and unsuitable for daily habitation, later kings may have installed symbolic dwellings to mark out their place in the great stack of tomb-filled constructions, even as their living residences were pushed off of the Acropolis onto lower elevations.

In Chapter 2, I noted that it might be well to pay attention to Marvin Harris' claim that emic schemes can obscure a number of motives. One might hypothesize that the use of the idiom of royal dwelling in the construction and dedication of, for example, Copán Structure 22, Yaxchilán Structure 44, and Palenque's Temple of the Inscriptions, in contexts that are not residential, co-opts ancient ideas about the sacrality of royal residential locales for contemporary political purposes. Certainly the installation of dwellings across the landscape of Copán by Yax Pasaj seems to have had the goal of re-orienting both the physical and the socio-political landscape of the city.

The phenomenon of multiple royal dwellings – Palenque's texts may record as many as three for Pakal – and dwellings for impersonation identities is probably intimately linked to the multi-component nature of the Maya soul and the alienability of those components documented for the Classic period by the *way* glyph (Houston and Stuart 1989) and in numerous modern contexts as well (e.g., Vogt 1976; Gossen 1994). In Harris' terms, we might consider that ancient kings and queens exploited these notions to infuse entire cityscapes with their royal selves; although though the textual record only hints at it, rulers may have had many dwellings for different identities. The slate scepter (Kerr 3409) discussed earlier is interesting in this light, since it records the title "Three-dwelling Youth": perhaps having a number of dwellings was a mark of prestige in Classic society.

Do the *otoot* texts address the question of whether or not the Maya constituted a "house society"? I do not see that these texts provide evidence that the *otoot* represents something beyond the structure itself – that is, that it is a metonym for a larger social body such as an extended family or the household of a royal or noble. I say this because the texts usually have to do with a particular ritual event that is geared toward the "ascending," entering, censing, binding, embracing, or building of a particular structure; that is, there, is a physicality inherent in these phrases that points away from the *otoot* being a social body. I do not mean to say that it is impossible that *otoot* has broader metonymical meanings, only that the texts are not providing evidence for it. This kind of evidence may eventually be derivable from a thorough consideration of *naah* structure names and their textual, architectural, and archaeological contexts: the subject deserves a comprehensive study of its own.

VII.5 The relevance of emic classifications in archaeology

Two decades ago, Brian Hayden (1984) asked, "are emic classifications relevant for archaeologists?" His sphere of interest was artifacts, rather than architecture, and his general point was that typologies are devised to deal with certain problems or to answer certain concerns, whether one is an

archaeologist or a cultural participant. As archaeologists, we may hope that the artifacts or specific aspects of artifacts that are singled out for emic terminology relate to their function; for although we have become interested in the social and cultural loadings, meanings, and active voices of artifacts, it is hard to do without the question of "what do you do with it?" or "what is it for?"

As Hayden points out (1984:85), function proves to be a nebulous concept: artifacts are multi-dimensional, and their practical functions will overlap with their roles in regulating social interactions or in representing and/or instilling aspects of ideological systems. Which of these spheres of significance gives an artifact its lexical designation or its emic categorization – if its gets one at all – may have little to do with archaeologists' concerns in organizing their data. Ultimately, Hayden seems to agree with Binford (1967) that emic categories do not provide much of use for archaeological typologies, but that, when participant and archaeological concerns overlap, they may furnish limited insights about what attributes might be important in devising classifications that address archaeological questions.

It is evident that the classification *otoot* in Classic Maya texts *does* answer to a particular set of ancient concerns that responds less to the question "what is this structure for?" than to "who resides here?" The agenda of these texts and the rituals they record is generally to identify the dweller, and to make the space bounded and safe for the dweller by propitiating the relevant beings, whether the building itself or the appropriate supernatural forces. It is absolutely true, then, that these texts cannot necessarily be expected to supply information about structure use; i.e., just because something is called the dwelling of a king or god does not mean that it cannot host a whole range of uses that cannot be inferred from textual data. The term *otoot* is not a functional indicator; if I had used it as one *a priori* I would have subverted the entire purpose of the investigation. However, we *can* expect the texts and emic categories to supply clues to the social, political, and ideological roles of structures, as the results of this study show.

A great part of their value lies in their provision of a *unit of comparison* which can then be set against other kinds of units and other dimensions of similarity and difference: for example, the *otoot* structures of Copán share certain architectural characteristics and occupy a similar chronological slot in the site's history, but they occur in groups of different sizes and occupational depths with different artifactual assemblages. Together with preliminary ceramic data, this confluence of dimensions suggests a particular theory of their political role in the city. As ceramic knowledge becomes even more refined, bringing these various kinds of data together will make analyses more powerful and more productive.

Should Maya archaeologists who work in the many contexts that have no associated texts care about the emic categories texts provide? It is certainly true that many of the individual building characterizations reached in this study would not be available through archaeological evidence alone: for example, it is impossible that we would know that a particular god had a dwelling in two structures as disparate as Las Monjas and the Temple of the Four Lintels at Chichén Itzá; nor would we have been able to see the details of the relationships between the Yaxchilán *otoot*s. In textless conditions – which of course are in the great majority – it seems reasonable to say that certain questions simply cannot be answered and thus are not worth asking or worrying about; i.e., that since etic analysis is the only possible approach, emic questions will and must go by the wayside. Further, because the emic categories discussed do not co-vary in any very robust way with particular building plans or general architectural contexts, they do not seem to be very helpful in designing more effective functional classifications for structures not inscribed.

However, the identification of emic cognitive units, whether through epigraphy or intensive survey and excavation (Tourtellot 1983; Becker 1971, 1982), can and should be regarded and used as another type of information, like the other units of comparison developed as classificatory or typological systems by archaeologists. For example, by using emic cognitive units in conjunction with the sparse architectural and spatial distribution information, I have been able to suggest a hypothesis for the nature of the gallery-patio structures at Chichén Itzá that is testable using traditional archaeological methods. The degree of resolution achievable by combining emic and etic data types where possible can only help us in understanding contexts where it is not possible. It is critical to note that whatever I have understood about Maya dwellings in this inquiry has only been feasible because of the decades of work conducted at large Maya sites, in the excavation and reconstruction of particular buildings, in settlement pattern research, and in ceramic and artifactual analyses. These years of labor devoted to answering basic questions have created an enormous resource for archaeologists and epigraphers who wish to ask questions at a heightened level of specificity.

Finally, the ideas presented herein remind us as archaeologists that, just as *otoot* "dwellings" may or may not be living residences, so we may need to be careful about the other categories we apply to inhabited space in terms of both their accuracy and what they may mask; examples are "residential" and "domestic." "Domestic" in particular is a hazy concept that is often linked, in the Maya area, to particular ceramic genres, such as "utilitarian" pottery, the presence of which is used to indicate a "domestic" structure, which is linked in our minds and through etymology with nuclear or extended family residence. This kind of equation would be problematic, if, for example, we were dealing with a ritual compound that required full-time "live-in" attendants for its maintenance and might therefore include "utilitarian" pottery in its living debris: in this case, a kinship-based model for the organization of the compound might be entirely misleading, but the category "domestic" tends to mask these concerns.

VII.6 Conclusions: *otoot* as a cognitive construct

The ancient *otoot* structures I have examined can be "owned" by humans, gods, and god impersonators. In this chapter we have seen some Classic-period evidence for non-architectural objects also being occupied by gods or the substances that embody them; and, as discussed in Chapter 1, there is modern linguistic evidence for a wide range of places and spaces that are called *otoot* of whatever belongs there. These

include corncribs (*y-otoot ixim*), pigsties (*y-otoch k'ek'eno'b*), anthills (*y-otoch sinik*), and kitchens (*y-otoch k'oben* "hearth's dwelling").

We then ask how this category is organized. We might reasonably posit that at its core, *otoot* is an architectural category with metaphorical extensions. We would then imagine that modern or even Classic-period Maya persons whose usage incorporated both *otoot* and *naah* would identify the "living-home building" sense as primary for *otoot*, and characterize the other instances as metaphorical homes, from dwellings for god impersonators to dwellings for corn. This possibility would have to be addressed through linguistic fieldwork

Alternatively, we have reason to regard the many uses of *otoot* as indicators of a more encompassing schema, i.e., a short-cut way of organizing the object- and thought-worlds, that centers around the notion of *container*, as Stuart (pers. comm. 1999) and Zender (2002) have suggested. The ancient examples of "offering box," and "tobacco container," and modern examples such as "corncrib" support this idea.

I suspect, however, that what these notions do not quite encompass, especially for the ancient world, is that *otoot* tends to express the notion of habitation by an animate being or "live" substance. In its Classic period textual usage, an *otoot* is a more or less permanent seat for the identity or an aspect of the identity of an animate being or beings, and it can have many physical aspects. We know from both ancient and modern sources that mountains, bodies of water, and landscape elements such as caves and cenotes, as well as cultural features such as milpas, were dwelt in by various gods, spirits, and ancestors. That is, the Maya landscape is inherently inhabited, such that the broad use of the term *otoot* expresses this condition of intrinsic belonging, of ongoing staying in a particular location. It is for this reason that *otoot* as an architectural category is not much use in designing classification schemes, because almost anything can be inhabited. In both ancient and modern contexts, it emerges as a principle for the ordering of a complex world of animate entities across a landscape, one that dismantles some of the distinction between built space and natural space and transforms it into inherently inhabited space. The Maya built environment becomes the "dwelt" environment. This totalizing landscape organizational scheme is even adaptable to elite concerns, as elites manipulate it to infuse their very selves into ancient cityscapes.

This equation of dwelling with an existential condition rather than an architectural one has parallels in our own language: as I discuss in the Introduction, after Heidegger (1977[1954]), our word *dwell* comes from an Old English word meaning "to stay or tarry"; and build from *bauen*, the Germanic root of "to be, to exist." An interesting article by Khambatta (1989) on Hindu dwelling notes the deep connection between dwelling and being in that context: as he explains, the residue of the divine sacrifice that created the world was called *vāstu*, from *vas* "to assume a form"; but *vāstu* also means residence, "since *vas* can also mean, 'to abide in a given condition'" (1989:258), as well as "thing" or "object." Further, Khambatta shows how the knowledge of ultimate form, of the unity of humans, universe, and buildings, is reflected in building rituals that re-enact the creation of the universe, i.e., of everything that exists (1989:260).

The Maya "dwelt" landscape does not come into being on its own, of course; rather, the Maya infuse it with life, and this process will inevitably be bound up with many kinds of social and political concerns. At Copán, dwellings of important men, possibly recent ancestors, are installed across the cityscape to reshape its social, political, and probably sacred geography. At Chichén Itzá, gods or ancestors who have dwellings in Las Monjas also have smaller counterpart dwellings outside the city center, where the supernatural inhabitants are associated with important nobles, whose links to the site center may be expressed in part by their capacity as caretakers of patron supernaturals. We should consider the possibility, at least at these two sites, that their late political organization may have revolved around these spatially-expressed networks of divine patronage and ritual sponsorship. At Yaxchilán, dwellings as extensions of the persons of their human owners express generational and gender concerns in their arrangement and relative elevation, invoking the notion of physically and temporally durable corporeal *iknal* fields; and at Oxkintok, *otoot* structures and their potent corporeality may generate or influence the spatial layout and important axes of Grupo Ah Canul for centuries after their construction, as their monuments are re-used as architectural talismans by later inhabitants.

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